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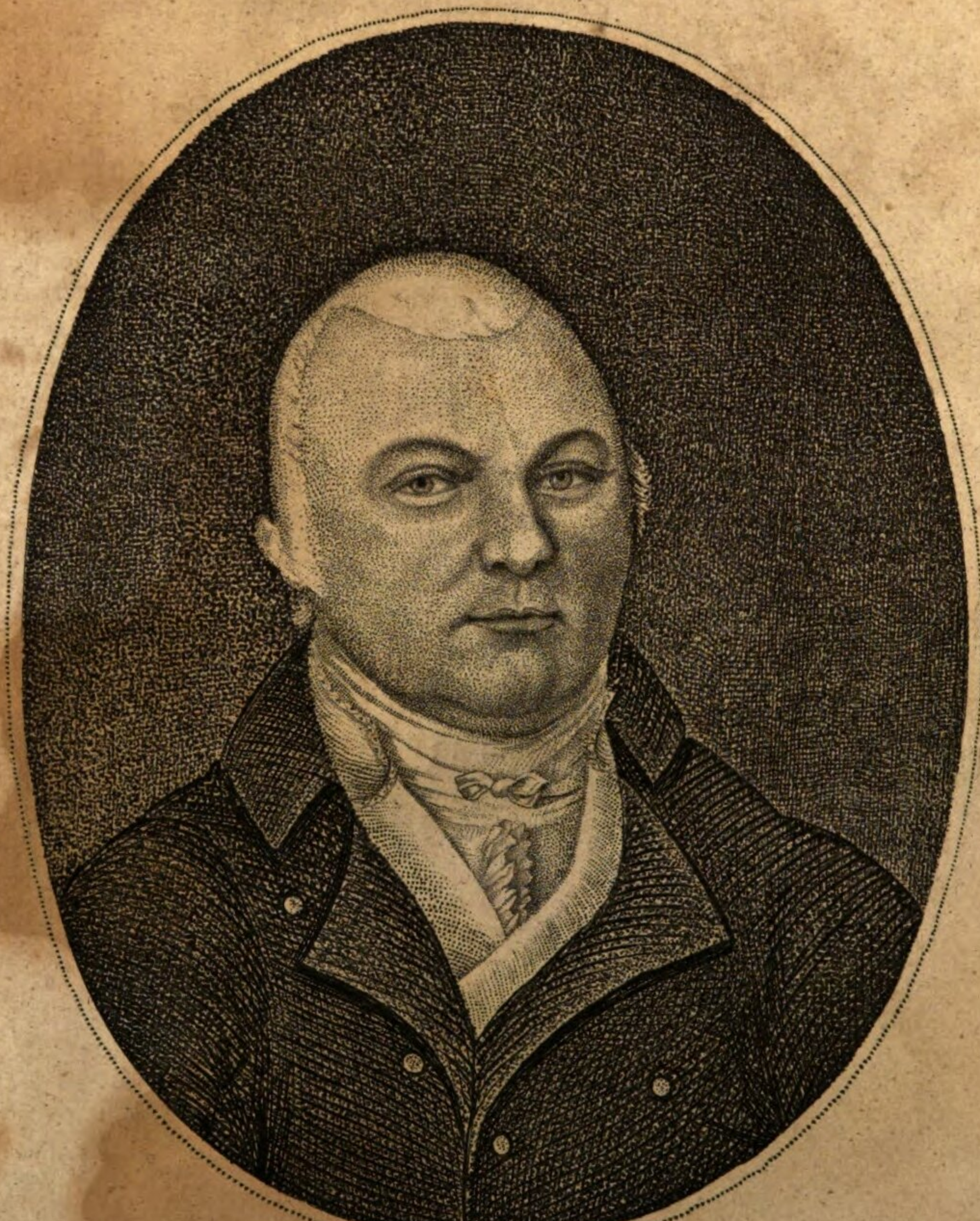

Capt. Amasa Delano.

A

NARRATIVE

OF

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS,

IN THE

NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN HEMISPHERES:

COMPRISING

THREE VOYAGES ROUND THE WORLD;

TOGETHER WITH A

VOYAGE OF SURVEY AND DISCOVERY,

IN THE

PACIFIC OCEAN AND ORIENTAL ISLANDS.

BY AMASA DELANO.

BOSTON:

PRINTED BY E. G. HOUSE, FOR THE AUTHOR.

1817.

District of Massachusetts, to wit :

DISTRICT CLERK'S OFFICE.

L. S.

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PREFACE.

IN preparing this book for the public, I have had several objects in view. The principal one was the hope and belief that a large part of the information, which it contains, would be new and interesting to the community. In regard to the Oriental Islands particularly, remarks are made, anecdotes are told, customs are described, and principles and traits of character among the natives are brought to light, which, I trust, my readers will find worthy of their attention.

Having kept journals of my voyages and travels, which were made at the time minute and full upon whatever was extraordinary, and being satisfied that the publication of what I had seen and experienced would be useful, especially to seamen, I also desired to employ and amuse my mind in this work, and to

spend, in a rational and profitable manner, a number of months which might otherwise have been left a prey to melancholy and painful meditations. I esteem it an occasion of peculiar gratitude to Providence when a man, depressed in his spirits, can fall upon a mode of beguiling his sadness which is equally reasonable and useful in regard to the community, and at the same time agreeable and reputable in regard to himself.

My friends too were solicitious that I should draw up this narrative, and give it to the press. It is hoped that their partiality will not be greatly mortified by the compliance with their advice, and the respect to their opinions, which I have here shown. No seaman from the United States has enjoyed the same opportunity for observation and discovery in the Eastern Ocean, which was afforded to me by the voyage I made with commodore McClure. My remarks upon the navigation along the coast of New Holland, Van Dieman's Land, New Zealand, and round Cape Horn, will also be new to my readers, and I am confident, of great real value. Although I have to regret that my book is not better, I trust that my countrymen will find it containing information and exhibting a spirit, of which, notwithstanding its faults, they need not be ashamed. There are many suggestions made in it on the various subjects connected with ship building, with practical navigation, with the management

of crews, with the conduct of seamen on shore and in port, and with the duties of owners and masters, which I am confident are deserving of the notice, recollection, and attention of persons employed in these departments of life. It was also thought expedient to introduce such information concerniug the places which I visited, as might render the book interesting and instructive to landsmen, and as should give me an opportunity to offer my sentiments, as they occured, upon various topics in morals, condition, and character.

In undertaking this work, I was aware of the difficulties which I should have to encounter, in consequence of my want of an early and academic education, although I have always seized every possible opportunity during my whole life for the improvement of my mind in the knowledge of useful literature and those sciences that are immediately connected with the pursuits to which I have been professionally devoted. My efforts have not been without success; and I have been often employed in giving instructions to midshipmen, other subordinate officers, and seamen, in mathematics, astronomy, and navigation.—These difficulties therefore were not greater in regard to me than they have been in regard to many other voyagers and travellers, who have very properly and usefully employed their pens in writing accounts of their observations and discoveries for the

public. I wished this narrative to have my own character, sentiments, and manner, subject only to such a revision by some of my friends, before the manuscript went to press, as would free it from any gross errors in grammar, and peculiar obscurity in the construction of the sentences. I know that the book is unequally written, that the order is not always as happy as it might have been, that the facts and observations are miscellaneously presented to the reader, and that sometimes those belonging to the same subject are separated from each other at too great a distance. The nature of the narrative is such as to render it of necessity miscellaneous in a high degree, but the considerable defects in point of arrangement have arisen, not merely from my inexperience in the business of book-making, but from the fact that the press was set to work before my manuscript was revised, the sheets were printed as fast as they were prepared, and information sometimes came in, after its proper place was occupied with other matter. I do not attempt to justify this; I only desire to record my most sincere regret for the existence of those circumstances which have compelled me to carry my book through the press in this manner.

My manuscript was very nearly completed for the whole work before it was offered to any one for correction. It has undergone no alteration in respect to the facts, the general arrangement, the matter introduced, or the spirit and tenor of the sentiments and

reflections. Although I am but little qualified to appear before the public in this way, yet the responsibility of every thing in the book, where credit is not given, is entirely my own. A number of my friends have been successively employed to revise the different parts of the manuscript, and in consequence of this, the style is in a degree varied according to the several hands. In the first part of my narrative, that which is included in the period when I was with McClure, the reflections are the most numerous, as I made them the most frequently myself in the narrative, and the thoughts were considerably filled out in the correction of the sheets for the press.

The names are spelled differently in different books. The orthography in this work is supported in every instance by some printed authority. The three plates I have procured in addition to the original design, without any addition to the terms and expense contemplated in the prospectus. The whole is written with a spirit of independence, without wounding the feelings, as I trust, of any good man. Perhaps my remarks may sometimes appear to pay too little deference to popular prejudice. I hope however, that what I have always felt may always appear in my expressions, and that is a uniform respect and attachment to all the good and generous qualities of our nature, and an unaffected veneration for the laws of Providence and the principles of true religion.

It may be considered by some of my readers that I have been at times too minute in giving details in this narrative concerning officers and crews, the manner in which they were treated, and the attention paid to their effects after their death. But notices of this kind are valuable to the cause of morality and humanity, and will help, I trust, to stimulate others to do the same things for their fellow men which are recommended here. What I have neglected myself, and what I have seen deficient in other commanders of vessels, have led me to make such remarks in the course of this work as I thought would be useful to the community, and particularly to those who are called upon, not only for acts of justice, but for those of disinterestedness, at sea.

It will be observed that the table of contents is made out very full in order to answer in some measure the purpose of an index.

NARRATIVE

OF

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

CHAPTER I.

The Ship Massachusetts—Shaw—Hayden—Hackett—Briggs—The object of the Voyaye of the Massachusetts—Her Crew—Passage to China—arrival at Batavia—at Canton—Occurrences there.

THE voyage, with which I shall commence my narrative, was made in the ship Massachusetts. She was built at Quincy in one of the branches of Boston harbour, and was launched in September, 1789. An agreement was made at Canton in China, with major Samuel Shaw, a Bostonian, to build the Massachusetts for the firm of Shaw & Randall, both of whom had been officers in the American army during the revolution, and had travelled to India after the peace of 1783, when the army was disbanded. Of Randal I know but little. Shaw was aid de camp to general Knox, who commanded the artillery during the whole war, and who often told me that Shaw enjoyed the full approbation and confidence of all his superior officers. He was a man of fine talents and considerable cultivation; he placed so high a value upon the sentiments of honour that some of his friends thought it was carried to excess, and said it would do him no good. He was candid, just, and generous, faithful in his friendships, an agreeable companion, and manly in all his intercourse. He died with a complaint of the liver, on a voyage from Canton to America, a succeeding voyage to that in which I was with him. He was buried in the ocean off the Cape of Good Hope.

The contractor with Major Shaw for the building of the ship was Eli Hayden of Braintree, a man of abilities in his profession,

and who deserved more than he has received from the community. He built a small vessel, which was rigged as a brig, and went round the Cape of Good Hope to China in 1787-1788, an enterprise then considered as of very great importance. His fate has been like that of too many others. After making many exertions in an honest and useful pursuit, and gaining a competency by his industry, he found himself often circumvented andwas obliged to return with loss into the country. He moved to Vermont, not well rewarded for his services and integrity.

The draughtsman of the ship was captain William Hackett of Amesbury on the Merrimack. He was also superintendant. He had formerly built the Alliance frigate, which sailed with such success during the war of the revolution. His knowledge and judgment in his business were of the first order, his temper amiable, and his character excellent. He was cousin to colonel John Hackett, who built the seventy four at Portsmouth, that was afterwards presented to the French government.

The name of the master builder of the Massachusetts was Daniel Briggs. He was one of the best men I ever knew to keep a large company of men at work, and to make their labour productive. The family of Briggs in Pembroke, Plymouth county, was celebrated for extraordinary merit. There were five brothers. Elisha continued in his native town an excellent ship builder. Alden was brought up a blacksmith, was remarkable for the talents he showed in the heavy work of a ship, was the mechanic employed for the Massachusetts in this department, and afterwards became a merchant. Enos is a ship builder at Salem, and built the Essex frigate. Daniel united mercantile speculations with ship building, and has lived many years in Milton. Thomas was educated a ship builder also, went to sea afterwards as captain, transacted business as a merchant in Boston for many years, and died in Dorchester in 1809, beloved and respected by all who knew him. The five brothers were employed upon the Massachusetts. It would not be proper for me to say here all that I know and feel in praise of this family.

The other mechanics were generally from the North River, county of Plymouth, and were faithful in the performance of their duties. The ship was as well built as any ship could be under the circumstances. The timber was cut, and used immediately while perfectly

green. It was white oak, and would have been very durable had it been docked, or properly seasoned. Notwithstanding the unprepared state of the materials, the Massachusetts was so well built, that on her arrival at Batavia and Canton the commanders of English, Dutch, and other European ships were continually coming on board to examine her, and to admire the model and the work. She was acknowledged to be the handsomest vessel in the two ports. She was however rotten when we first arrived in China. She was loaded principally with green masts and spars, taken on board in winter directly out of water, with ice and mud on them. The lower hold was thus filled, and the lower deck hatches caulked down in Boston, and never opened till we were in Canton. The air was then found to be so corrupt that a lighted candle was put out by it nearly as soon as by water. A mistaken idea prevailed at that time in regard to the best mode of preserving a ship and her cargo. Air was prevented as much as possible from circulating freely through the hold. Precisely the opposite of this ought to be practised. Whether in hot or cold climates, wind sails should be employed in fair weather, and the air sent into every part of the ship, for the benefit of the timbers as well as the cargo. We had between four and five hundred barrels of beef in the lower hold placed in the broken stowage. When fresh air was admitted so that the men could live under the hatches, the beef was found almost boiled, the hoops were rotted and fallen off, and the inside of the ship was covered with a blue mould more than half an inch thick.

Green wood should never be used in a vessel, especially above the navel timber heads. It will not last half so long in low latitudes as that which is docked or properly seasoned. It is not of so much consequence as is generally imagined what kind of wood is used. The great object to be secured is the suitable preparation of the wood before it is wrought. White oak is thought to be the best, but the hacmetac, which grows in our eastern country, is the most durable, and is sufficiently strong. Black and yellow birch, hard pine, black spruce, and some sorts of maple, are good timber for ships.

In regard to spars, it is not necessary to have spruce seasoned, if no part of it is to be covered or to go under deck; but particular care should be taken to have it guarded with hot tar as soon as

it is made. The tar should be put on three times at least. A pine mast should always be seasoned, and if cheeked, its supporters should be oak. To dock spars is found to be the best mode to preserve them. Salt water is peculiarly serviceable to pine, to render it both durable and tough. Spruce spars soon rot, if they are not docked, or covered with hot tar.

Blocks and pumps ought to be made of timber of the very first quality, as well the shells as the shives and pins. The halliard brace sister, tack, sheet, cat, and other blocks which are subject to a heavy strain, and the yards that are shived, should be cogged or bushed with iron or copper, and be fitted with iron pins. The dead eyes should be over size. The pumps should be made of the best hard pine, hooped with iron, with good composition chambers, plain boxes, and well constructed, without any of the patent plans which I have yet seen. A ship as large as a thousand tons should have one good chain pump. The pumps are of the very first consideration with a prudent sailor, and yet I have been in ships at sea where but little attention was paid to them. The leather employed in them ought to be of the best quality, and a number of spare sets of boxes well fitted with iron should be furnished.

The dimensions and model of the Massachusetts, were taken from the NewTriumph, an English Indiaman at Canton in 1788, but I think those of the Massachusetts were a little reduced, and were as follow;—

	Ft.	*In.*		*Ft.*	*In.*
Length of keel, -	116	00	Lower deck, - -	5	10
Length of beam, -	36	10	Gun deck to upper,	6	6
Lower hold, - -	13	6	Gun wale, - -	1	6

	Feet.		Inches.
Foremast, in length. - -	81	diameter	27
Main mast, - - -	84		28
Mizen mast, - - -	70		20
Bowsprit, - - - -	00		27
Foretop mast, - - -	48		15½
Maintop mast, - - -	50		15½
Mizentop mast, - - -	36		12
Jib-boom, - - - -			11

	Ft.		*Ft.*
Fore yard, - - -	68	Foretopsail yard, -	48
Main yard, - - -	74	Maintopsail yard, -	50
Mizen yard, - -	62	Mizentopsail yard,	37
Spritsail yard, - -	50	Cross-jack yard, -	50

The Massachusetts was built expressly for the Canton trade. After being launched, she was brought to Boston under jury masts. She was the largest merchant ship built at that time in the United States, and excited a considerable sensation in the commercial part of the community. Parties of people in every rank of society frequently came on board of her to gratify their curiosity and express their admiration. Five French men of war were then in the harbour, and their officers often visited the Massachusetts, and gave her great praise. Captain John Linzee was then in the English frigate Penelope in this port, and was considered as one of the best officers in the English navy. He paid us frequent visits, and said that our ship was as perfect a model as the state of the art would then permit. So much public attention has probably never been excited for any ship built here since.

The voyage she was to make, was almost new to Americans. A station on board of her was an object of consequence. Hundreds of applications were made by persons of the best character. Job Prince, Esq. brother of the present marshal of this district was appointed to take the command of her. He was not only a seaman but was well qualified to do business as a merchant. His manners were those of a gentleman, his disposition amiable, and his principles honourable. He died in Boston 12 or 14 years since.

Josiah Roberts was appointed first officer. He was a native of Portsmouth in New Hampshire, was first lieutenant of the frigate Flora at the peace of 1783, and was an excellent seaman. He died in 1810 or 1811, on a voyage from the river La Plate to this place. He was the first who visited the group of islands that lie near to the Marquesas Islands, after they were discovered by captain Joseph Ingraham; and two of them are called in Arrowsmith's and other charts Robert's Islands; but the cluster bears the name of Washington's Islands. Roberts built a small vessel there. These islands have been recently visited by captain Porter, of the Essex fsigate, who has given a copious account of them, and has altered some of their names, which I think is not very judicious, as the names given by the first discoverers ought, in honour to them, to be continued.

I was appointed second officer, was on board of her when she was launched, belonged to her from the beginning, hoisted the first colours that she wore, and continued with her till she was sold to the Danish East India Company at Canton. I hauled her colours down for the Danes to raise theirs. I never lost a day by sickness while I was with her. Those who were intimately acquainted with Major Shaw, and who are now living, can tell how warmly he approved of my conduct.

Jeremiah Parker of Portsmouth was third officer. He died on his homeward passage, and was thrown overboard.

John Owen, the fourth officer, died with the scurvy on the North West Coast of America. All these officers had commanded vessels on foreign service previous to their entering on board the Massachusetts.

Nathaniel Shaw, purser, and brother to the owner, died and was thrown overboard, on a voyage from Canton to Bombay, in an English country ship in 1791. He was a good accountant, and of an excellent character.

Joseph Loring was surgeon, and was well qualified for his profession. He left America many years since, and has been travelling in different parts of Europe.

Thomas French, midshipman, as we were going into Batavia, fell from the main yard and was killed by the fall. He was buried on a small island outside of Batavia roads.

Samuel Proctor was another midshipman. He died, and was buried under the walls of Macao, as mentioned hereafter.

John Prince was also a midshipman, a son of the captain. He had a good education, and was a man of worth. He died four or five years since.

Daniel Malcomb, a man well known in this town, was taken on board as a passenger by major Shaw from motives of pure benevolence. He was of an extraordinary character, noble, brave, and generous, and yet intemperate, rash, and fickle in his attachments. He died and was thrown overboard in the Straits of Sunda 1791.

For the satisfaction of the friends of the crew, I shall give a list of their names, and of the events which happened to them as far as my knowledge extends.

LIST OF MEN'S NAMES, RANK, PLACES OF BIRTH, AND WHAT HAS BECOME OF THEM.

NAMES.	STATIONS.	PLACE OF BIRTH.	REMARKS.
Samuel Delano.	Carpenter.	Duxbury.	Now living.
William Trotter.	Boatswain,	England.	Living in the State of Vermont.
Edward Boden.	Gunner.	Beverly.	Dead.
Jonathan Stoddard.	Steward.	Boston.	Died at Macao in 1792.
Jonathan Winship.	Cooper.	New London.	Dead.
Matthew Cox.	Cabin Steward.	Boston.	Died at Canton in 1790.
Henry Anderson.	Carpenter's mate.	England.	Dead.
James Hurley.	do. do.	Boston.	Died in England.
Elias Parkman.	do. do.	Concord.	Living on Ponobscot River.
Jonathan Porter.	do. do.	Taunton.	Dead.
Charles Bowman.	Boatswain's mate.	England.	do.
John Harris.	do. do.	Sweden.	A slave in Algiers by the last accounts.
Roger Dyer.	Quarter Master.	Boston.	Died and thrown overboard off Cape Horn.
William Williams.	do. do.	Scotland.	Lost overboard off Jappan.
John Johnson.	do. do.	England.	Died on board an English Indiaman.
James Crowly.	do. do.	Ireland.	Murdered by the Chinese near Macao.
Charles Sobery.	Owner's Servant.	Boston.	Died on the passage from Batavia to Canton.
William Gorden.	Seaman.	Ireland.	Dead.
Nathaniel Butterfield.	do.	do.	do.
Alexander Martin.	do.	Virginia.	No knowledge of him.

NAMES.	STATIONS.	PLACE OF BIRTH.	REMARKS.
Seth Stowell.	Seaman.	Hingham.	Was drowned at Whampoa in 1790.
Prospect Carpenter.	do.	Pembroke.	Dead.
George Green.	do.	England.	do.
William Martin.	do.	Rhode-island.	do.
John Wallis.	do.	Ireland.	do.
Jeremiah Chace.	do.	Cape Cod.	Died with the small pox in Whampoa in 1791.
William Bacon.	do.	Cambridge.	Dead.
John Collins.	do.	Salem.	do.
Thomas Magness.	do.	Scotland.	do.
William Bacon, 2d.	do.	England.	No knowledge of him.
Jonathan Rogers.	do.	do.	Dead.
Dennis O' Flarrity.	do.	do.	do.
John Buffington.	do.	do.	do.
Charles Tredwell.	do.	Portsmouth N. H.	Living in New Hamshire.
Joseph Gruard.	do.	do.	No knowledge of him.
Thomas Lunt.	do.	do.	Living in New Hampshire.
Andrew Tombs.	do.	do.	No knowledge of him.
Humphrey Chadburn.	do.	do.	Shot and died at Whompoa in 1791.
John Wall.	do.	England.	Lost overboard off Jappan.
Larra Connor.	do.	Ireland.	Dead, murdered off Macao.
Benjamin Harryman.	do.	England.	Dead.
Robert Loviss.	do.	Marblehead.	do.
Jonathan Lovitt.	do.	Beverly.	Died at Whampoa in 1791.
James Fairsarvice.	do.	Boston.	do.
Malika Foot.	do.	do.	do.

John Tinker.	Seaman.	Cape Cod.	Dead.
Soseph Joplin.	do.	Salem.	do.
John Smith.	do.	England.	do.
John Bartlet.	do.	Boston.	do.
William Closs.	do.	England	do.
Benjamin Head,	do.	Boston.	do.
William Murphy.	do.	Ireland.	Murdered by the Chinese near Macao.
John Gregory.	Cook.	Boston.	Dead.
Lincoln.	do.	do.	do.
John Tracy.	Seaman.	England.	Died in India with the liver complaint.
James Barry.	do.	Boston.	No knowldege of him.
Bartholomew Englisby.	do.	do.	do.
John Symms.	do.	do.	do.
Samuel Tripe.	do.	Portsmouth N. H.	Drowned off Java Head, in 1790.
James Stackpole.	do.	Ireland.	Murdered by the Chinese off Macoa.
Nicholas Nicholson.	do.	Cape Cod.	Died with the leprosy at Macoa.

The above contains the names of all the crew that I have, a number of which I heard were dead, but do not now the manner of their death.

It is worthy of remark that the Massachusetts had more than three crews shipped before she sailed from Boston. The greatest part of them left the ship in consequence of a prediction by an old woman, a fortune teller, Moll Pitcher of Lynn, that the Massachusetts would be lost, and every man on board of her. Such was the superstition of our seamen at that time, that the majority of them believed the prophecy, and were actuated by it in their conduct. It seems strange that a class of men, who are continually exposed to storms, hardships, and dangers, should be so powerfully affected by the traditions which are handed down from generation to generation concerning omens, charms, predictions, and the agency of invisible spirits. Perhaps they are more superstitious than landsmen, because they are more subject to what they call *luck* in the weather and the elements, and are more dependant upon changes and agents which they cannot control. In 1787, I commanded a ship, the Jane of Boston, belonging to Benjamin Beale Esq. of Quincy, which was famous for being haunted. My people could not be persuaded that ghosts had not been seen on board the Jane, although I tried every expedient, which reason or ridicule could suggest to disburthen their minds of this impression. They saw no force in the idea that the Deity would not violate the laws of nature, and employ old women as his supernatural agents, to accomplish the most trifling purposes, such as could do no good to a single individual, and promote no one valuable end. They were always ready to be disturbed by apparitions, and always showed the savour of superstition to be paramount in their minds. One pleasant evening, as we were running with the trade winds in latitude 25° north, I heard the second mate and some of the people talking about ghosts. Although doubts were expressed of the existence of such personages, yet many were full in the faith that they were common in all ages. It occurred to me that it was a favorable time to show them a ghost, and make one more attempt to cure them of their folly. They were sitting far aft upon the quarter deck. I stepped down the companion way, went to the state room of the chief mate, and asked him to lend me a hand in showing the people a ghost. He readily consented, and we took two mops, lashed the handles together, made them long enough to reach from a cabin window to the

top of the tafferel rail, put a bar across at a suitable distance from the mop-head for arms, dressed it with jackets to give it proportion and shape, put a white shirt over the whole, tied a string round the neck leaving the top of the shirt like a hood on the head, the face looking through the opening in the bosom of the shirt, and gave the whole the appearance of a woman, because this was the kind of ghost most generally expected. A string under the arms easily aided the delusion that it was the slender waist of a female. A cabin window was opened, while I took my station in the gang-way to see the people without being seen. The chief mate raised up the ghost so that it might be seen above the ship's stern. It immediately caught the attention of the men on the quarter deck, and never did I see human beings more frightened than they were. They were struck dumb, fixed immovable with terror, and seemed like so many breathless but gazing petrifactions. The ghost gently rose and again sunk out of sight, till the chief mate was weary with the labour, and withdrew it at a given signal. I remained to hear what would be said. The men remained motionless and speechless for some time. After they recovered themselves a little, one of the boldest broke silence and began to put round the inquiry what it could be. They concluded it was a ghost, and determined to speak to it if it should appear again. Upon this I went to the chief mate, and he agreed to hold it up once more. I resumed my station, the ghost appeared, and one of them made an attempt to speak, but his courage and his voice failed him. Another attempted, and failed. A third, but without success. The sounds were inarticulate and feeble. The question was to be "In the name of the holy God, who are you, and what do you want?" The image was taken down; we undressed it, and restored the mops to their proper shape. I went to bed without permitting the secret to be known. At 12 o'clock at night, the chief mate came to me, and said that the second officer and people were extremely frightened, and wanted to see me on deck. I got up, and went above, where all the crew were collected and filled with anxiety and alarm. I asked them what was the matter. They huddled round me like a brood of chickens, and said they had seen a ghost. I inquired why they were frightened at that, since their stories taught them that ghosts were so common, and so ma-

ny had been seen already. They answered that they had never been sure of having seen any one before, but now they were sure, and the evidence was irresistible. I told them that I had always disbelieved their stories on this subject, and did still; that it was weakness and folly for them to be agitated at the sight which they pretended to have seen; and that they would one day be ashamed of it. This produced no effect upon them. Their sufferings were extreme, and I found it difficult to tell them the trick that I had played. As they had never been deceived by me in any thing before, and as I feared that some embarrassment might be brought on me in return, I determined not to disclose the truth till the end of the voyage, and then declare it in such a manner as to remove if possible this error from their minds. It is a hazardous experiment for the master of a vessel to make, and which no cause can justify, as that of playing tricks upon his people even for the best purposes. This affair caused me a great deal of anxiety afterward, and did not accomplish the good that I designed by it.

The Massachusetts was furnished with men and provisions, and every preparation made for the voyage. We set sail from Boston on Sunday the 28th of March, 1790, at 4 o'clock, P. M. The day was clear and pleasant, and the wind was in the north west. We weighed anchor off Hancock's wharf, and got under way with all sail set, topgallant sails and royals. The anchor was hauled to the cat-head, and when the block was brought up suddenly against the under side of it, the hook of the cat-block snapped short, and the anchor ran to the bottom stopping the shlp's way, giving us not a little mortification under the eyes of such an immense crowd of spectators as thronged the wharves, houses, and stores. We soon recovered our anchor, and proceeded down the harbour as far as Congress Road, where we came to in seven fathoms water. We fired a salute after getting under way a second time near the wharf. At the time of the salute, I was standing on what is called the david, a piece of timber used to keep off the anchor from the side of the ship as it is hoisted upon the gun wale. The first gun was fired immediately under the david, and I was at the end of it a few feet further out than the muzzle of the gun. The shock was so great upon my ears, as to give me great pain, and almost to prevent me from hearing any one speak for fifteen or twenty days.

I think that my hearing has been somewhat affected by this ever since.

On Wednesday the 31st, we weighed anchor at 10 o'clock A. M. with a light wind from west-by-north. It failed us however in the narrows, and we let go our stream anchor, waiting for the turn of the tide. At 2 o'clock P. M. we shipped our cable, leaving the pinnace to take it up, and with a fair breeze ran outside of the lighthouse, and hove to for the boat.

Our ship was pierced for thirty six guns, but our armament was 20 six pounders and musketry. We sailed eastward, making some southing, till April 24th, when we were in latitude 32° 45′ north. We thought that we were far enough east to stand to the south. Our course was south-by-west along the coast of Barbary and Guinea, in water that was discolored the greater part of the time. The winds were between north and east. We at length discovered that we were several degrees eastward of our reckoning. In this passage, and in these latitudes, I have always found a ship to overrun her account by log. When we were in the latitude of the Cape de Verd Islands, we bore away west in order to look at them and correct our reckoning. Not seeing them as soon as we expected, we concluded that we were west of them, and hauled our wind to the south and east. This soon brought us into discoloured water again on the coast of Africa. In latitude 28° north, the variation of the compass was found to be 16° west. The wind began to fail us, and we had light airs and calms till we crossed the equator, which I presume was between 16° and 18° of west longitude. This was on the 18th of May. On the 23d, at nine in the evening, one of the people struck a porpoise off the forecastle, and being anxious to save it, he called out "a man overboard," that the ship might be brought to. The helm was instantly put to lee, and all hands were in agitation.

I was in command of the watch that was then below and not on duty. After I heard the call, I jumped out of bed, with nothing on but my shirt, ran up on deck, and made for the gangway ladder, by which to ascend the poop deck. I found that to be crowded with men who were going to clear away the jolly boat that was hanging by a tackle abreast the mizen chains. I happened to meet

the carpenter, my brother, at the foot of the steps, and told him to hand the jolly boat's oars that were then in the long boat on deck. He did so, and by that mean we had four oars. As soon as I was in the jolly boat, four men with me, the lashing cast off, and the boat ready to lower, I gave the order to lower down the boat; she was lowered a little way when we were stopped, and the boat was swinging very much, as the ship rolled with the motion of the sea. I called to the men who were tending the tackle to know what the matter was. I was answered that the fall was foul. I ordered it to be cut, which was immediately done, when the ship was on the roll so as to lift the boat highest from the water. The boat was at least fifteen feet high at the time she was cut away, but luckily she hit on her bottom. The fall however was so great that it knocked every man down as suddenly as if his legs had been cut off. After we recovered so as to get up, we got out the oars and pulled astern, setting up as loud a hallooing as we could, with a view to make the man whom we supposed overboard, hear us. We rowed round in different directions till the ship began to fire signal guns; we then pulled for her, but found ourselves making a poor headway towards the ship, as her progress was not wholly stopped. We pulled for some time, when at length we got so near as to hear the bell ringing, which was of an excellent tone for a ship's bell. After being absent nearly an hour, we arrived along side, and found the pinnace in the yard takles just lowering into the water to come in search of us. The people, who were on the poop at the time the jolly boat was cut away, reported that she was staved in the fall, and they saw her sinking as she went astern. The confusion was then so great that not one word could be understood between the ship and the boat. For such false alarms, that occasion so much anxiety and trouble, people should be punished; otherwise men will soon be in the habit of alarming a ship's company on the slightest pretext.

After this nothing material took place till the 25th of June, when we got soundings on Cape Leguillas Bank, in fifty-five fathoms, and soon after saw the land bearing north east by north, five leagues distant, from which we took a new departure.

The variation of the compass, since passing the Cape de Verd Islands, was as follows;—

Latitude 14° north, and longitude 18° west, variation 11° 35′ west.

do.	10	do.	do.	16	do.	do.	11 30	do.
do.	1° 35′	south,	do.	17	do.	do.	10	do.
do.	3 30	do.	do.	18	do.	do.	9	do.
do.	12 30	do.	do.	21	do.	do.	8 20	do.
do.	18 35	do.	do.	25	do.	do.	5 20	do.
do.	25 26	do.	do.	26	do.	do.	4 30	do.
do.	28 30	do.	do.	24	do.	do.	6 00	do.
do.	31 2	do.	do.	13	do.	do.	8 30	do.
do.	32 24	do.	do.	2	do.	do.	13 00	do.
do.	34 00	do.	do.	2	east	do.	14 00	do.
do.	34 30	do.	do.	6	do.	do.	14 30	do.
do.	34 40	do.	do.	10	do.	do.	16	do.
do.	35 6	do.	do.	71 27	do.	do.	20	do.
do.	36	do.	do.	24	do.	do.	22 30	do.
do.	36	do.	do.	30	do.	do.	24	do.
do.	37	do.	do.	50	do.	do.	26	do.
do.	36	do.	do.	74	do.	do.	17 55	do.
do.	33	do.	do.	84	do.	do.	15 30	do.
do.	10	do.	do.	95	do.	do.	2	do.

The above observations were all that were taken until our arrival at Java Head.

Nothing of any consequence took place on our passage in crossing the Indian Ocean. The winds blew strong nearly all the time from the westward, with a heavy rolling sea from that quarter, till on the 21st of July. The people were then scraping the sides of the ship in order to paint and varnish them to make the ship show to the best advantage when we should enter the port of Batavia. The men so employed were on a stage slung over the ship's side, and some careless person cast off the ropes and let them fall overboard, four in number. One caught hold of something along side of the ship, the other three went astern. The jolly boat was immediately lowered down, and was with them in five minutes, but before she arrived, one of them sunk; the other two were taken up. The man lost was Samuel Tripe. This is a hint to commanders and officers, when doing work of this nature at sea,

to take care and well secure the stage's booms, spars, and all other preparations for such purposes. An extract from the captain's Journal; "Ordered Messrs. Roberts and Delano to appraise the affects of Samuel Tripe, which they did. Entered on the books their appraisement."

On the third of August, we found ourselves in latitude 6° 52′ south, that being nearly the latitude of Java Head; and by reckoning, in 103° 00′ east longitude. We saw no signs of land. This was sufficient to shew that we were to the westward of our reckoning, as that latitude and longitude would have nearly or quite brought us in sight of Prince's Island, or to the westward of Java Head. We tacked ship, head to the southward, and stood as far south as latitude 16° 20′ south, making at least fifteen degrees easting before we got back into the latitude of Java Head again. Had we been no more favoured than ships commonly are at that season of the year, we should not have recovered Java Head short of going into 30° south. When we were in the latitude of Java Head the second time, on the 22d of August, we could not see any land, but the wind was favorable the night following, and allowed us to bring the ship's head up east, which shewed us Prince's Island the next morning at day light.

All this loss of time, happened on account of our not having any chronometer on board, nor any officer who knew any thing about lunar observations. This shews how important it is for officers to know how to observe their longitude, and work the observations. It is simple and plain to every capacity when once understood. Every commander should furnish himself with a good brass sextant, and so should every chief officer of any ship bound round Cape Horn, or the Cape of Good Hope. A wooden sextant is worse than nothing, as it will not keep the ajustment so that it can be depended on. The books necessary are no more than a requisite table, and a nautical almanack, or an ephemeris. An instrument, books, and constant practice during a twelve months voyage, with a little instruction, would enable an officer to ascertain his longitude within ten or fifteen miles, provided he could get an object east and west of the moon. This important point should not be neglected. It makes a sailor very happy, after being at sea for a hundred days or more, to know that he can

take his books and instrument, and ascertain his situation on the globe within ten or a dozen miles. Some perhaps will say that it is not of much consequence to know these things; but do not believe such people, for they do not know enough to be judges.

Chronometers are an excellent guide for mariners. The use of them is simple, but as in lunar observations, great accuracy must be observed, it is necessary to have a pair of them so that one will correct the other in winding up, or shew when it gets out of order.

It is not delay only that is occasioned by not knowing the longitude, but the loss of hundreds of ships and lives. This should be understood, and regarded by all European traders from this country, as well as all ships on foreign voyages.

On making the westerly part of Java, and drawing near to the land, it will be found that the Javans will come off in their canoes to the ship to trade. They will bring fowls, parrots, monkies, and sometimes pigs, plantains, melons, sweet potatoes, cocoa-nuts, oranges, and green turtles. They will likewise bring off great numbers of Malacca joint canes; all of which they sell for old clothes, knives, and any trifles. But as soon as the Dutch boat is seen coming off from Anger point, every one of the canoes of the natives will leave the ship, as they are in fear of the Dutch. Anger Point is in the Straits of Sunda, on the Java side, directly abreast the island Thwart-the-way, a short distance to the south west of the Cap and Button. The Dutch have always kept a small guard of soldiers there, with an officer to take care of two or three field pieces, and tend all ships that pass the straits, send a boat on board, and exhibit a register book with all the ships' names and places, that it may be seen by the commander, when he is requested to put down his own name, ship, nation, where from, and where bound.

On the 30th of August, we anchored off Pigeon Island. Whilst handing the main-sail, Thomas French, midshipman, fell from the main yard and was killed instantaneously. On the following morning we buried him on the above island, with decency and honour, firing minute guns all the time, from the boats leaving the ship with the corpse till it was interred. We anchored in Batavia Roads the same afternoon; where we were received politely on

account of major Shaw's being consul for India and China, who was the first we ever had to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope. Our ship was also a credit to us every where. The governor general seemed surprised to see a consul doing business like a common speculating merchant, saying at the same time, that if the American government was not able to pay consuls, it would do much better not to send them abroad. It was evident to him they only hurt the commercial interest of other commanders and supercargoes, as they naturally had every advantage over the man who had not the confidence of his own government to help him. As to guarding the conduct of the citizens of his own nation, or the conduct of the power where he resided, it was merely a joke, as the consul would not be acknowledged by hardly any nation near his jurisdiction. As for my part I thought this deserved a great deal of notice; and I have further inquired since that time, where the great good arises to commercial men of any nation to have consuls sent out to a country to transact business as merchants. It is seen with half an eye that they can take every advantage of transient traders at the port where they reside. I have made up my mind on the subject, that the persons who made the regulations for consuls, did not know or care much about them.

We found no favor in trade here, and were obliged to leave the port without selling any of our cargo, although it had been expressly laid in for this port. Major Shaw took apartments in the hotel for as many of his officers as could be spared from the ship, and kept four or five of us with him on shore all the time of our stay, allowing us every indulgence.

On the 7th of September, we sailed from Batavia for Canton, crossed over the Java sea, and fell in with an island between Billiton and the Isle of Sal. We attempted to pass between this island and Billiton, found the passage filled up with shoals, tacked ship, head to the southward, tacked again to the northward, and ran through, a little to the eastward of the first mentioned island, keeping the best look out from the mast head. This passage and island bear nearest south-by-east from Gaspar Island; we steered north-north-east and north east two or three degrees distance, passing several small islands, but saw no dangers in this run. Afterward we took a more northerly course till in latitude 3° 30′ north;

then we ran a north east course till in latitude 7° 25′ north, when we made a most dangerous shoal bearing east. When we were in the above latitude, it bore east one mile distant. Its longest way was from west-south-west to east-north-east, three or four miles in length, all dry white sand, ten or twelve feet above water.

We continued our course till in latitude 11° 00′ north, between north and east, to avoid shoals and sand keys, and never were there more narrow escapes of losing a ship in so short a time. After passing the latitude of 11° 00′, we steered nearly a north course till in latitude 16° 15′ north; we then made a north-north-west course till in latitude 21° 00′ north, and in longitude by reckoning 115° 00′ east. On the 27th of September, we experienced a severe tuffoon, or typhon, split the main sail, foretop sail, and foretopmast staysail; but owing to our ship's being an excellent sea boat, we weathered the gale, and suffered only trifling damage compared with what some other ships did. One Dutch ship was totally lost amongst the islands in Canton Bay, together with all the crew. She had three or four hundred thousand dollars in specie on board. The Danish ship, which I was afterwards employed to repair, was totally dismasted in this gale, as were several other European and country ships. Some of them could not be many miles from us. The gale did great damage to the Chinese craft. Many of their junks were lost, many torn to pieces in their sails and rigging, and many of them driven on shore.

This typhon took place at the change of the monsoon; it commenced from the south west, hauled round to the west and north, and took its place at north east. We arrived at Macao the 30th, and found the Washington of Providence in the roads, commanded by captain Jonathan Donnison. She had been riding at anchor under one of the islands near Macao during the gale. He informed us that it had been excessively hard with them. We took a pilot and proceeded up the river for Canton, without any remarkable circumstance taking place.

On our arrival, it was found by the owner, that his partner, captain Randall, had been at Canton the previous season, and had contracted more debt than was owing before, and that was considerably large. The cargo we had would not sell for any thing, and our specie amounted only to about $15,000. All things con-

sidered, he thought best to sell the ship, as the Danish Company wanted to sell the one they had dismasted in the tuffoon, and buy the Massachusetts. The bargain was accordingly settled, and the ship was sold for $65,000, Major Shaw paying the port charges, which were calculated to be $5,000. We were then settled with, and all set adrift, some going one way and some another. I was the highest officer that remained in the country, the captain and chief officer returned to America in the Washington, captain Donnison.

A short extract from the boatswain's journal now before me. He is a man of fortune in the state of Vermont. "December 4th, 1790. The ship Massachusetts was sold to the Danes, and delivered up to them on the 10th. All hands went on shore to the bank's hall to live, where they were daily decreasing; some going on board English ships, some on board Dutch, and otherwise dispersing. So parted we with as noble a ship as ever swam the seas, and a set of as brave men as ever need be on board of any vessel."

CHAPTER II.

The sale of the Massachusetts—Repairs of Ships in China—Parting with the crew of the Massachusetts—The characters of some of the crew—Entering the English service at Macao, under Commodore McClure—Remarks upon the Typa—Macao Roads and Canton Bay—The change of the monsoons—The Babuyane Islands—Events on the passage.

AFTER the Massachusetts was sold, and I had obtained an honourable settlement with the owner for myself and my brother, I undertook the superintendency of the repairs of a large ship, belonging to the Danish East India Company, which had been dismasted by the board, and in other respects materially injured in the Typhon, in the China Sea. For the benefit of those, who may be necessitated to make similar repairs on ships in China, the following suggestions may be here inserted. Reliance must be chiefly placed upon European or American vessels, for a supply of such materials and mechanics as are wanted to heave a ship down, and furnish her with masts and spars; for the Chinese have no hard timber, iron, or copper, of the proper kind, and no mechanics qualified to do the work in a suitable manner. If ship-masters, when bound to China, would provide a surplus of all the materials requisite for such repairs, they would not only be enabled to assist each other in this respect, but would always find a profitable market for whatever might remain. Had it not been for the aid, which I obtained from other vessels at Wampoa, it would not have been in my power to accomplish the important work upon the Danish ship. The surplus materials should consist of hard timber, from twenty to fifty feet long, fifteen inches wide, and seven or eight thick, large and small long spars, oak and pine plank, pine boards, sheet copper, nails, bolt rods, large bar iron, spikes of all sizes, hemp-rope, canvass, blocks, anchors, cables, and any thing else at the discretion of experienced and practical men.

My brother Samuel, who had been with me constantly, with whom I shared in all things, and kept one purse, was my principal support in the arduous task of repairing the ship. After the completion of this, and a settlement with the owner, we all separated. My brother went to the North West Coast with a Capt. Douglas. Jeremiah Parker, third officer in the Massachusetts; William Trotter, boatswain; Samuel Proctor, midshipman, son of Colonel Proctor of Boston; Robert Lovis and J. Nicholson, foremast hands; all continued on board the Danish ship. Parker, a man of good natural and acquired abilities, was first officer. He died the next season on his passage to America. Trotter was second officer. Although very young, he was even then a man capable of filling any station on board such a ship. Endowed with extraordinary talents, he possessed a robust constitution, was temperate for a sailor in all his habits, and was highly useful. As far as I know, he is the only one living except my brother. Proctor, who had also a good mind, was third mate. He died at Macao, January 7th, 1792, and was buried outside of the walls in a respectable manner, by Thomas Freeman Esq. an English supercargo, who procured a handsome stone, with an appropriate inscription, to cover his grave, which was raised two or three feet above the surface of the ground. The others of the crew of the Massachusetts were already separated by death, or otherwise.

Wampoa, where the Danish ship was repaired, is the port, or anchoring place, for all vessels in the China trade, and is nine miles below Canton, on the same river, which is called the Tigris.

Taking leave of all on board the Danish ship, I proceeded to Macao, in the brig Grace, with Captain William Douglas, the same with whom my brother had shipped to go to the North West Coast. On our arrival in Macao Roads, we found a large fleet of homeward bound English East Indiamen. They had left Wampoa several days before the Grace, in order to join convoy under the protection of the Leopard, a fifty gun ship, commanded by Commodore Blanket, and the Thames, a frigate, commanded by Captain Trowbridge, both of whom were afterwards admirals. The two men of war were at China this season to protect the fleet, in case a contest should ensue from the disturbance among the Spaniards, occasioned by a difference between them and the English at Nootka Sound. Under this convoy, the fleet sailed for England March 20th, 1791.

The Grace proceeded to Lark's Bay, a small harbour formed in one of the islands lying three or four leagues southwest of Macao. The object was to assist Captain Kendrick, an old friend of Captain Douglas, and commander of the brig Washington, that he might be able to sail to the North West Coast with him, an object which he effectually accomplished. The last of March 1791, when they were ready for sea, I took leave of the two captains, and again of my brother. In two or three days, they sailed.

Lark's Bay is a place where small vessels used to anchor, on their arrival from the North West Coast, from Bengal, and from several other ports of India. The object of this was to save the payment of duties on their cargoes, as the bay was out of the reach of Chinese authority at that time. . The Chinese government, however, have become so vigilant since, that it is impossible to avoid paying the duties, if the cargo be sold any where in that vicinity.

Going on shore at Macao, I found many friends, whom Maj. Samuel Shaw had procured for me, before he left Canton. They were the English, Dutch, Danish and Swedish supercargoes, besides others. They remove from Canton to Macao every spring for the benefit of the wholesome sea air during the summer months. They were there at my landing; and one of them, Thomas Freeman Esq. who afterwards paid such respect to Proctor in the funeral, offered me a room with himself in his factory, in a most friendly manner. I accepted of his polite invitation; took a room with him, and resided in his house about two weeks. Commodore John McClure, who commanded an expedition to the eastward, to the Pelew Islands, New Guinea, New Holland, the Spice Islands, and others, was also at that time lodging with him. The expedition was fitted out from Bombay, by the English East India Company, and consisted of two Bombay marine vessels, the Panther, a snow of about two hundred tons, and the Endeavour, a small snow, which spoke the Lion man of War in the Yellow Sea, as is mentioned by Sir George Staunton, in Lord McCartney's Embassy. Commodore McClure and myself soon became intimately acquainted with each other, and were friends. He wanted both officers and men, having lost several of the former by sickness, and of the latter by desertion. It was a further consideration with him, that I was capable of building and repairing vessels of all kinds, as my labours upon the Danish ship testified, from which I had gained great credit. To make use of his expression, "He

considered that I should be a very useful man to him as a seaman, an officer, or a ship builder; and if it was agreeable to me to go on board the Panther with him, I should receive the same pay and emoluments with his lieutenants and astronomers; I should not be subject to any command but his; and as he was out on survey and discovery, if I liked such a trip, he would make the circumstances pleasant to me." The service was just that for which I had always entertained a strong desire, and I did not hesitate a moment. The 14th of April 1791, I went on board the Panther as a volunteer officer, doing duty as lieutenant, and subject to none but the Commodore's command. This last article made it very unpleasant to me for a short time, for the Bombay Marine was as regular as any public service whatever. The officers, who were to obey me, did not all think the regulation proper, and were not satisfied. This however was but for a short period. We all soon became friends. They found in me a man able and willing to do his duty at all times in any capacity, for which I professed to be qualified; and one who was evidently desirous of being their friend and companion. I found in them gentlemen, who were just and generous; and after the prejudice was removed, which had arisen from my admission to office out of order, and from my character as an American, with all the associations of the late war, they were kind and cordial to me, and I was more happy than I had ever been in any service, or with any set of officers before. As my purpose, in writing this narrative, is not only to give useful information in regard to trade, navigation, countries and their laws, but to encourage good moral sentiments, and impress the value of good examples, my readers may be pleased with a brief notice of the general character of my companions in this expedition.

They were all North and South Britons by birth, had been educated in good schools in England and Scotland, and entered young into the Navy, or into the Bombay Marine. They had never known any but public service. From the youngest midshipman to the commodore, not one had arrived at the age of thirty. They had not been exposed to any degradation of sentiment or moral feeling, by that miscellaneous intercourse with nations, in the pursuits of trade, which has too often corrupted the mind and character through the temptations of avarice and commercial policy, especially when at a distance from home, and free from the responsibility to superi-

or officers, as a substitute for the influence of the social relations upon conduct in the midst of friends, whose good opinion and offices of kindness and confidence are necessary to happiness. They were in principle and practice honest, ingenuous and honourable; despisers of meanness and duplicity in every form; just and generous in the common duties of life; respectful to each other in their familiarity and playfulness, and faithful in their friendships. It deserves to be particularly mentioned, that they encouraged in their conversation, and regarded in their conduct, high and honourable sentiments toward women. Their ideas of the importance and sacredness of the marriage relation, and of the character of a wife, were such as wise and good men, in a pure state of society, would rejoice to approve and disseminate. In the variety of countries and people where they visited, and the effects of different manners and institutions upon the communities, they had an opportunity to acquire a practical liberality of mind, while their estimate of the pre-eminent value of the domestic virtues was continually exalted. Let it not be supposed, under the dominion of prejudices, which are too common on shore, that this is a kind of praise but ill adapted to a sailor's life and habits. From my own observation, and the virtues of more fellow seamen than I have room to name, I am able to meet this misrepresentation, and to affirm the extensive influence which moral, domestic and religious feelings have over their hearts, their conversation, their actions and their hopes.

There is also another article in the conduct of this expedition, which ought to be mentioned as equally honourable to my companions and worthy of imitation from others. Their treatment of the natives was uniformly just, honest, generous and friendly; no impositions were practised upon their credulity; no mercenary advantages were taken of their ignorance; and no treachery was used toward their interests after making professions of higher principles and better forms of society among christian people. The impression left upon the minds of the natives in every place, which our expedition visited, must have been favorable to us, and useful to them. It could not but have excited in their minds many reflections, and probably some resolutions, upon the subject of using the means of civilization, and seeking the blessings of such a religion as ours. It is my deliberate opinion, that most of that, of which we complain in the character and conduct of the natives of different

countries toward us, is owing to ourselves, to our avarice and cupidity, to our selfishness, and the disregard of our own principles as we have at first announced them. If all voyagers, travellers, and missionaries had treated the natives as honourably and wisely as they were treated by Commodore McClure and his companions in the expedition, we should not only have enjoyed uninterrupted friendship with them, but should have gone very far toward the accomplishment of their civilization, and the introduction among them of our own forms of society and religion.

But it is time that I return to my narrative. We continued the preparation of our vessel for sea, and were also employed in taking on board provisions and stock till April 27th, 1791, when we weighed anchor, and sailed out of the Typa. This is the name given to what Sir George Staunton calls the outer harbour, or bay at Macao. It may be useful to mariners for me to make the remark here, that Sir George is right in the description of the Typa as formed by four small Islands, but not in the depth of the water. When he says, that from the observation of seamen the water has gradually grown more shallow for several years, he must have misunderstood them. This observation refers, not to the Typa, but to Macao Roads. With regard to these, the report has indeed been prevalent a good while, that the water is becoming more shallow. Notwithstanding this error however in the History of the Embassy to China, I have generally found that work correct, where my personal knowledge has enabled me to judge.

When the Typa is said to be formed by four small Islands, it should be added for practical use, that one Island lies to the south, one to the southwest, one to the west, and one to the north of the harbour. A ship, coming from the eastward, and entering the Typa, must not approach very near to the east point of the south Island. She will then carry five fathoms of water, until she is far enough westward, within the eastern ends of the Islands, to be sheltered from all winds, except two or three points from the east. When anchored completely within the Typa, ships are safe from all winds, since the eastern opening is so very small, and the land in that direction lies at so short a distance, that the sea has never sufficient force to produce any harm. The harbour is four or five miles south of Macao, and the Islands, which form it, are the first on the south. Ships, entering the inner harbour, must pass through the

outer; for it is understood, that a belt, or shoal, lies to the south, running from the west of the Typa Islands to the south point of Macao, not having water enough for a vessel of fifty tons burthen to cross it. The harbour makes in west of the south point of Macao. Hence it is necessary to sail west of the shoal. The courses through the Typa will thus be found to consist of an entrance west between the north and south island, then a passage northwest, and afterwards nearly north into the inner harbour. This is the only way to go in or out, which I have ever seen. There are indeed other passages between the islands south and west of Macao, and it is possible that vessels might find them safe and easy; but I have never known the experiment made, nor have I heard that any one ever thought it of sufficient importance to recommend the attempt.

Macao Roads are generally well understood by those who have visited Canton; but to those who have not, it may be of advantage to know, that they lie from four to nine miles eastward of the island of the same name, stretching several miles from north to south, having four fathoms water at the distance of four miles from the island, and six or seven fathoms at the distance of nine miles. North of the Roads, are the nine islands, making some shelter from the north and northwest winds. All the anchoring ground about Macao, in the bay of Canton, is muddy and soft. The navigation for a stranger between the islands, according to the directions given, is every where safe; but there is some difficulty in knowing the different islands from each other, as so many of them are found in the spacious bay of Canton. A pilot may always be obtained for Macao Roads; and when a stranger finds himself so much at a loss as to employ one, and wishes to anchor for this purpose, he will of course ascertain the proper distance by the depth of water, which is required, and must bring Macao castle any where within one or two points on either side of west.

During my stay at Macao, the weather was generally fine, a gentle breeze from the north and east, Fahrenheit's thermometer from 62° to 79°, and the marine barometer from 30° to 30° 55′. As a general rule, the weather is good at Macao from March to the last of October. An exception is sometimes made by the Typhon, which always happens at the shifting of the monsoon, an event commonly falling in April or May, and in September or October. In the northeast monsoon, the winds are violent in the north part

of the China sea, and about the streights of Formosa, blowing from October to April. At this time, the navigation is not only boisterous, but is accompanied by a short and irregular sea, and is subject to strong currents. During the southwest monsoon, the weather is uniformly fine, and the navigation pleasant. The only danger arises from shoals.

After weighing anchor on the 27th, we sailed eastward out of Canton bay, taking the most common passage, which is between the Grand Lama island and the main land north of it. From this island, lying in north latitude 22° 5′, and in east longitude 114° 34′, we continued working eastward, with light variable winds from the southern quarter, in from nine to fifteen fathoms water, and over a soft muddy bottom. In forty or fifty miles, we lost soundings with a line of forty-five fathoms. We held this course till the 14th of May, and then anchored in port San Pio Quinto, one of the Babuyane islands, in latitude 18° 54′ north, and in longitude 122° 23′ east. No harbour is more convenient than this for taking in wood and water. It is formed on the west side of the island, which is six or eight miles in diameter, and is rather longest in the direction north and south. It is protected on the west side by two or three smaller islands, and is sufficiently sheltered from all winds. Ships may anchor in fifteen fathoms water, half a mile distant southwest from the watering place, which is at a river running several miles into the island, and large enough to sail a loaded boat. This river is associated in my narrative with a hoax played off upon me by my companions. A moment may be spared to give an account of it, and to allow the reader to partake in the amusement, of which I was the occasion.

When I joined this expedition for survey and discovery, my imagination was not a little fired with the strange things, I was to see, and be able to relate. My fellow officers jocularly called me *Jonathan*, and soon learned that I had the curiosity which is considered as characteristic of my countrymen. On the 15th, while we were taking in wood and water, Lieut. Drummond, and Dr. Nicholson, the surgeon, having been on shore all day, and knowing that it would be my turn to head a party the next day, came on board at night and reported, that they had been up the river a long way, as its windings carried them, and had discovered what they believed to be *gold ore*. When they had fixed my attention by the story, and warmed my mind to credulity, they produced a shining yellow

stone, which they had obtained before we came to the island, and a piece of antimony out of the medicine chest, with some other substances, of which I had no knowledge, and said that they had found all of them up the river. As however they knew so little of minerals, and did not much like to labour for nothing in collecting what might subject them to ridicule when they should return home, they doubted whether they should go out again to increase their specimens. They appeared to me not confident enough in the evidence before them, and to have too great a dread of ridicule. I determined to pursue the subject next day, and to make a more liberal collection of the ore. When Drummond, who was a Scotchman and my friend, but still willing to enjoy a frolic, with the characteristic shrewdness of his nation, perceived that my ardour was sufficient, he slapped me on the shoulder, and said, "*Odds mon*, if you are set upon this, there is my large canvas bag, which will hold two or three bushels. Take that, and my Malabar boy with you for a guide. He knows the place where we found these curious ores, and you can return with a back load of gold." Every time this word, *gold*, was pronounced, my imagination became more heated, and I was soon ripe for the enterprise. After a night of South Sea dreams, our party was ready for the shore. The Malabar boy could not speak English, and I could not speak any thing else. He therefore received his instructions from his master without suspicion on my part. The Commodore also gave very liberal instructions to me, as the head of the party, allowing me liberty to go all over the island if I chose, only leaving a midshipman to take charge of the companies for procuring wood and water. He observed at the same time that he always wished his officers to make every discovery in their power while on land duty. At the firing of the gun, we mustered, and on landing at the watering place, I gave the midshipman his orders, took my fusee and the boy with his bag, and proceeded up the river with great exhilaration. The first mile was tolerably level and easy, and I was able to pass comfortably along the side of the river, which was about ten yards wide, and knee deep, winding its course through a most delightful landscape. After this, the land rose abruptly, the river was filled with falls, its banks were broken with rocks, and a passage in any way became exceedingly difficult. But the *gold* inspired me, and banished all sense of hardship. At last the Malabar boy cried out, and sunk down with fatigue.

When I tried to make inquiries of him, he shook his head, and I supposed his meaning was, that he did not understand me. As we were sitting on the rocks to rest ourselves, I saw a number of wild cocks and hens coming from the wood and lighting on the trees over our heads. I shot five or six, and found them so like our barn door fowls that I did not know but the place might be inhabited by beings like ourselves. The boy had been instructed to point up the river, whenever I asked for the place of the gold ore, and he was to go with me as far as we found water. With much difficulty, however, and after repeated stops and rests, we made our way more than six miles according to the channel of the river, and found it then divided into two or three branches near its sources. Here, after a very solicitous examination of the boy, I discovered that neither he nor his master had been up the river before. The boy appeared not to have been let into the plot, but began to be alarmed and anxious. And from the very moment that the idea of a hoax entered my mind, all the evidence on this subject struck me in a new light. I saw how to put the circumstances together, and how to account for every thing. The intrigue unfolded itself with perfect clearness, and I saw myself in a wilderness, a fatigued, disappointed, and ridiculous dupe. In the midst of my vexation, I could not help laughing, and almost crying at the same moment. The trick was a severe one for me, but it had been well managed, and my ardor and credulity were fairly chargeable to myself. After a hard struggle with my mortification, I determined to take it in good part, and laugh with the rest, drawing from the adventure those lessons of wisdom and prudence, which it was calculated to afford, for future application. To relieve my mind, and to carry back something to check the force of the laugh against me, I employed myself in making observations upon the scenery, the soil, the products, the insects, and the reptiles about me. From the rock in the middle of the stream, where I had been sitting to think over my disappointment, and which I had chosen in order to avoid being bitten or stung by the numerous enemies of a discoverer's peace, I rose and penetrated into the wood ten or twelve rods; but the underbrush was too thick and thorny to allow a further passage through it. The river was the only way to return, which now renewed at every step the consciousness of my foolish credulity. The banks of the stream however were rich and variegated with all the

flowers and colours of spring. These formed a striking contrast with the reptiles concealed beneath them, among which the traveller was endangered every moment from scorpions, centipedes, guanas and tarantulas. The soil was excellent, and produced in great abundance the beetle nut, the cocoa nut, various other tropical fruits, and fine timber for ships. As we proceeded down the river we were able to make little excursions further from its sides, and occasionally discovered pleasant lawns, some of which had been burnt over, and were now covered with high coarse grass. It was fine amusement traversing these lawns, and shooting the variety of birds which we found in them. We soon filled Drummond's large bag, not indeed with golden ore, which I might not have been able to carry, and which might have galled my back more than the disappointment did my mind, but with fowls of different kinds, and of a plumage surpassing in beauty and richness, the finest colours of the mineral kingdom. The large blue pigeon, which Captain Wilson saw at the Pelew Islands, we saw here, and carried one to the ship as a specimen. It is three times as large as the pigeon of this country; and its blue is deep and rich except that upon the breast, which is changeable with red, producing with its graceful motions the most agreeable effect upon the eye. Among the handsomest birds I ever saw, was one which I shot at this time, as large as an American pigeon, having a bright yellow about the neck, breast, and part of the back, while the upper side of the head and wings was a deep crimson. The hens had chosen the high grass for nests, which were filled with eggs, and we often started them in flocks, sometimes accompanied by numerous broods of half-grown chickens.

About four o'clock in the afternoon, I reached the shore again, completely worn down with fatigue; but in much better spirits than I was, when at the sources of the river, in a trackless wood, revolving the rise, progress, development, and possible consequences of the plot which had been laid and executed at my expense.

I would now pause for a moment to make a few remarks, showing the state of my feelings then, and my reflections afterwards.

When I was seated in perfect silence, on a rock in the river near to its sources, and could hear the echo of the waters through the awful stillness of the desert, mingled with the occasional but unintelligible expressions of anxiety by the poor Malabar boy; and

when I remembered that I was at an almost immeasurable distance from my native country, in the service of a foreign power, the victim of an imposition which appeared to me under various aspects, and now in a savage spot where the natives might be every moment upon me, I confess I was not very far from that mixed mood of melancholy, mortification, and terror, which required but little more to overcome me for the hour. Had I been attacked, desperation might have roused me, and made me brave. Vexation and pride, however, were my friends and supporters, till better feelings regained their elasticity and force. And after leaving the rock for the shore and the ship, every step, and every new object, assisted to restore my self-control and the consolations of hope. The feelings, which I then experienced, have taught me how to judge of the sufferings and wants of men, whose spirits fail, when they are at a distance from home, and appear to themselves to be cast out from the sympathies of the human family. It is an evidence of as much folly as it is of inhumanity, to say that none but weak and dastardly minds are subject to these impressions. Good talents, a lively imagination, a temperament of ingenuousness and honesty, and those qualities of the soul which give the charm to decisive and efficient characters, serve only to add bitterness, under such circumstances, to the feeling of desolation. Whoever may have the command of men abroad, let him not, when he finds any of them oppressed with these feelings, begin to despise and reproach them as mean and pusillanimous. Let him learn human nature better; and by kindness, by increased manifestations of sympathy, by diversifying their employments, and appointing such as are adapted to their condition, let him gradually raise their hearts, invigorate their resolution, and bind them to duty, virtue, and friendship, for ever. Many are the instances, in which generous and feeling minds have been ruined, and only relieved by death, when they were subject to the command of others, and during a period of depression were inhumanly treated without the means of redress. Sailors, and all men, even of the meanest education, have the essential qualities of high minds, and are exalted and improved, at the same time that they are won by generosity and kindness.

These remarks lose none of their force by the manner in which I was received at the shore, after my return from my *golden* enterprise. Drummond and Nicholson, who had heard by the boats

from the watering place, that I had been gone nearly the whole day up the river, and knowing that their scheme must have had its full effect, were willing to relieve my fatigue, and soothe my temper, by every act of friendship. They wished to mingle so much kindness with the trick they had played, that while it should afford the crew the full measure of amusement, it should not do me a real and permanent injury. They came on shore at the hour when they thought they should meet me, and had liberally furnished themselves with every article of food and liquor, which could tempt the appetite, and exhilarate the spirits. Their countenances and their conversation were irresistibly pleasant and conciliating; and while I saw all the humour, which they had in store to use against me at a future time, they still succeeded in allaying my irritation and pressing me to join in the common laugh. Whatever suspicions of malice might have lurked in my thoughts about the design, were dismissed, and I never jumped into the boat for the ship with a lighter heart. With the wood, which we carried on board at dusk, a large centipede eight or nine inches long had been taken, and unfortunately gave me a most venomous bite upon my throat. It swelled very much, and caused an extremely painful night. Bathing it with hot vinegar and salt afforded me some relief, but the swelling continued for two or three days, with pain. The bite of this odious reptile is said to be sometimes mortal, and always as dangerous as that of a scorpion. Thus ended my dreams and my excursion in search of the golden ore.

The tide, at Port San Pio Quinto, did not appear to be regular, but I should think the rise and fall as much as five or six feet. The bay seemed to be clear of danger. The shores round the island were indented with small bays, some of which we visited for turtle, whose tracks we saw, and for which as well as for fishing, the people of Luconia, at a distance of eight or ten leagues to the south, come to this place. One night we observed a fire on the island, and sent a party to learn what might be discovered from it. The party landed in a boat, with a native of the Pelew Islands, whom we had with us, and whose name was Cockawocky. They saw Indians engaged in cooking round the fire, and our Pelew Island-man crept close to them before they discovered him. The moment they did, however, they ran with the greatest consternation, leaving every thing they had behind them. Cock-

awocky followed to assure them, that we would do them no harm, and that we had been thus cautious in making our approach to them, that we might ascertain their numbers and be sure of safety for ourselves. But they fled the faster for his pursuit, and we then lost the opportunity to have an interview with them, a loss which we particularly regretted, as our Commodore always made it a point to establish a friendly intercourse with the natives wherever he could, and to leave benevolent impressions upon their minds in regard to white people, and especially the English. We afterwards found, that they were from Luconia. Cockawocky, by whom they had been so much alarmed, was brought from the Pelew Islands in the Panther when she came last to Macao. His name, as it sounds to our ears, might be thought indicative of his character; for he was a forward, officious, and blustering fellow, quite unlike to his countrymen generally, who are mild and modest.

In sounding the bay, where we were lying, we found good anchorage in any depth, from ten to twenty five fathoms. We made such observations as we could, respecting the navigation among the islands in this vicinity. The passage is spacious and safe, between the Bashee and Babuyane islands; also amidst the latter; and between them and Luconia. It is however subject to very strong currents, which must make it difficult in thick weather, and in the night. One of the Babuyane islands, near to which we passed, appeared to be a volcano on fire in every part. Making the usual observations to ascertain the variation of the compass, we discovered none worth a record. The winds were chiefly from the south eastern quarter, light and variable, as they had been ever since we left Macao. The thermometer was from 80° to 85°.

On the 17th of May, the evening previous to our weighing anchor to leave San Pio Quinto, my friend Drummond proposed to me to visit some of the bays about the island in search of turtle, if we could get the consent of the Commodore. This was granted, and as the proposal was suited to my inclination, I did not hesitate to comply with it.

We took two boats in order to increase our chance of success. I called the boatswain, and told him that I wanted a party of volunteers to go with me, who should find good stores provided, and plenty of grog. The party was soon made up. Drummond collected his crew in his own way. We put two muskets and ammu-

nition into our boat. He went to a small island westward, and I to a small bay south of our anchoring place. As on the following night my life was in jeopardy from the boatswain, it ought here to be mentioned, that he was the only American besides myself in the expedition, and yet had a malicious spirit towards me. He was skilful in his office, was vain of his ability and consequence, and had been much indulged by the Commodore. He was inclined to take great liberties in doing his duty, and had exceeded, or fallen short of my orders several times in following his own judgment. He seemed to be determined on obeying me no further than his humour led him. This evil I felt myself bound to check, and made him do his work over again according to my orders. He said, that he had never been compelled to do his work twice over before, and murmured against my directions. I replied, that while I was in command, I was responsible for the execution of my duty within my province, and that my orders must be strictly obeyed in all instances, or I could not know on what to rely for the neccessary results. Notwithstanding my reasonableness, and my desire to conciliate him, he was my enemy. This boatswain, with some of the most desperate fellows we had, was of my boat's crew. As it was not common for him to go in a boat on duty, I asked him how he came to be of the party. He said he had nothing to do till morning, and wished to enjoy the sport with the rest of us. As it might be the means of reconciling him to me, the arrangement was not without its recommendations to my judgment. Fear was not apt to sway my mind, nor in those days to enter into it. The bay, which we sought, was narrow at the entrance, not more than half gun shot over, but spread out much wider within, and extended about a third of a mile in depth. We all landed at the head of it, except a boy who had come for a boat keeper. He was ordered to take the boat off a short distance, and to let go the grapnel, waiting there till I should call him. Thinking that possibly we might shoot a wild hog, I gave to the boatswain one of the muskets and spread the men round the bay. To the mouth of it I went myself, supposing that to be the best place for turtle. I watched there two or three hours, and then walked round the beach to see what the people had done. I could find none of them; and when I called to the boy in the boat, he said he had not seen any of the party. I waited two or three hours longer, took another walk in search, but saw no body. In as many hours, I searched

a third time, and found no one. I made myself as easy as possible till day light in the morning, but none of the crew appeared. I walked the beach again, and discovered a path leading into the bushes, which I followed. In one of those grass plats, made by burning the trees and shrubs, I found them all seated, apparently in consultation. They were surprised at my approach, and the actions of the boatswain, as well as his remarks, were particularly suspicious. When I interrogated them about their absence, they made out a story altogether unsatisfactory. I told them to go to the boat, and that we must be immediately on board. I stood with my gun across my arm, and my thumb on the cock, till they all passed me, keeping my eye on the boatswain, who had his gun in the same position with mine. I made them go before, and we arrived at the beach. The boatswain ran a little distance as though he saw something to shoot at, and then laid down apparently to take aim. I watched him, keeping myself ready to fire at the first symptom of danger. I asked him sternly, if he was turning fool, and manifested such a decision, that at length he arose, and I got them all into the boat, with the two muskets behind in my own power. We were soon safe on board, and it was a long time afterwards, when I learned the true account of this conspiracy against me. The boatswain and gunner quarrelled, and this brought out the proof, that the boatswain had picked the crew for the purpose of going off to Luconia with the boat after they had landed me. But when I stationed myself at the entrance of the bay, this plan was frustrated. He then collected the men, while I was watching for turtle, and held a council on the grass plat, debating all night what they should do with me. They wished me out of the way, but believing me to be a good shot and a determined man, they did not expect easily to frighten me, or to escape from the contents of my musket. The boatswain said he had a musket as well as I, and could use it before I knew their designs. To this diabolical suggestion, all agreed, except one man, named Gibbs. Although he was a quarrelsome and disperate fellow, and had been broken as a sail maker, yet he refused to take my life in cold blood, and succeeded in dividing their counsels, till I burst upon them by surprise, and got them on board before their conspiracy was harmonised and ripe. After all this was proved before a council of all the officers of both vessels, it was proposed to me to confine the

boatswain, and carry him, as soon as convenient, to some English port to be dealt with according to law. But I knew his importance to the expedition, and that he did not intend to take my life if he could have got away without it, and I interceded for him to be continued on duty in the ship, under strict government, and never trusted with any opportunities which he could abuse to endanger the peace of any individual. The pride of magnanimity, the calculation of interest for the expedition, and other motives of convenience, may have mingled with my hope of his reformation and conciliation, to induce me to take the part I did. The council complied with my request, and after two or three of the forty were flogged, the matter was dropped.

We sailed for the Pelew Islands, May 18th, working round the north east side of Luconia till the 1st of June. The winds were light from the points between east and south. On the 2d, in latitude 15° 10′ north, the wind hauled to the north east, and on the 5th, to the north and west, when we were in latitude 10° north. The winds continued from north west to south west till June 9th, when we made the Pelew Islands. On the 10th, we anchored under one of them.

CHAPTER III.

The Pelew Islands—Abba Thulle—Expedition to Artingall.

OF the Pelew Islands, the most south west is Onour, whose western extremity lies in latitude 6° 54′ north, and longitude 134° 30′ east. This island, when a ship is seeking a harbour among the group, must be made in the south-west monsoon. A seaman may take his choice to sail north or south of it; but if to the north, daylight is necessary, as some reefs are to be passed in running east and northward for the other islands. A ship ought to go well to the south of them all, especially when coming from the westward; for if she should keep in the latitude of the mass of the islands, she would fall directly upon the reef where Captain Henry Wilson was recked in 1783, in the Antelope packet. This reef lies in the form of a crescent, encompassing nearly all the north and west parts of the cluster, so that in attempting to make a harbour, it is necessary to sail on the south and east side. It should be remembered however, that the east side is considerably lined with reefs, although it is possible, notwithstanding them, to find a harbour. The south part is most easy of access, and yet it is very difficult, in consequence of such innumerable shoals of coral rocks. The whole should be sounded with a boat, before any attempt is made with a ship. Although I have been in five or six safe anchoring places, formed by the islands and the reefs, I must yet urge great caution upon every stranger how he enters among them; and after all, the most minute description would be insufficient for his safety.

We got into a good anchoring place the 11th of June, when our vessel was crowded with natives of both sexes, and the water was covered for forty or fifty yards round with canoes, which they perfectly filled. They came on board with great eagerness, and with as little fear or suspicion as a child would enter a parent's house. Inter-

Wightman Sc.

ABBA THULLE.

King of the Pelew Islands

taken 1791.

est, cordiality and happiness seemed to reign among all parties. It was delightful to witness such an exhibition of benevolent emotions, and still more to partake in them with an active curiosity and a lively sympathy.

These islands are tolerably well described by Captain Wilson, who was assisted in his work by George Keate Esq. I will add however a few remarks upon this truly amiable people.

In regard to Abba Thulle, their king, it may be observed, that his likeness is pretty well drawn, and his character better delineated, by Captain Wilson; but the one should be softened, and the other should be heightened. The likeness is too savage and ferocious, and has not the expression of wisdom and benevolence found in the original, even when I have been conversing with him through a linguist, where the full effect can never be given to intercourse, I often thought that I could see more in his countenance than in that of any other man I ever knew. All, who were acquainted with him, were fully satisfied, that he was possessed of the very first natural abilities. I had some reason to be flattered with the idea that I was a favourite with him; for he used to tell me that I understood ships, guns, muskets and pistols, and had the art of swimming, diving and fishing better than any body who had visited his people. Having been on board the Antelope, then called the Franklin, in Boston, with a view to go a cruise in her, and having paid particular attention to her on this account, I was well acquainted with her general character and appearance. I built her in miniature, furnished her with full rigging, and made a present of her to the king. Messieurs Wedgeborough and White, who were in the Antelope when she was lost, and who were at this time astronomers with us, said that my miniature was a good likeness of the original. The king was much pleased with it, not only because it was a handsome piece of work in itself, but because the wreck of the Antelope had been in his possession.

As a proof of his magnanimity, it ought to be stated, that he always gave notice to an enemy at least three days before going to war with him. This was told to me by some of the chiefs among his enemies, when I went out with a part of our own men to aid the king against them. They spoke well of him, and said that Abba Thulle never lied. He was considered when he was young as the greatest warrior ever bred in the Pelew Islands; and yet

as eminent for his justice and humanity. His subjects were in general strongly attached to him; but some of them, who lived in the distant islands, notwithstanding his great and good qualities, were ungrateful and unwise enough to revolt from him. While we were there, some of the people were in a state of rebellion. As Captain Wilson had done before us, we joined the king, and went against the inhabitants of Artingall, one of the islands under his dominion. The expedition for this purpose was fitted out the 21st of June, and was quite powerful. Some thousands of men were embarked. Two of our officers, the surgeon, a number of sailors, and a detachment of sepoys, were among them. I was assigned to the command of the launch, a large boat, with a crew of Europeans. We had a six pound brass cannon, several swivels, a chest of ammunition, and each man a musket. The king, according to his usual generosity, had sent word to the people of Artingall, that we should be there in three days for war. Although I was a Christian, and was in the habit of supposing the Christians superior to these pagans in the principles of virtue and benevolence, yet I could not refrain from remonstrating against this conduct on the part of the king. I told him, that christian nations considered it as within the acknowledged system of lawful and honourable warfare, to use stratagems against enemies, and to fall upon them whenever it was possible, and take them by surprise. He replied, that war was horrid enough when pursued in the most open and magnanimous manner; and that although he thought very highly, of the English, still their principles in this respect did not obtain his approbation, and he believed his own mode of warfare more politic as well as more just. He said, that if he were to destroy his enemies when they were asleep, others would have a good reason to retaliate the same base conduct upon his subjects, and thus multiply evils, where regular and open warfare might be the means of a speedy peace without barbarity. Should he subdue his rebellious subjects by stratagem and surprise, they would hate both him and his measures, and would never be faithful and happy, although they might fear his power, and unwillingly obey his laws. Sentiments of this elevated character excited my admiration the more for this excellent pagan, and made an impression upon my mind, which time will never efface. Christians might learn of Abba Thulle a fair comment upon the best principles of their own religion.

Previous to our departure for Artingall, the king assembled all his force at Pelew, made all the necessary preparation of provisions and arms, we moved in the evening, pursued our course through the night, and on the morning of the 22d arrived off Artingall. The day was fair and pleasant. The canoes formed three lines, front, centre, and rear. The launch, with English colours flying, was in the centre; and the canoes pulled abreast in lines, with each a flag or banner resembling ours as much as possible. We came within a long reef, which extended several miles, and were then before the town, in smooth water, keeping in order as we approached! With our spy-glass, we saw that the beach was covered with natives for a quarter of a mile near to the town, who had arms in their hands. When we were within a mile of them, the King gave orders for our musquito fleet to come to an anchor. This being done, he requested that a gun might be fired, and a signal made for some one to come off to us. We complied with his wishes, and immediately we observed people go to a stone pier and enter a canoe, which was paddled directly to our boat, at the astonishing rate of eight or nine miles an hour. When they were within our lines, the king's canoe being made fast along side the launch, they drew up at about four yards distance from us, and then, at the clapping of hands by the steersman, they all at once backed water with their paddles, and stopped as suddenly as if they had struck a rock. After this, they came along side the king's canoe, and we saw the chief, who was with them, and who sat distinguished from all the rest upon a seat in the centre. Their conduct upon this occasion attracted my attention and excited my admiration. With bold and fearless countenances, and with simple but determined manners, they looked round on all the instruments of death, which we had brought with us, and preserved a uniform air of indifference and courage. No signs of fear or doubt were betrayed by them, notwithstanding our expedition and various European arms must have appeared formidable, if not irresistible to them, unaccustomed as they were to meet a foe thus equipped. In addition to the articles already named, we had pistols, boarding lances, cutlasses, and a Chinese rocket which resembled our torpedoes. Although the rockets were not very destructive in fact, they had an alarming appearance, and made a great parade of death to those who saw them approaching with smoke, and fire, and threatening leaps upon the water.

The king said to the chief, "Are you ready to fight?"—"We are."—"Are you willing?"—He frankly answered, "We are not; but we will sooner fight than have any laws imposed upon us, which we think unjust and disgraceful." The king told him, that we came prepared to give them battle, if they would not yield their rebellion, accept of pardon upon proper terms, and submit to the laws of their sovereign. A negociation might be opened before a resort should be had to force. It was proposed to the chief, that he should go on shore, confer with the people, and if they were resolved on war, a signal should be made for hostilities to commence; but if they were inclined to peace and reconciliation, word must be sent us, and we must be invited to go up to the pier. The proposal was accepted, and they immediately started for the shore. The manner in which they made ready to put their canoe under way, was interesting to a European. The custom prevails among all the Pelew Islanders. One man of the crew pronounces a kind of chaunt, and instantly they all flourish their paddles over their heads with a perfectly uniform motion, and with the greatest dexterity. The exercise is as regular as that of a military company, and much more difficult to be performed. As our treble line of canoes approached Artingall that morning, this flourish of paddles by our crews was beautiful and impressive; but I thought that the rebels, who were now returning with their chief, executed it with still more grace and majesty. A strong interest for them was excited in my mind. Their open, candid, and admirable behaviour secured my partiality, and won my best hopes for their prosperity.

When the chief and his party arrived at the pier, they were met by the crowds on shore, and after a short consultation returned to us as before. They brought a message for the king and the fleet to come to the pier, declared their readiness to enter into a negociation, and offered us any provisions that we might want during its continuance. As I had already taken a friendly part with them in my feelings, I was much delighted with this message. We were soon under way, drew up to the pier, and were received with every mark of respect. Refreshments were pressed upon us, and were as cordially received. The terms, which the king proposed, were, that the people of Artingall should carry him from his canoe on a kind of litter to their place of state, and set him on the throne: that the two highest chiefs, who had been named kings of the two

islands in rebellion, should bring to him several valuable jewels, which they held at that time, and which had descended from his ancestors; that they should acknowledge him to be their lawful sovereign, and promise never more to revolt on pain of death; that the under chiefs should prostrate themselves before him with their faces to the ground, and make the same promise with the two first chiefs; and that they should exchange sixty women as hostages to secure the observance of peace. The king had remarked, that this exchange of women as hostages had generally been followed by a long period of tranquillity and good order. When these terms were made known to the chiefs of Artingall, through their own ministers, they seemed very unwilling to comply with them, and at first I thought they never would. They however took them into consideration.

At this time it was low water, and many hundred acres of the reef were bare. Abba Thulle gave his people liberty to go out upon the reef, and collect shell fish. Crowds of the men of Artingall were also on the reef, and our people mingled with them in all directions, so that it was impossible to distinguish them from each other. This produced not a little anxiety in the minds of some of us, who were not accustomed to such a mingling of enemies in a time of war. We remonstrated with the king against such unguarded conduct; but he said that it was the best way to forward the negociation; that his own people were safe, and knew how to act; that they would become familiar with each other and remove animosity; and that the object was not to subdue the rebels merely, but to make them good subjects. I now saw, from the actual experiment, the advantage of an open and generous policy, especially when united with such terms of submission on the part of the rebels as would leave no doubt of the king's power to conquer them by force if he chose. This naked savage had introduced such a spirit of confidence among the inhabitants of these islands, that treachery was never feared. We were left so unguarded, that it appeared to me, the men of Artingall might have taken us by surprise and have made us captives, had they consented to violate the laws which rendered the suspension of hostilities sacred. The launch was aground, and the natives might have come down opposite the pier, with stones and spears and have got possession of her. But no symptoms of treachery appeared. We lay at this place three days and nights, during

the negociation, and were treated with every kind of hospitality. I was indeed many times uneasy, and thought the terms hard on which the king insisted; but his reasonings were always good, and his policy effectual. He said that he had demanded no more than was necessary to prove his own sense of the injury done to him, to declare his power, and to satisfy the dignity which should always be paid to the throne. What he had required was indeed a great deal for the people of Artingall to do; but he could not require less, and more would be inconsistent with the future contentment and obedience of the people. He said further, he should think that we were destitute of humanity, and mere pretenders to the virtues of the heart, if we were not willing to protract the negociation as long as there was a reasonable prospect of success, when our forbearance could not be ascribed to weakness or fear, as we had so great a superiority to the enemy. He assured us, that those, who now appeared so kind and friendly, would fly to arms and fight desperately, should we show that we were really haughty and vindictive, and seeking concessions beyond the justice of the case. He would not wantonly shed the blood of any of his fellow creatures, and much less of any of his subjects, although they might be in the wrong. Such were some of the numerous sentiments, of the most noble kind, which Abba Thulle expressed to us during the period of the negociation. However savage may be the exterior of such a man, his heart must be allowed to be richly furnished with affections and principles worthy of a christian disciple. If he is wanting in our forms of religion, he still has the substance and dignity of virtue.

This policy at length succeeded. We were rejoiced to hear, after our long delay, that the people of both islands had agreed to all the articles which the king had proposed. Action soon followed determination. The litter, which looked much like a bier to carry the dead, was brought. The pier, of which I have spoken, was about a quarter of a mile long, from twelve to fifteen feet wide on the top, and spreading out at the bottom, from fifteen to eighteen feet high, and was built solid with rocks. The king was taken out of his canoe by the arms of his returning subjects, was set upon the litter, and eight men of Artingall carried it in their hands off the pier, and then on their shoulders up a paved way to the place of state. They enthroned him on a high seat, made of wood, and covered with mats. My fellow officer, the sergeon, and myself followed,

and stood by the throne. The two first chiefs approached him, half bent, holding the jewels suspended by strings, and presented them to his majesty. He received them with dignity and grace, and afterward bade them stand erect. He put such questions to them as he thought proper, and as the occasion required, all of which were answered to his satisfaction. The under chiefs were then called, twenty five in number. They also approached half bent, kneeled, brought their breasts to the ground, and kissed the king's feet. He then bade them rise, and questioned them as he had done the others. After this ceremony was over, the women were brought according to the treaty. When they were collected, the king told each Englishman, if he saw any woman with whom he was pleased, he might take her. Next he said the same to his officers, who are denominated rupacks; and last he gave the same liberty to his common men, till the sixty were selected. I was curious to know whether any of the women would be unwilling to go with those by whom they were chosen; but I discovered in their countenances only cheerfulness and pleasure.

The articles of the treaty being settled, the people of both parties assembled round the square, where the seat of the king was, and partook of the various refreshments, which the bounty of the island could supply. They amused themselves in dancing, and in different plays, for several hours, while the king was settling the details of the future conduct of this portion of his subjects. One rupack only was removed from his office in Artingall. When every thing was arranged to the satisfaction of the king, we re-embarked for Pelew, and took the broken rupack and the sixty women with us.

This was not the first time that our people had gone out with Abba Thulle against the people of Artingall. The crew of the Endeavour, now with us, had been engaged in the same way, while the Panther was gone to China. The officers told me, that the men of Artingall had fought terribly, and that no people were more brave. The inhabitants of Pelew had taken several of them prisoners, and had put them to death in a manner not agreeing with their general character for humanity. I cannot account for the degree of cruelty, which, on this occasion, was practised by those, who had so many good sentiments and real virtues in most of the departments of life. The Pelews seemed to think themselves at

liberty to disregard the feelings of humanity toward prisoners, when they would treat an open enemy with magnanimity and justice. When they were asked, why they were so barbarous toward their captives, and yet so generous and honourable toward the same persons as enemies; they answered, that an enemy would meet them face to face, but the captives would be plotting destruction under the appearance of contentment and good will. It is certainly inhuman beyond any apology, or extenuation, to cut off the leg of a prisoner, and beat his own face with it, while he is yet living, although this is intended to be a mode of death, and not of protracted torment. The maxim, handed down from their forefathers, was, that more is to be feared from one prisoner than from five open enemies. The force of education and prejudice may account in part for this contradiction in the character of the Pelews on the score of humanity; but it cannot prevent us from severely condemning the cruelty which they too often manifested toward the victims of their conquests. If some prisoners act treacherously, it is not a sufficient reason for the conquerors to treat the whole with barbarity. From the testimony of my predecessors at these islands, I am compelled to believe, that the sentiments of Abba Thulle have not always had the same good influence over his subjects as they appeared to have when I was with them. The conduct of the expedition, of which I was a part, and where I had the opportunity of minute personal observation, was remarkably judicious, politic, and humane. The general character of the people also was friendly and excellent, although there can be no doubt that their virtues were very much owing to the extraordinary talents and worth of Abba Thulle.

From the sentiments and conduct of these islanders in regard to prisoners, I was led to devote much reflection to this subject, and particularly to the effect upon them as a body, which is produced by the treachery of one, or a few. Let those, who are taken captive, who have asked and received quarter, and who have thrown themselves upon the mercy of the conqueror under the rules of honour and confidence, never be guilty of any crimes, sedition, infidelity, or conspiracy, toward the sovereign who protects them, or the people upon whose hospitality they live. The influence of falsehood and crime in the conduct of a few prisoners, is incalculably bad upon all their companions or successors. The responsibility therefore,

which attends the condition of a prisoner, is very great and important. Christian communities should remember this, and apply it to soften the miseries of war.

We returned to the Panther the 25th of June, and found both our vessels ready for sea. But before I proceed in the narrative of our voyage, I wish to mention a striking instance of retribution which attended the abuse of power by a European among these people. Captain Wilson, when he went to China, left at the Pelew Islands a man named Madan Blanchard. This man was much caressed by the king, and every body was compelled to pay him great respect by the royal order. He became arrogant and licentious, as persons are apt to do, when suddenly raised to unusual power and consequence. The natives told me, that he would take their tarra root, yams, cocoa nuts, canoes, wives, and every thing he chose; and if they made any complaint, would contrive to have them beaten and disgraced. What little address he had for the purpose of justifying himself with the king was greatly assisted by the fear, which the king entertained, that Blanchard might be able to make the English believe on their return to the islands, if he were offended, that the nation had been insulted through him, and that vengeance ought to be taken. He continued this course of abuse for nearly three years, when he went over with a rupack, who was his favourite, and with six or eight men to a small island, where the people had been injured by him. They intended to spend the night there, as was supposed, in some pursuit of selfishness and vice. In the evening a quarrel arose, and Blanchard and his party were put to death, except two who escaped in their canoe.

Such was the conduct, and such the fall of a man, on whom the English had placed great hopes, that he would effect some important good by his stay among the Pelews. Instead of teaching the nation better principles than they had, and labouring to elevate their affections and character, as a Christian ought, he did considerable toward corrupting and oppressing them. He not only disgusted them with his hypocricy, and injured them personally by his oppressions and example, but he made them quarrel sometimes with their king, and with one another. I was extremely sorry to hear that the king resented his death among his subjects, and punished the inhabitants of the island where it happened.

It will be remembered, that the Pelew Islanders had never seen any white men, until the time when Captain Wilson was cast away among them, August 10th, 1783. As a warning to others, it may be mentioned, that this happened in north latitude 7° 20′, and in east longitude 134° 40′. They treated him remarkably well and helped him to build a small vessel, after the loss of the Antelope, that he might return to his own country. Before we left them, we made the king many presents. Some had been sent him by the English Company, among which were muskets, and a quantity of gun powder. These, we learned on our return to the islands after an absence of two years, had done them incalculable mischief. The change in their condition was melancholy indeed, when we visited them again. The good king Abba Thulle had died, and with him passed away that valuable influence which was exerted over the whole character of the people, and by which their practice was in so great a degree preserved from treachery and depravity. Although the government was an hereditary monarchy, yet there were ambitious men, according to the fact everywhere else, ready to seize upon any favourable occasion to raise themselves to power. Of this character was the man whom Wilson calls Arra Kooker, and who usurped the throne after the death of Abba Thulle. This excellent savage had only one son living at the time he died, a man of a small mind, and not able, like his father, to maintain his authority, and much less to acquire power, and make improvements. The party of Arra Kooker fought against the supporters of the young king, till by intrigue and treachery nearly all the brave warriors of Abba Thulle were slain, and the usurper was finally settled on the throne at Pelew. His promises that the administration of the government should be just and paternal, and by which he had acquired popularity, proved to be, what such promises usually are, deceptive and worthless. He was selfish and oppressive, and experienced the fate of almost all such men in a natural course of retribution. He was assassinated.

It was in January 1793, when we returned to these islands. I was astonished to perceive how great a change could be effected by bad rulers in so short a period. The people, whom we had left just, humane, and happy, were now in a state of oppression, mutual distrust and opposition, and were gloomy and wretched. The personal influence of a single great and good man at the head

of a nation, diffuses itself in such a variety of ways, and acts upon so many subordinate agents, that its results might almost be thought miraculous. The value is never estimated, till an opposite influence is contrasted with it. The contrast was sad indeed, for the poor inhabitants of Pelew.

In this place, perhaps I ought to observe that the account, which I have given of our expedition to Artingall, may not be found in the journal of the Panther; for Commodore Mc Clure forbid it to be inserted. The reason of this I never perfectly understood; but in general it was said, that we were in no case to act with the natives in an offensive war, and that this co-opperation with Abba Thulle might be considered as contrary to our instructions.

Although it will be a partial anticipation of the course of my narrative, it will be proper here to insert the remaining remarks which I have to make upon the Pelew Islands. It had been, as I believe, the design of our Commodore, for a long time, to devote his attention particularly to their improvement. When he was at Amboyna he procured a number of plants of the nutmeg and clove, some growing in pots, and some taken up from the earth with a quantity of soil about the roots. At other places, he collected various plants and seeds, both for ornament and use. He also furnished himself with cows, bulls, sheep, goats, hogs, several kinds of deer, and the varieties of domestic fowls. With these he landed at Pelew. He likewise took a marquee; the Panther's launch; three or four female slaves of Malay, from nine to twelve years old, which he purchased at Timor; some males of Malay; a Bombay female, born of European parents; and five or six male slaves, from different eastern coasts. With these he resided in the islands for a number of months. Afterwards he came in the launch with his male slaves to Macao, purchased a ship, returned to Pelew, took his female slaves on board, and left the islands forever. Our curiosity may be interested to know why he commenced an enterprise, which he so soon abandoned. He evidently cherished the idea, at one time, of making such improvements upon the Pelew islands as would render them a delightful residence for a civilized and agricultural people. It has been said that he designed to spend his life among them; but of this there is not sufficient evidence. He probably meant to stay a much longer time than he actually did. It was a great object with him to transfer thither, and to cultivate the spices of the Dutch isl-

ands. His project, considered in all its parts, must have been romantic; and even if it had not been so, his preparation was insufficient to secure success. I have never learned what was the fate of the spices, but I have been satisfactorily informed that the multiplication of the animals and fowls has been so great as to make the islands very convenient for ships to stop at them, and obtain supplies. They also abound with cocoa nuts, sugar cane, sweet potatoes, yams, tarra root, bread fruit, limes, and bananas. Wild fowls, the same as those which we have about the barn door, a large kind of plue pigeon, and a bat of enormous size, called by the crew the flying fox, are found there in great numbers.

They are supplied also with several kinds of fish, with sea-turtle, and with various species of the oyster, among which is the pearl oyster in great abundance. There is one kind which has a shell, each half of which is large enough to hold thirty gallons of water. Notwithstanding the size of the oyster, the meat is excellent. It is cut into pieces, and boiled, stewed, or fried. The utensils for cooking are made of clay, and are burnt in the same manner as our coarse pottery. The inhabitants wear no clothes, and drink only water, or the juice of the cocoa nut and of the sugar cane without distillation. Canoes for fishing, and houses of a small, unexpensive, but comfortable kind for shelter, complete their list of wants, all of which are easily supplied. In looking at such a state of society, although it is unquestionably inferior to ours, yet we are sometimes tempted to regret that the contentment, which appears to accompany a people of so few wants, cannot be preserved more perfectly amidst the relations and interests of civilized life. The increase of wants, while it often, and perhaps generally, multiplies virtues and blessings, and calls out a greater variety of talents and sympathies, does also too often lead individuals to the use of dishonest means of gratification, and to vices, which render a portion of polished nations more miserable than any savages. If the inhabitants of the Pelew islands had not as many virtues as we have, they certainly had at first fewer vices. And even if the proportion between their virtues and their vices, when compared with the proportion among us, should be found, as I think it would, in our favour, still, one cannot help lamenting, that the machinery of civilization, the means and motives for extensive improvement, should develope so many selfish and base passions, and destroy in

so many instances the simplicity and confidence, which gave such a peculiar charm to the character of the natives of the Pelew islands when they were first visited by the English. But man seems to be destined to taste of the tree of the knowledge of evil as well as of good, in order to learn how to taste of the tree of life and live forever. Vice and virtue, misery and happiness, are not relative terms more than they are relative states of the mind and the character. The good appears never to be fully estimated, and permanently secured, till the evil has been felt, and, after a painful trial, dismissed. The simplicity, amiableness, and confidence of natives are never proof against the temptations to an abuse of their intercourse with the inhabitants of civilized countries, in the efforts which are at first made to meliorate their character and condition. The innocence and loveliness of children must suffer great changes in the transition from youth to manhood, and must be frequently assailed and tried, before confidence can, in all situations, be reposed in them. An experiment of our weakness is sometimes necessary to persuade us to adopt the means of obtaining and confirming strength. The critical stages in the formation of individual or national character are frequently attended by errors and excesses, not witnessed before or afterward, but which are the proof of the previous feebleness of virtue, and the parent of its succeeding force and dignity. Unhappily for the Pelew islanders, they have lost much of their early simplicity and goodness, and have not yet gained the intelligence and virtue of a civilized people. They have mixed their native character and habits with those of the Europeans, and have not now the excellencies or the enjoyments of either. When I saw them on our first visit, under Abba Thulle, they were far more interesting than they are at present. Their change of character will account for the difference of the strain in which I speak of them at different times.

In regard to their religion, I learned that they believe in one God, in the unlimited extent of his government, in the most important moral distinctions and religious duties as taught by the light of nature, in the immortality of the soul, and in future rewards and punishments. They have very few forms of religion, little ceremony in their worship, and no houses or temples devoted to this purpose. That their creed was not merely speculative, and that the want of houses of worship did not proceed from a disregard of God or his

laws, may be inferred from the benevolence and humanity of their hearts, from the honesty and fidelity of their lives, and from the actual fruits of their principles in their mutual confidence and happiness. Had their virtues been as vigorous and permanent, after their intercourse with Europeans, as they were unaffected and genuine at the period of their discovery, and had they continued to be happy under an increase of relations and wants with the means of gratification, we might now acknowledge it to be our duty to study their history more minutely in order to arrive at the secret of their moral worth and social blessings. But their failure under the experiment, places them upon a level with other savage nations; and while it warns the agents of civilized communities not to repeat forever the same injudicious plans of improvement upon the aborigines of the soil, it teaches us also, that if our vices are more numerous than theirs, our virtues are not only more various, but are much stronger, better guarded, more fruitful, and more elevated.

There is one trait of character, for which the Pelews were remarkable, their fidelity in the engagements of friendship. They carried their ideas of the sacredness of this virtue to a very great extent, and doubted whether it were proper to make a profession of it, in the first degree, to two persons at the same time. In this they were probably too scrupulous; for it belongs not to the nature of true friendship to justify an alliance in guilt, or to force an individual into a confederacy against the interests of society or religion. Personal attachments are entirely compatible with general benevolence, and ought always to be regulated by it. He only is a genuine friend, who imbibes this spirit, and regards it in his intercourse with those to whom he is bound by specific promises and pledges. On our arrival, the king proposed to us, that we should each choose a friend. We answered, that we intended to be the friends of them all, and hoped that they would all be our friends in return. This however did not meet the sentiments of the king. He spoke to us of the pleasure, the peace, and the mutual safety, which would arise from the kind of confidence required by their laws of particular and inviolable friendship. We complied with his wishes, and the Commodore chose Abba Thulle, each of our officers chose a chief, and the crew made selections from among the people, according to their judgment or their caprice. For myself, it is my prayer always to find as faithful a friend as he was whom I chose at Pelew, and

never could I pray for a better. He was always watching for opportunities to do me service, anticipating my wants, and giving me information of every danger. Should it be thought by any reader, that the terms of friendship, as here described, must have rendered it mercenary, because the reciprocity led each of the parties to expect a reward for every office of kindness, I would answer, that such an objection carries with it its own refutation. The very idea of a perfect reciprocity removes the motive of selfishness, and makes the good, which results from united efforts, a social possession. But besides this, the fact deserves a place in my narrative, that when I was about to leave the Pelew islands for the last time, and forever, I found it difficult to persuade the friend, whom I had chosen, to accept of the presents, which I had purchased for him during my absence, and which I knew were particularly agreeable to his taste. My fellow officers found the same disinterestedness in their intercourse with the individuals among the chiefs whom they had chosen for friends. A man, who finds it hard to conceive of real benevolence in the motives of his fellow creatures, gives no very favourable testimony to the public in regard to the state of his own heart, or the elevation of his moral sentiments.

Marriage was esteemed among these natives as a relation of great importance and responsibility. It was solemnized in presence of the king, or of some chief, whom he had clothed with authority to make the contract binding. Previous to marriage, there seemed to be little restraint imposed upon the sexes by public sentiment, as it regards their conduct towards each other. It was considered as an honour for any woman, married or unmarried, to be in a state of pregnancy; and if she were unmarried, it recommended her to a husband. After marriage however, remarkable as it may seem to us, the women were eminently faithful to their vows.

In taking my leave of these islands, where I spent so many happy days, and learned so many new views of the savage character, I have only to say, that there is a multitude of details still in my memory which would be useful and entertaining to the public, had I the time and the patience to reduce them to form for the press, and did the limits of this book permit them to be inserted. After observing that the soil is good, the surface not very mountainous, but generally fit for cultivation, the land covered with a fine growth of hard wood suited to the building of houses or ships, and that the

usual reptiles of the east are found there, I shall give a copy of a letter which I received in 1800, from one of my fellow officers in the expedition. The writer, Samuel Snook, was a lieutenant in the Panther, and deserves the confidence of the community.

Bombay, May 6th, 1800.

DEAR DELANO,

AFTER repeated inquiries, I have got some small tidings of you by Captain Job Hall, of the American ship Charles. I was much disappointed at not hearing from you when you were at Bengal in 1794. I wrote to you there several times, but never was happy enough to receive an answer. Michi, our fellow officer, told me on his return to Bombay, that he saw you once, and you then informed him that you had a letter, or some packet to send to me.

You must have heard ere this of the loss of Captain John McClure, in a vessel called the Venus, which he purchased at Macao, after leaving the Pelews, in the boat we left with him. After obtaining the vessel, he returned again to the Pelew islands, and by permission took away seven female natives. From thence he proceeded for New Guinea, Amboyna, Timor, and at last for Bencoolen, where he was met by the Bombay frigate, Captain Pickett, who was about to go to Bengal with despatches. The commander of the Bombay, being a particular friend of McClure, requested of the Bencoolen government to allow McClure to carry them to Bengal, instead of sending the frigate, which was wanted for more essential service. The request was granted. McClure put six women on board Captain Pickett's vessel, who were consigned to the care of Wedgeborough, our fellow officer, on their arrival at Bombay. He then sailed for Bengal, and had a safe passage. After obtaining the permission of that government to proceed for Bombay, he took in a cargo, and sailed some time in August 1795. It had been threatening weather a good while, and McClure was advised to delay his departure a little. But he did not regard the advice, and it is supposed that he suffered in the gale, which happened soon after he parted with the pilot.

In September, 1797, the government of this place deemed it necessary to send the natives to their islands again, excepting three, who had died by the small pox. Captain Henry Wilson, who was cast

away there in 1783, being at Bombay, and about to go to China, generously offered them a passage in his ship; and if he were not able to touch at Pelew, they were to be landed at Macao, with instructions to the secret committee at Canton, to endeavour to find some conveyance for them. They had lived in my house from the time of their arrival in Bombay, and the government directed me to accompany them, and ordered me an allowance accordingly. Captain Wilson also wished to have some person with him, who had been at the islands since they were surveyed. I was happy in the opportunity to make the trip. Your friend Wedgeborough was at Bombay in the command of the Princess Royal Indiaman at the commencement of the business; but before it was settled he had sailed for Europe with his wife and family.

On the 1st of October, with the Pelews on board, we began our voyage to China in the Warley, accompanied by the Neptune, Abergavenny, and Indostan. When the ships were abreast the Pelew islands, the wind came from southwest; and as we did not wish to lose so fine a breeze, we proceeded to Macao, where we arrived January 1st, 1798. This was one of the best eastern passages ever made.

After procuring a vessel at Macao, and suffering much perplexity, I got to the Pelew islands the 14th of July, 1798. The people were happy to see me and their three friends again; but liked the presents better, I believe, as they consisted of arms and ammunition. The man, whom McClure shot in the arm for stealing, is Abba Thulle now! The place is somewhat better than it was formerly, but not much, as they have killed all the sheep. They have a few goats and hogs. The black cattle have much increased since you were there.

I returned to Macao in December, and from thence to Bombay. Wedgeborough had arrived about a month before me from Europe, in March, 1799; and White, our fellow officer, who had been master attendant and assistant, was gone up the Red Sea, as boat master to the detachment with Colonel Murray. I was requested to hold the situation as master attendant and assistant during White's absence, to which I consented. But during the month of July, White returned very ill from the Red Sea, and, lingering till October, he died. I then was confirmed in his post, and am now in that situation.

In August 1799, Gerard Drummond, our fellow officer, arrived from England in the Admiral Hughes, where he had been for the recovery of his health: But directly after he arrived in India, he began to fall away again, and the 17th of March 1800, he died of the liver complaint. Wedgeborough was taken by the French, and carried to Mauritius last October. He is well, desires to be particularly remembered to you, and is to sail for Madras in a day or two in command of the Lady Clive. Lieutenant Proctor, our fellow officer, is gone to Europe for the benefit of his health. Michi is fixed in Bombay as assistant to the marine store keeper. Lieutenants Smyth, Gilman, and Henry, our fellow officers, are well.

I have written a long scrawl in a hurry. You will therefore excuse the diction. After this I hope to be favoured with letters from you. You know how to direct to me as I am in Bombay, and I shall be happy to hear from you. Praying for your health and happiness, I remain your friend and well wisher,

SAMUEL SNOOK.

A. DELANO.

Since the receipt of this letter, I saw two men at the Sandwich Islands in 1806, who had been at Pelew about the year 1804. I had known them for many years, and could place confidence in the information which they gave me. One of them had resided there for a number of months. He told me that many revolutions had happened among the inhabitants of the islands since I visited them; that there had been six or eight kings since the death of Abba Thulle; and that the stock, which we had carried there, was generally doing very well. The sheep however had been nearly or quite destroyed. He neither saw nor heard any thing of the nutmeg or clove, which McClure had taken so much pains to introduce and cultivate. How thorough his examination or inquiry was upon this subject, I do not know, but I did not consider his account as decisive against the hope that the spices yet remain in some of the islands at least, and may be brought forward hereafter without a repetition of all Mc'Clure's pains and expense. I had a renewed testimony from my two acquaintances, that the fire

arms and ammunition, which we had left with the Pelews, had done them incalculable injury. They were divided into parties, and were frequently at war with each other. They were still friendly to the white people, but had lost the spirit of confidence among themselves, and were the victims of alternate stupidity and the violence of contest. It makes me melancholy whenever I think of the unhappy alteration in the character and conduct of this people since they became acquainted with the Europeans. It is a wise provision of nature, that savages should be limited to few and simple weapons of warfare till they have acquired the habits, and have entered into the pursuits, of civilized society, by which their passions shall be checked and regulated. This system of things ought not to be violated by us, as it is when we give them our instruments of mutual destruction, without giving them at the same time the arts, the institutions, and the employments, which are necessary to render the instruments a safe possession, and to convert them into the means of lawful defence and supply.

I have heard, that some ships have touched at the Pelew Islands for refreshments, and have obtained beef, vegetables, water, and wood. If the cultivation of the land was more extensive, and the provisions more abundant, so that ships might always be sure of finding supplies, the islands would be an excellent place for them to stop at, as they are just in the course which it is best to take for a voyage to China. It is no more than prudent to go as far east as is necessary to touch at them in order to avoid the north east trade winds, which sometimes prevail far to the northward in the season of the year when eastern voyages are made. I am persuaded, that the English government, or the East India Company, will before long pay some attention to these islands for this purpose.

CHAPTER IV.

Departure from Pelew—New-Guinea and adjacent Islands—Alarm from the natives—Currents—Revenge Straits—Animals and Birds—Passage to the Spice Islands, and description of them.

ON the 27th of June 1791, we took our departure for New Guinea. The winds were from the south and west quarter, and while we continued our course southward, they were light, and interrupted with calms, till the 15th of July, when we found ourselves on the equator, and in sight of St. Stephen's island. The northern extreme of this is in latitude 0° 32′ south, and in longitude 136°, 30′ east. In our run from the Pelew Islands to 1°, 38′, north latitude, this being a difference of 5°, 38′, our course bearing chiefly to the south and occupying thirteen days, the current carried us eastward 4°, 58′. This fact will assist the calculations of seamen in these latitudes at this season of the year. After we went further south, we found that the current changed, and set westward. On the 17th, we passed eastward of St. Stephen's Island, three or four leagues, and saw no marks of danger. On the 19th, we were close to an island, called Pulo-Mysory, which had a small bay on its south east side, appearing to afford good anchorage. No dangers were discovered in its vicinity, as we sailed eastward of it, within a mile or two of the bay. We made its latitude 0°, 50′ south, and its longitude 136° 25′ east. We continued working westward to get into Revenge Straits, from the 19th of July to the 5th of August. We were among islands of different names, with variable winds and calms, and with a strong westerly current. We anchored about a quarter of a mile from Manouaran island, in latitude 0°, 5′ south, and longitude 131°, 11′ east, between that and another named Waygoo. We found that we had been under the influence of a western current to the amount of 4°, 24′, since the 15th of June. The currents were ascertained by a number of good chronometers, on which dependence may be placed;

There was a small river, which afforded good water, and which was convenient for us to take in wood. We were however visited by a gang of natives from New Guinea, or from some of the large islands in the neighbourhood, who appeared hostile in their manners. While the last two boats were taking in wood and water, the Commodore made a signal for his men to come on board, and was observed at the same time to be getting under way with the two vessels. I happened to be the officer on shore with the boats, and immediately sent off one of them, which was laden with wood. The other was taking in water up the river. After loading her, as was our custom, with water in bulk, we attempted to go out of the river over a bar, where there was something of a swell. The boat hit the bottom, and was overturned. The muskets and the ammunition, which we had in her, were thoroughly wet, and could do us no service if we were attacked. The natives had been watching us the whole time we were at work on shore, and now drew near with signs of hostility. They brandished their spears, made motions preparatory to throwing them at us, strung their bows, presented their arrows, and stood a moment to observe the effect of this, and to ascertain what advantage they might expect from our condition. I looked towards the vessels, and saw them going from us quite fast. For the first time I felt a sensation of danger from natives. I however very fortunately drew the inference from their delay in making the attack, that they did not know the effect of water upon the use of fire arms and powder. We instantly applied the hint to practice, caught up our cartouch boxes, buckled them on though full of water, fixed our bayonets, and shouldered our dripping muskets. With this parade of courage and defence, we gained time to get the boat upright and off the bar, and steered for our vessels. The natives followed us in their canoes, came within forty or fifty yards of us, and were constantly on the watch for a moment when we should be off our guard, or under some new embarrassment, of which they could take advantage. But our stratagem was happily conceived, admirably executed, and successful in its result. We arrived safe on board, with an armed and ferocious band of savages pressing close upon our rear and thirsting for our blood. Our triumph was complete, and was felt in our hearts with not a few emotions of gratitude mingled with a sense of imminent danger.

We knew, from the journals of several English Indiamen, that the natives in this region were hostile to all white people. This not only taught us the hazard we run, but made me particularly reflect upon the conduct, which ought to be observed toward parties, sent out from a ship or a fleet, on land duty in a savage country. The responsibility of commanders in this respect should be specifically recognized and regarded. I have, ever since that period, laboured to do my duty according to the estimate, which I then made of it, and have always inculcated the same upon officers under my care. A man, who is brought to a proper sense of discipline, is ordered to go on shore, or upon any other duty, which may be attended by danger. He has no will of his own to employ, but must obey, presuming on the discernment and fidelity of his superiors, that he will be aided and protected according to his wants and their ability. If he be left for destruction through the sloth, neglect, or timidity of his superiors, they are accountable for it, if not to the same degree, yet as actually as though they had deliberately shot him. We had then the journal of the Queen Indiaman on board, giving an account of three boats, with the first, second, and third mates, cut off in this very neighbourhood, at one time, with all their crews. We had also other journals, which mentioned similar calamities in regard to different ships. Warnings of this nature ought not to be lost upon the mind of any commander, but should awaken a lively and effectual sense of his duty toward the parties he may be obliged to send on shore. The natives of New Guinea and of the adjacent islands are negroes, or wooly headed, and are well known to hate white people so much as to reward an individual, by making him a chief, when he will bring them a white man's head. If he will bring three, they will make him a chief of the first rank. The causes of this hatred are, in a great measure, traceable to our own misconduct toward them. When Europeans first visited New Guinea, the natives manifested no spirit of enmity. But the Europeans seized and carried them away as slaves, in a most treacherous manner. It was common for them to hook the yard tackles of a ship to a canoe, hoist her on deck with all the crew in her, transport them and sell them for slaves. The natives have heard also of the cruelties practised toward the inhabitants of other islands, and even of the enormities committed by white people against each other at Amboyna, and several places in the vicinity. It is not therefore a matter of

surprise that the natives should encourage and transmit this hatred toward Europeans. The white people have too often, and to their everlasting disgrace, used their arts and force, as members of civilized society, to betray, to kidnap, or to seize openly and violently, the natives for the most selfish and inhuman purposes. They make reprisals upon us, whenever they can, and are peculiarly inveterate against us in their hostility. Happy will it be, when the time shall arrive, that we ourselves furnish no longer the chief obstacles to the civilization and moral improvement of the natives, according to the laws and religion of christian countries.

Before we leave Manouaran, as it is a good watering place, some remarks upon it ought to be inserted. The island is very convenient for a ship to obtain wood as well as water. It is six or eight miles in circumference. The watering place is on the south westerly side. We anchored in eighteen fathoms water, in sand and coral. The current set westward at the rate of two miles an hour. While we were at anchor, the thermometer stood at 84°, the average of heat for the last fifteen days. We found no dangers in this vicinity for seamen, which were not sufficiently obvious to every stranger.

We bent our course eastward from this place, bearing a little south in order to enter Revenge Straits, and having to meet a current which ran to the west. Working our course from the 7th to the 11th of August, we came to soundings on Butenta Shoal northeast of the entrance into the straits. It is extensive, and consists of coral rocks. We found upon it not less than five fathoms of water. Its lattitude is 0° 42′ south, and its longitude about 132° east. The longitude may vary a mile or two, and cannot of course be perfectly trusted, since I find in my journal at this place a mistake, for which I am not able to account. Since leaving Manouaran, we have been in the midst of islands, but have not found any dangers for the navigator. The winds have been variable. We were from the 11th to the 18th going through the straits, and then anchored at their south westerly entrance, off against a small village called Savage Town. There are many islands and shoals in the straits, particularly at the northeast entrance, but none which cannot be easily avoided in daylight, with proper vigilance, and with due attention to the lead and the line. The attempt to sail in them in the night should never be made. The narrowest part of them, I should judge, is three quarters of a mile. They are formed by the land of New Guinea on

one side, and by the island of Sallawatty on the other. This island lies to the northwest of the straits. New Guinea, on the southeast, is often called Papua. On this side there is an immense body of land, stretching many degrees south and east, and seeming to be thickly peopled. From the little intercourse, which we had with the natives, we had reason to suppose that the country was furnished with many of the comforts of life. There were hogs, barn door fowls, many kinds of quadrupeds, and innumerable birds with beautiful plumage. We purchased of the natives four kinds of the bird of Paradise; and I have been told since, that there are in New Guinea four other kinds. One of the species is entirely white, but very rare. Another species is sixteen inches long, and is partly sea green, and partly a steel blue. The crested kind is sometimes eighteen inches; and there is said to be a species, in the islands of the Indian Ocean, twenty-eight inches.

We also purchased of the natives two species of the lory, a great many of which are found in New Guinea. They belong to the family of parrots, have a great variety of the richest colours, are extremely beautiful, and are unrivalled in the power of imitating articulate sounds. They are nine or ten inches long; climb by the bill; erect their feathers when angry; feed upon nuts, acorns, and seeds; and live to a great age.

We saw a species of the crested pheasant, a handsome, proud, and courageous bird. The cassowary also abounded there. This is a very large bird, sometimes measuring seven feet from the bill to the toes, of which it has three, like the ostrich of South America. I have known a cassowary to weigh sixty or seventy pounds. The fore part of the breast is without feathers; the thighs and legs have scales; the wings are remarkably small; the feathers are thinly scattered, and terminate in bristles, giving a very unfinished and strange appearance to this bird. It is strong, runs with great speed, and devours any thing without apparent preference in its taste. When pursued by a dog over small loose stones, it will throw them backward with so much force as often to prevent the continuance of the chase. The ultimate mode of defence, adopted by the cassowary, is worthy of notice. The bird throws itself upon its back; with its large strong leg and hard foot strikes a dog, or even a man, with prodigious force; and has been known to break a limb of the assailant by a blow. Caution and skill are re-

quisite to gain the victory without a material injury from the bird in the last resort.

The feathers, worn on the heads of the natives, satisfied us that the ostrich was to be found on the island. Pigeons were there in the greatest abundance. We were often within gun-shot of immense flocks. We killed many of them, and admired their various and beautiful plumage. We shot also a number of a species of the duck, which is probably the same with the Chinese duck, having a pendent crest, and a great diversity of handsome colours.

At New Guinea we again saw multitudes of those bats, which we had seen at the Pelew Islands, and which have been already mentioned under the name of the flying fox. I have since learned that this animal is also called the flying macauco, and that it is not considered by all persons as a bat. Its wings are not absolutely naked like those of the bat, but bear some resemblance to those of the flying squirrel. It has the colour of the red fox, is as large, and bites with great severity and courage, when it is wounded. I have seen the air darkened with these macaucos as they flew over our vessel when we were lying in the straits.

The island abounds with gold dust, or grains of gold as large as shot; with pearls; and with the long nutmeg. We saw none of the oval nutmeg and clove, but have no reason to doubt that they grow there in plenty.

The sago tree, a species of the palm, particularly attracted my attention. Its trunk is from fifteen to twenty five feet high, and is very thick. The branches are short, and the leaves are enormous, measuring from three to six feet. The fruit is shaped like a plum, is of a reddish yellow, and contains a brown nut whose meat tastes like a chesnut. The trunk of the tree is filled with a pith as white as snow, and the wood about it is not more than two inches in thickness. When the natives make sago from it, they fell the tree, cut it into lengths of six feet, split them, put the pith into troughs with water, work it with sticks till it is soft and easily moulded into any shape, pour it into holes made in wood about the size of our bricks, and dry it hard. We purchased twenty five hogsheads of it from the natives, as a substitute for bread, paying not more than twenty five dollars for it in trinkets. We found it very palatable and nourishing when made into puddings, or porridge, seasoned with spice. When sago is prepared for the European or

American market, it is reduced to grains by being passed through a copper, or tin riddle, and dried in the sun. The wood of this tree is tough and elastic, and is used by the natives for bows and other weapons of war.

There was a small settlement of Malays on the south east side of the western entrance of the straits, called Savage Town. They cultivated rice, yams, and sweet potatoes, in small quantities. This was the only place on the island where we ventured to land. And even here we should not have taken the hazard of doing it, had it not been that while we were lying off before the town, two or three of the Malays came on board with some articles for sale. We inquired of them if there was any danger to prevent us from going ashore. Having Malays with us, we could converse with them very well. They said, that they did not wish us to land. So many disputes had arisen between white people and the natives, concerning their women, that they were afraid similar difficulties would occur, and our crew would then be treated with great barbarity. We pledged ourselves that no improprieties of this nature, or of any other, should be committed by us, and satisfied them that our objects were those only of gaining information and gratifying a laudable curiosity. The Malays returned from the ship, the coast appeared to be clear of New Guineans. and we determined to take the hazard of landing. The surgeon, a lieutenant, and myself, with half a dozen men, went on shore. The women immediately left their houses, taking their children with them, and running into the woods. We walked into the village, were treated civilly by the men, and were conducted into their habitations. These were built upon piles six or eight feet above the ground, and were thus raised, not only to be in part removed from the damps of the low ground where they lived, but to avoid the intrusion of reptiles. The houses were one story, and handsomely constructed. The materials used for covering them was bamboo split, and the roofs were thatched with the leaves of the cocoa nut tree, the sago tree, or other leaves found on the island in great variety. These Malays had not been long in Savage Town. They had come from Ceram to New Guinea; had been attacked, as they told us, several times by the natives; and still lived in some degree of fear. Their object, in making an exchange of islands, was the increase of their trade. The Malay prows visited them from Ce-

ram, and the other islands, and bought of them gold dust, pearls, birds of Paradise, and many other articles. They were not prompt to expose any thing for sale to us, from a suspicion, as we thought, that we would be unjust, and perhaps violent, using the force of our armed vessels against their town if we should find any occasion for a quarrel. The Europeans and others have not conducted themselves with sufficient integrity and disinterestedness to remove all apology for this suspicion. The largest pork, I ever saw, was brought us at this island. It was of the wild hog, the hair burnt off, and the skin made as black as a hat. The meat was not fat, but sweet. We also purchased a great plenty of good fish.

The soil was good, as far as we could judge from the produce, from what we saw, and from the information we could gather. Much of the land lies low, and must be frequently inundated. The sun is nearly vertical to the inhabitants, and the climate cannot be very safe for Europeans, although the natives were healthy, robust, and numerous. According to the custom over so great a part of the oriental islands, spread by the Malays, the New Guineans build their houses over the water on piles. They select a flat place, where the tide ebbs and flows, that all dirt and filth from their habitations may be regularly carried away without labour, and that they may be free from the numerous reptiles which would otherwise annoy them, particularly at night. The houses are like those of Savage Town, one story, a sharp roof, and thatched with leaves of various sorts. The floors are made of split bamboo, with the round side up, and in some of the rooms an inch apart in order to let the dirt through. In the rooms, where some kinds of work are done, and where small tools are to lie upon the floor, the bamboo is put close together. The houses are arranged in straight lines, and have a walk before them three or four feet wide, quite to the shore. Their transportation of all heavy articles is done by canoes, which can pass under the houses. The piles are driven about six feet into the bottom, and are ten feet above it. The mode of driving them is ingenious for savages without the mechanical advantages of civilized life. A canoe, loaded with stones to the amount of two or three tons, is lashed to the pile, one on each side at high water, and as the tide ebbs, a heavy stick of timber is made to fall successively upon the top of it, which, acting with the immense weight of the canoes, forces it into the ground rapidly. The few windows,

which are necessary in so warm a climate, are made of the inner transparent part of the pearl oyster shell, as in China. I have seen a town on this coast, thus built, covering more than a mile square.

The New Guineans have some iron tools, which they have procured of the Malays. But they still use some, which are made of oyster shells, and some of flint. They have an extremely ingenious mode of lashing a short piece of wood to the end of a long one for a handle, at an acute angle with it on the inside, and then fasten the shell or the flint to the short piece, like an adz, with which they work very well. They grind the flint to a perfect edge with other stones. As we return to New Guinea in the course of the narrative, some other remarks will be made upon it at that time.

While we were at anchor, we obtained plenty of good wood at a small island. We dug more than a dozen wells, ten or twelve feet deep, and got brackish water, which from the colour of the clay where it was found, was as white as milk. On most parts of the coast, it is very difficult to procure water, because of danger from the natives. The winds in the straits were light and variable; but near the western entrance, they were strong and steady from the south and east. For a month, the thermometer stood between 80° and 83°.

We put to sea on the 9th of September, taking our departure from English Point, in latitude 1° 26′ south, and longitude 131° 11′ east. This is the southwest cape of Revenge Straits. On the 19th we anchored in Cajeli bay, in the island of Bouro, in latitude 3° 23′ south, and longitude 127° 27′ east. The winds, since we left New Guinea, have been light and variable, with calms, but chiefly from the western quarter. We passed the north side of Ceram, the island of Mysol, and many other islands, but saw no dangers of any importance in the navigation. When we came to anchor, the fort saluted us with seventeen guns. The resident chief came on board, and we gave him an English national salute.

This settlement belongs to the Dutch East India Company. They keep a garrison of twenty-five Europeans here, and a great number of Malays. Their business is to cut down and destroy the nutmeg and clove tree; to collect black, white, yellow, red, and still other kinds of ebony, for the European market; and to prepare various sorts of beautiful wood besides for cabinet work. The chief told

us that he had destroyed more than thirty thousand nutmeg trees that season, and a vast number of the clove. A part of the cargoes of two ships in a season usually consists of these varieties of valuable wood. Cattle, deer, serpents, and crocodiles in the rivers, are found in abundance in Bouro. Deer were sent to us gratis, and we were allowed to hunt them at pleasure. The Malays drove them by us, a thousand in a herd, and we shot as many as we wished. Among the species we saw, were multitudes of those which are spotted with white upon a red brown, and which are very handsome. They are a little smaller than the common deer, but leap remarkably well.

The serpents of Bouro are most remarkable. The Resident told us, that some of them had swallowed a buffalo, a story which we should hardly have believed, notwithstanding the reasons he gave us to obtain our confidence, were it not that so many testimonies to the same effect are multiplied among men of information and veracity. The boa is known to be often about forty feet long, and is said, in books, as I am told, to be much more.

The climate is good, the air pure, the soil rich, and the productions various. The mercury was between 80° and 83°. The harbour is excellent, and lies on the north east side of the island. We anchored in water six fathoms deep, half a mile from shore, in a muddy bottom, the flag staff south 34° west. The name of the Governor, or Resident, was Coomens. He was extremely attentive to us, supplied all our wants without solicitation, and was in every respect a model of hospitality. When we arrived in Canton afterwards, we procured a handsome silver urn, with an inscription upon it, testifying our sense of his kindness and worth, which we sent to him by a Dutch supercargo.

Learning that we should be well treated at Amboyna, we got under way the 24th of September to visit that island. Commodore McClure was particularly desirous to go there, in consequence of the notoriety which it had obtained for the massacre of the English by the Dutch, and because no English vessel had been to the island, as it was reported, for more than seventy years. When we arrived on the 28th, we anchored off fort Victoria, and saluted the castle with nine guns, which were immediately returned. On this passage, the prevailing winds were from the south and east, and the weather was pleasant. We continued to receive at this place friendly and

polite treatment, and found Amboyna a truly agreeable residence. A general invitation to dine with the governor was given us soon after our arrival. The town, the country, the climate, and the soil, were surpassed by none. A great variety of aromatic trees, and of fragrant flowering shrubs, we saw growing in perfection.

We became acquainted here with Dr. Hoffman, an eminent chemist and botanist. He was professionally employed in extracting volatile oils from the principal trees and plants of Amboyna, the nutmeg, clove, cinnamon, culibaban, cajeput, and many others. We were on very friendly terms with him, and visited him often, both to gratify our love of society, and our curiosity in regard to his ingenious methods of pursuing his profession. His laboratory was large and convenient, built of brick, and contained a row of copper stills which were all heated by one fire. The distilled oils, accompanied by water, were received into white China pots. The oils, of different beautiful colours, appeared at the top, and made a fine show in the numerous white vessels. We bought a considerable quantity, particularly of the culibaban and the cajeput, which we sold for a good profit at Bencoolen.

The nutmeg tree grows from twenty to thirty feet high, is from nine to fifteen inches in diameter at the lower part of the trunk, and the first limbs are eight or ten feet from the ground. The top of the tree is a regular cone. The common or female nutmeg is oval, and is covered by a husk, which is cured, and is the mace of commerce. The husk grows round the fruit in a spiral form, and is interesting to a curious observer. The shell, containing the nut, which is loose in it, is not thicker than that of a hen's egg. The shell must be kept on the fruit in order to have it cured. Without this, it will always spoil. We made many trials of it while we were at New Guinea. All the green nutmegs, which were brought us, we lost, by taking off the shell. We learned afterwards to keep the shell on, to throw them into lime water, and dry them till they would rattle. Then we could break the shell, and not lose the fruit. The long or male nutmeg has a different husk from the other, which makes an excellent pickle. The husk, mace, nut, and shell, afford very good preserves.

The clove resembles the red cherry tree, is not quite as large or as high as the nutmeg, and grows without the same regularity. The fruit grows in what is called the mother of clove, which opens

at the proper season, and the cloves are shaken out upon a sheet spread under the tree. The mother of clove is sometimes used for a preserve, and is good for that purpose.

The inhabitants of Amboyna have attended much to the cultivation of their gardens. They have introduced almost all the varieties of beans, peas, potatoes, turnips, beets, carrots, and other vegetables. The sugar cane grows abundantly in all the eastern islands. The people have made great progress in the mechanic arts. They do fine work in silver and gold, and are eminent in cabinet manufacture. Many of the Chinese are among them, and are noted for their industry and ingenuity.

The fashionable phrase for calling a party together at this island is to *smoke a pipe*. They meet at six o'clock in the evening. The gentlemen take a room by themselves till ten, smoking and drinking gin and beer, which are both from Holland. They are then joined by their wives and daughters, and have a hot supper, served up in an elegant style. Their furniture is various and handsome. I have often seen three beautiful chandeliers, white, blue, and red, hanging in a line in one room, over a table, and giving a splendid effect upon the china, the glass, and the plate. The evenings are sometimes spent in dancing, and the first people always have a band of music of their own. The slaves, who are chiefly Malays, with a few negroes from New Guinea, are taught to play admirably well on various instruments. We were invited to smoke a pipe every evening we were there. In return, we gave a ball, to which we invited all the best class of people, who cheerfully accepted of our invitation. The entertainment was sumptuous, and the party in excellent spirits. The ladies particularly seemed to enjoy the evening with their whole hearts. So great was the exhilaration on their part, and so entirely did we give our own minds and efforts to the objects of the occasion, that we found ourselves in some danger of producing a counteraction in the spirits of the Dutch gentlemen. My fellow officers were intelligent and agreeable men; their manners were easy, simple, and cordial; they were fond of society, and capable of enjoying it to a very high degree; and they were peculiarly happy in their conversation and attempts to give pleasure this evening. The ladies complimented us upon our spirit of gallantry, and flattered us by saying that we had contrived to make our party more delightful than any which they had formed

among themselves for the season. They jocularly asked us, why we could not stay with them at Amboyna, or take them with us to England. Our answer was of course prompt and courteous, that we were at their command, and should be delighted to have them for companions on shore, or in our wanderings upon the ocean. They would make us forget, with their songs and their smiles, the anger of the storm and the roar of the billows. Many remarks followed; much successful repartee was interchanged; arrangements for the execution of the project were pleasantly detailed; allusion was made to the amusements of the English metropolis, and the interest of a tour for the ladies of Amboyna through the towns and villages of Britain. This led to a comparison between the advantages of society in Amboyna and in England; and we discovered that the ladies had spoken of the latter in terms too flattering for the peace of our Dutch friends in the former. They remembered the hostility, which had been transmitted between the English and the Dutch, in consequence of their old controversy in the island, and actually took the whim into their heads, that we had laid a plan to carry off some of the ladies at the close of the party, not only for our own gratification, but by way of revenge for the former massacre of the English. While we laboured to return the courtesy we received, and to praise, as strangers should, the place where we were, and which in this instance most richly deserved our compliments, still we discovered great uneasiness in the remarks of the Amboyna gentlemen, which the ladies appeared to be quite willing, for the sake of variety and frolic, to excite, rather than to allay. At last we became a little alarmed ourselves, and by a happy effort, which all seemed to understand without consultation, we succeeded in turning the attention and sympathies of the whole party to other subjects and new modes of amusement, and in restoring a safer kind of mirth with the spirit of harmony and confidence.

This anecdote, concerning our social intercourse at Amboyna, I have mentioned in order to show that the most innocent pleasantries have their limits in the conversation between strangers, who are upon hospitality, and the wives and daughters of the fixed inhabitants. However sportively comparisons may be made between the states of society, in which the parties are personally interested, and however honest may be the design to furnish amusement for the hour, yet foreigners must always remember, in their inter-

course with the ladies of a country, how narrow the boundary is which divides the last step, in the course of a just familiarity and a delightful vivacity, from the first step into the forbidden field of licence and offence. Constraint, suspicion, and severity are not required, and should never be permitted to enter and disturb the social circle. The best security, which can be given in this respect, lies in good sense, good principles, a benevolent heart, and the habit of attending to the feelings of others. Under these guards, the perfection of vivacity and freedom may be united with delicacy and safety.

Before we leave Amboyna, it will be proper to observe that this island and Banda are the only two of the Moluccas, on which the Dutch cultivate nutmegs and cloves. These fruits are destroyed, by an order from the government, in all the others. Our anchoring place before the town, where we lay at Amboyna, was in latitude 3°, 43′ south, and in longitude 128°, 32′ east. The depth of water was thirteen fathoms, and the bottom was muddy. The harbour lies on the west side of the island, and is spacious. The inhabitants are generally Malays, who are very numerous.

We had orders to search for a strait through the southern part of the island of New Guinea, according to the suggestion which had been made by Captain Cook. We therefore sailed for the island again the 10th of October, and made the coast on the 25th, in latitude 2°, 21′ south. At six in the evening, we anchored in six fathoms water off against a large village, built upon piles, according to the common custom of all the islands which the Malays have visited, and over which they have had an influence.

The 26th was a day of adventures. Our object was to go up what has ever since been called McClure's Inlet. At day light there was little wind, and the tide was just turning against us. We waited therefore for a stronger wind, or for the tide to be in our favour. I had the morning watch, and asked White, the second lieutenant, to assist me in taking the bearings of the land. A small breeze springing up from the northwest, the commodore ordered the vessels to be got under way. At eight the anchors were stowed, and we sailed eastward up the bay, along the side of a sand bank on the north shore, which lies full a mile from the land. This bank is dry at low water. As we began to heave at the capstan, we saw several canoes, filled with natives, coming round a

point westward of us, at a distance of four or five miles. After we were under way, we discovered with the glass, that there were three large canoes with about thirty men in each, and eight small ones with each about ten men. They came to the bank, near to which we had been lying at anchor, and there got out of their canoes, and hauled them over the shoal. They approached us with flags of various colours flying, red, white, and blue, which were of different forms, and fancifully disposed. They made signs of friendship, waving a white cloth, and pouring water upon their heads with their hands. This is a universal practice, and one of great significancy, among the eastern islands. Treachery is peculiarly base when it is preceded by this token of peace and confidence. We answered all their signals of friendship, and showed ourselves ready for a harmonious and pacific intercourse. They dropped down across our stern, and pulled up for the Panther, the Endeavour being just ahead. The canoes came very near to us, and the people held up birds of Paradise in their hands, and wore them on their heads. Dr. Nicholson, who was on the quarter deck, prepared to get into the long boat, which was towed astern, for the purpose of trade. When the motion was made to haul the boat up, the natives appeared to be a little alarmed, and some of them bent their bows to shoot their arrows. But as soon as they saw the doctor get into the boat, with signs of good will, they resumed their attitude of peace. He held some calico in his hand, which he gave them, and the commodore threw a piece of white cloth to him, to be given to them also. This was done to inspire them with confidence in us, as we thought that they might thus be prevented from committing any act of hostility, and save bloodshed for both parties. One of the canoes was holding fast to the stern of the long boat, and a native manifested a desire that the doctor should enter it. He imprudently complied with the wish, and two of the natives conducted him to the middle of the canoe, where he sat down, while several of them stood round him, one dancing, and all exulting. This excited a little suspicion in my mind relative to their designs. A large canoe came near to the long boat, and one of the natives jumped into her. The boat keeper, a favourite Dane with the crew, was standing on the bow, and the native walked up to him, put his arms about his neck, and tried to throw him overboard. But the Dane with one hand held on to the rope, which

was made fast to the vessel, and with the other drew a jack-knife out of his pocket, opened it with his teeth, and was struggling to get an opportunity to use it against his treacherous enemy, when the latter suddenly slid into the water to avoid the danger, and laid hold of the side of the boat for support. Our men were generally below at breakfast, but I was standing on the arm chest, upon the quarter deck, anxiously observing these transactions. We always kept two wall-pieces mounted on the tafferel, which the commodore had ordered to be cleaned and loaded, after the canoes came in sight. They had however been poorly cleaned, and one only was loaded, which was slightly lashed by the breech. While I was unlashing it, with as little motion as possible, so as not to excite suspicion, I received an arrow in my breast, which was shot with such force, that although it hit directly upon the bone, it stuck fast. I immediately drew it out with my hand, and looked for vengeance upon these false savages from the grape shot and balls with which I knew the wall-piece was loaded. The natives were only twenty yards distant; but in attempting to fire among them, the powder flashed in the pan without effect, and to my great disappointment and vexation, I had only shown my disposition to hostility, and had killed nobody. A cloud of arrows now flew at every part of our vessel, at the men in the tops, at those going up, and at all who were upon deck, where it became dangerous to stand. The sails and the rigging were bristled with the weapons of the natives. Our people immediately mustered from below, and with the muskets in the tops and on deck, opened a brisk fire upon the canoes, while the Endeavour luffed from under our bow, and brought her broadside to bear directly against them. This they could not stand, and very quick dropped astern. They were apparently thrown into a panic after the discharge of our guns, as they all collected together, instead of separating their canoes, and retreating, as they would have done, had they not been unprepared for the effect of our fire arms. Before we began the fight on our part, we saw the negroes shoot several arrows into Nicholson, and hew him down with a large instrument like a butcher's cleaver. He must have expired almost instantly. We continued our fire upon the canoes, with good execution, till we drifted too far to reach them. During this unexpected, and totally irregular action, where every man did what he thought proper, the boatswain, whose conduct hereto-

fore has been mentioned to his disgrace, was as active, brave, and useful as any man in the crew. He was prompt to get into service the six pound brass piece on the forecastle, and assisted me constantly and ably in loading and discharging her against the enemy. Had the wind and tide permitted, we should have pursued the savages, and cut them all off. But as it was, we have good reason to suppose that we killed forty or fifty of the natives, besides ruining a number of their canoes, and destroying the out-riggers of several others. It is very remarkable that they wounded materially but four of us, notwithstanding they were expert in the use of the bow and arrow. The cause of this must have been the confusion into which they were thrown by our fire arms, and by the unexpected manner in which we met their treachery. They had previously, in other parts of the island, brought arrow heads to sell to us, and probably thought that we should fight them with weapons similar to their own. I cannot otherwise account for their miserable conduct in the close of this affair, when they commenced it so artfully and bravely.

Our wounds were dressed, order was restored, and we were ready to proceed on our survey at half past eleven the same morning. We had a consultation on the subject of trying to get the body of Nicholson, but it was unanimously thought to be inexpedient to make the attempt.

During the action, the quarter master at helm received an arrow in his hip, which could not be immediately extracted, and which was too long to allow him to continue his duty with it in that state. I broke it off, leaving a fragment of six inches in him, and he staid at the helm till the engagement was ended. The fragment was then pushed forward, till the point and barbs appeared on the other side of the hip, and was drawn out with pliers. Although this is not an anecdote of high claims, the reader may be assured that much true courage and fortitude were exhibited on this occasion by the quarter master.

A circumstance of a quite different kind happened while we were fighting, which forced a little mirth upon the boatswain and myself in the midst of our danger. We had made the gun at the forecastle so hot by continually firing her, that she broke all the breeching which we could supply. The cartridges were too large, but we could not then stop to make them less. With one very heavy charge, at the

fire, she flew backward into a large pen of pigs on deck, broke the legs of two or three, set the whole sty squealing in a tremendous concert, and quite drowned the cries of the women, a considerable number of whom were on board, and who had been shrieking in the cabin over the murder of poor Nicholson. The drum and fife were entirely outdone by this complication of tones. The noises and some of the associations of the scene before us, were so completely ludicrous, that we were obliged to relieve our sides by joining, though with laughter, in the common roar.

The arrows of the New Guineans are about four feet long, and half an inch in diameter. The shaft is a reed, and the head is of wood, bone, or stone. The sago tree is most generally used, when the head is of wood; but the shin bone furnishes the greatest number. Many of these were offered to us in trade. The bone is put into the hollow end of the reed, is closely lashed with cord, and then glued. By this process, the head cannot be separated from the body of the arrow. A single one will often have from fifteen to twenty barbs, each of which may be an inch in length.

The town, near to which we had the battle, covered a mile square, and was the largest we had seen. The population may be estimated by conjecture at twenty or thirty thousand. We made the latitude of it 2° 19′ south, and the longitude 132° 36′ east. It was at this place, as has been mentioned, that the Queen Indiaman lost three boats at once with all the crews, cut off by the natives. She was on this coast, making her eastern passage to China, and was in great want of water. The people, when they discovered this town, appear not to have known, or suspected, how savage the New Guineans are. The second and third officers were sent with two boats on shore. But they saw so many proofs of hostility among the natives, that they thought proper to return, without water, to the ship, and to report accordingly. The chief officer made some severe remarks upon this conduct, and said he would go himself and get water. The command was of course given to him by the Captain. The second officer requested that he might be of the party, and three boats were fitted out, with the three mates, and more than twenty men. When they landed at the town, the natives told them that there was fresh water a little distance from the shore. Most of the party went in pursuit of it, and the savages sought a favourable opportunity, and massacred all but two of them. One was a

lad whom they treated with no great cruelty. The other was a man, whose hands they tied behind him, and fastened him to a stake driven into the ground, so that he could not stand upon his feet. They kept him in this position till morning, and afterwards liberated him with the privilege of life. He and the boy ware sold to the Malays, who came from Ceram. They were carried on board an English Indiaman, and satisfactory payment was made to the Malays. One or both of them arrived in England.

The reef, which the natives had crossed when they came to attack us, extended nine miles to the eastward of the town, lying from one to three miles from shore, alternately dry and covered with water. We continued our course eastward till the 3d of November, exploring the bay till we found it so narrow as scarcely to leave us room to turn our vessels round. Although this was not the place, where we were ordered to seek a strait through New Guinea, yet we hoped to find one. The bay was filled with shoals, and we could not advance without sending boats to sound the channels. The bay at length was narrowed to a river, and the water was deep enough for a ship of any size. At this narrow place, the natives visited us again. If they did not know the effect of fire arms before, they did now, and were afraid of us. Two or three days after the engagement, as we were sailing up the gulf, a canoe with a number of men came off from the shore to examine us. One of our officers stepped upon the poop deck, with a spy-glass in his hand, and pointed it toward them to see their movements. Immediately they were all overboard, and in the water, as a mode of defence against the musket, for which they mistook the spy-glass. It was amusing to observe the dexterity with which this manœuvre was performed, and how soon it had been contrived.

After we entered the river, we had natives about us constantly. We plainly perceived that they only waited for a good opportunity to take some advantage of us. On account of their savage disposition, we called this Cut-throat Creek. We went nearly to its source, and found that our vessels could go no further. We stopped, and made an attempt to get a supply of water, of which we were very much in want. The natives told us that we could procure it by going up a small stream, where only a boat could pass. The Commodore said, we must have water at all events, if it were possible to obtain it. The natives were as thick as bees about us, and crowded

our decks. Hearing the Commodore's declaration, we looked at each other with great significancy, waiting to learn on whom the order to go out for water was to fall. We had now found how dangerous a duty this is at New Guinea. At length, White was selected, a man not more than twenty two years of age, although we used to call him old White. He was possessed of much information, but his face was as round and as red as the moon. On this occasion I could plainly see his colour fade, and his features fall. I confess, that I felt myself relieved when the command of this excursion was given to another. The launch was manned with eight Europeans, and White set off, with a chief and two of the natives for guides to show him the watering place. About forty canoes, full of natives, followed them up the creek. I felt, that I should never see old White again. We kept hostages however on board from among the savages to secure his safe return. When he was out of sight, he says, that the chief pulled a large kind of knife out of his basket, drew the edge of it across his own throat, counted his fingers, and pointed to his neck, to show how many heads he had cut off with his knife, and then would rub it across White's throat to prove how convenient the instrument was for the purpose of beheading a man. With amusements and intercourse of this nature, they passed the time in this search for water. At the head of the creek, the natives took White a third of a mile into the woods, and there showed him a very small spring, where he might fill a joint of bamboo, which would hold a gallon. In this scanty measure, it must be carried to the boat, and then taken to the vessel. The project of obtaining it in this manner was of course given up. White, after all this variety of intercourse with the chief and the natives, returned to us as pale as a shirt. And indeed his danger was great, notwithstanding the hostages, whom we had kept on board. These might have thrown themselves into the water, as they sometimes have done, and might have taken the risk of getting ashore. The natives could talk to them, and we not know the arrangements which they were making. And Commodore Mc Clure was too easy, not to say careless a man, to take the precautions, which I should think necessary to secure them by chains.

The natives continued round us all night. Those, who were on board, were ordered to quit the vessels. We heard them paddling softly along the shore till near morning. We were lying under a

high land, which hung almost over the vessels, and the top of it, at an elevation of forty five degrees, could not be more than a hundred yards from us. On this hill they kindled about a dozen fires, from which they might have thrown brands on board. Fearing this, we began to discharge our muskets at them, and soon drove them away, when their fires went out. When we shot among them, we heard several screams, and I suppose that we wounded and killed some of them.

We had much difficulty to prevent our vessels from getting aground here. The flats were extensive and muddy. We had to use warps from the shore, while at anchor, and when moving, we had to keep boats ahead to tow us. This put us on the watch constantly, lest the natives should attack our men in the boats. The whole navigation of Cut-throat Creek was filled with alarms and sufferings.

While we were in it, the natives brought us an abundance of the long nutmeg, and a small quantity of gold dust. We were not in a situation to pay much attention to the productions of the soil. The latitude of the head of the creek we made 2° 25′ south, and the longitude 134° 11′ east. We left the river, and sailed down the gulf more towards its south side than we did when going up. It makes eastward into the land, including the river, about one hundred miles, and is at the mouth ten or twelve leagues broad. Near its entrance, we found several small islands lying on the south side, and the land projects more to the west as the course is held south for many leagues. We were in latitude 2° 50′ south, when we were in longitude 132° east, and not more than ten or twelve miles from shore. We saw White island, and steered for Fresh-water bay, described by Dampier. His description of the bay is so excellent, that we found it without the least difficulty. Indeed we have never discovered any thing but truth in Dampier's accounts. He made difficult things plain, and simple things useful.

The anchoring place in the bay was in latitude 2° 56′ south, and longitude 132° 25′ east. The watering place was north 34° west, half a mile distant. There we procured plenty of wood, as well as water. There were no natives about the place, and the shores are easy of access. Under the same circumstances, it will always be convenient for ships at any time to take in water and wood at this bay.

The 17th of November we moved slowly south and east. The wind was ahead, the breezes light, and interrupted by calms. The 15th of December we were in latitude 6° 80′ south, and longitude 138° 24′ east, at the bottom of the bay, where Captain Cook supposed there was a strait through the island, and to explore which we were now sent. We had encouraged the hope of success in finding a passage, according to the conjecture, till we arrived at the point mentioned, and there saw that the land was stretching south and west again. We perceived nothing to render the navigation difficult. The soundings were generally regular, ten or twelve fathoms water, three or four miles from shore, and the bottom muddy. As we did not keep to land much, we saw few natives, after leaving Fresh-water bay. We observed a number of islands along this coast, but not many dangers.

When we had satisfied ourselves that there was no strait through New Guinea, at the place where we were directed to seek for one, we altered our course, and endeavoured to go north and west; but the winds blew into this deep bay from that quarter, and made it necessary for us to go further from land.

As I am now about to leave New Guinea without returning to it, I here insert a few general remarks. The natives are all negroes, and on every part of the coast, which we visited, were hostile and treacherous. The only persons, whom we saw, who were not of this description, were the Malays of Savage Town. The climate is considerably various, the soil productive, and the population extensive. In Cut-throat Creek, the alligators were so numerous that I have seen twenty of them at once, some lying on the shore, some in the edge of the water, and some swimming in the river. They were of various lengths, the largest about twelve feet. They seemed to be indifferent to us, except when we shot at them, as we often did, and then I have seen them jump their whole length clear of the ground, always toward the water. Their mouths are extremely large; they can run fast in a straight line, but turn with difficulty; and they appeared to us to be stupid. There are immense numbers of snakes on the island, and black scorpions which are the most venemous. We killed some of them, and found that they correspond to the description we had heard of them.

While we were on this coast, we had an opportunity to be con-

vinced that profitable voyages might be made at any season of the year to New Guinea, Ceram, Goram, and the other islands of this vicinity. The articles brought for trade should consist of all kinds of coarse cutlery, callico, India cottons, beads, small looking glasses, tin ware, crockery of different colours, and all sorts of trinkets. Every thing should be coarse and cheap, and the colours should be gay. In return the trader would receive gold dust, pearls, turtle shells, mother of pearl, sago, birds of Paradise, nutmegs, honey, bees-wax, the edible birds nests, sandal wood, various kinds of beautiful wood for cabinet furniture, and a great abundance of the beach-le-mar, a kind of slug found every where on the shores of these islands, and which the Asiatic epicures consider as a great luxury. A ship in this trade, must be well armed, and a good sailer in order to keep clear of the Dutch settlements. I have no doubt that twenty thousand dollars, thus invested in Europe or America, would furnish a return cargo to the amount of two, three, four, or even five hundred thousand dollars, taking China in the passage to sell what may have been obtained, and purchase again for the European or American market. The man engaged in this enterprise must be in all respects well qualified for it, and should have a ship of three hundred tons or upwards, fitted in the best manner, mounting fourteen guns, forty men, and well officered.

These seas afford plenty of good fish, and of many varieties. Water fowls also abound in them. The navigation is generally safe, but a good look-out must be always kept, and the lead and line must never be forgotten. It is not adviseable to work against the monsoon much at any time, as by studying the course of the winds, and the seasons when they blow, a better mode can always be adopted. Not regarding this, we were twice very near to a loss of our vessels on this coast. The first instance was after we had passed Revenge Straits. We stretched out westward the 9th and 10th of September, while the south east monsoon, in which direction we were bound, was blowing strong. We were kept at close haul on the wind; we were obliged to carry such a press of sail that we could do little else than attend to the vessel and the sails; we were not sufficiently faithful to the lead and the line; and we did not keep a good look-out. Suddenly we came on a shoal, as we were standing off from land, and were considering ourselves on that account as safe. This obliged us to come to an anchor with-

out having time to take in our sails, or to make preparation. We rode there till we could ride no longer; got our anchor, I can hardly tell how; ran back from the shoal; fell to leeward in a chain of small islands, and among sand banks; and had as much as we could do to get clear so far as to stand even westward in any direction. The second instance was when we were working north and west, out of the last gulf we explored. The wind continued strong from the north west, and compelled us to make long boards or tacks off shore at night. This appeared to us the most prudent way of navigating a vessel along a strange coast. We thus were without a long sand-bank, within which we had passed when we pursued our course south. On the 20th, at two o'clock in the morning, as we were making our board on shore, having been sounding in twenty two fathoms water, and on muddy bottom for some time, we suddenly found the water at nine fathoms on sand. The officer, who had the watch on deck, stepped into the cabin to inform the Commodore of this; but he had fortunately heard the quarter master sing the soundings. He sprang from his bed, put his head out of the quarter gallery window, and called to the man at the wheel, to hard to weather the helm, and wear ship. The helm was instantly put to the weather, the ship wore in only four fathoms water, and the breakers were within fifty yards of us.

The latitude of this reef is 5°, 40′ south, and the longitude 137°, 52′ east. It is several miles long, and some parts are dry.

We concluded, the 20th of December, to yield the plan of returning by the way of Revenge Straits, or round the north west end of Sallawatty, to the Pelew Islands. We steered off the coast south and west; as the winds prevail so much from the north and west at that season of the year, we should never be able to make the passage in the north west monsoon, which would last as long on this coast as the north east monsoon blows in the China Sea, till the 1st of May. We sailed as near west as the winds would permit, till the 29th of December. We then saw a small island on the north east coast of New Holland, in latitude 11°, 39′ south, and longitude 135°, 22′ east. Some allowance must be made for a possible error of a few miles in the longitude, since I am not satisfied by my journal, which is the longitude by account, and which by the chronometer, in this day's reckoning. They do not however differ but a few miles, and the error cannot be of much consequence.

We left the coast of New Guinea in latitude 5° 40′ south, and longitude 137°, 52′ east. Crossing over to the coast of New Holland, and passing westward of Endeavor Straits, we never had less than twelve, nor more than forty fathoms water. The bottom was generally muddy. We were apprehensive that we should not be able to go to the west of the gulf of Carpentaria, a gulf much dreaded by seamen, because the wind makes so strong a draught inward, and it is so difficult to get out. But the wind favored us some, and the current did not set to the leeward much. We got the advantage of the coast of New Holland, and the winds then were south and east, which had blown strong from the north west at New Guinea. We sailed along the north part of New Holland, some times in sight of the main land, and sometimes of small islands, to many of which we gave names, as we could not find them delineated on any chart. We were always in soundings from twelve to thirty fathoms, until the 7th of January, keeping in latitude 11° and 11° 30′ south, and in longitude from 135°, 12′ to 129°, 40′ east. From the 7th to the 15th, we had soundings from thirty to sixty fathoms, growing deeper as we proceeded westward. The wind also came more from that quarter than it did on our first approaching the coast. The land tended more to the south as we advanced, and on the 15th, we were in latitude 12°, 20′ south, and longitude 126°, 42′ east. To the 20th we had from forty to seventy fathoms water, winds from the same point, and our latitude was 12°, 1′ south, and longitude 115°, 6′ east. In a short run of fifty or sixty miles, we found no bottom with a line of ninety fathoms. The 22d, we crossed a shoal where we had but seven fathoms water in one spot, in latitude 11°, 4 south, and longitude 125°, 45′ east. This shoal, as we were informed at Timor, extends westward of that island, and is dry in many places. While we were coasting on the north side of New Holland, we passed several dangerous reefs, but discovered them in season to avoid the danger. The natives, whom we saw on the coast, appeared to be naked, were tall and stout, but we could not obtain an interview with them. We showed them cloth, and other articles at a distance, and made signs of friendship, but they were timid, and ran from their houses, taking the coverings with them, which were mats, or basket work. I presume that all the north side of that coast is peopled, and have no doubt that the lands are generally rich and fertile, judging from what we could see and learn. The wood was abundant.

After crossing the reef the 22d, we went off soundings, and could find no bottom with a line of a hundred and thirty fathoms. The 29th we found bottom within three or four miles of Timor, in from twenty eight to thirty fathoms water, on coral rocks, and in latitude 10°, 14′ south, and longitude 123° 46′ east. We anchored in the passage between Rotta and Timor. We worked through the strait of Semau the 30th, and anchored off fort Concordia in eighteen fathoms water, half a mile from shore. We saluted the fort with nine guns, which was returned with an equal number. The island of Rotta lies southwest of Timor, six or seven miles distant. In going northward between them, we passed two or three small islands on our larboard. We anchored under Semau, because it is much more safe riding there than off the town of Coupang. The water is very deep between Timor and the islands west of it, in the course which we took.

When we landed at Timor we found the same generous hospitality, which lieutenant Bligh and captain Edwards did. The latter had not been gone long, when we arrived. His fate we first learned at this place. We were met at our landing, by a number of the best people of the town, who conducted us to the governor's house, vying with each other in the offices of attention and kindness. A house, which had never yet been occupied, had been built at the publick expense for governor Vanjon, which he very politely offered to us for a residence during our stay in the island. We gratefully accepted the offer, and found the house spacious, surrounded by a handsome yard, and high trees growing in a square on each side of it. Some of these trees had been transplanted, as the gentlemen of the settlement informed us, when they were nearly a foot in diameter. The establishment was evidently an expensive one, and its appearance easily justified the accounts, which we had heard, of the care and cost bestowed upon it.

Commodore McClure made it his custom to take a house for the convenience of himself and his officers, in every port he visited, when he expected to spend any length of time. As he considered me the most acquainted with commercial affairs and the details of business, and having no regular purser on board, I was commissioned to purchase whatever was wanted for both vessels. This duty I performed always, after we left Macao, till I quit the service. He was satisfied with my conduct, and thus gave me a greater op-

portunity to be on shore than any other officer in the expedition enjoyed. The Dutch ladies and gentlemen called me Mr. Secretary, a title which they usually confered on the purser of a ship.

We took on shore whatever was necessary to keep house, and lived delightfully as long as we continued there. In every Dutch place, which we visited, we were treated with the same unreserved hospitality that we had experienced at Bouro and Amboyna. As we had been pretty severely tried in various dangers and hardships at New Guinea and the other islands, we considered ourselves as the fourth set of Englishmen who had arrived at Timor in want and distress. The Dutch said, that they believed all our vessels, which were unfortunate, paid them a visit. Lieutenant Bligh, after the mutiny against him in the Bounty by Fletcher Christian and others, was first in this catalogue of the unfortunate English at Timor. The second was a boat's crew, which sailed from Botany Bay, and traversed more than three thousand miles of the ocean in an open boat, on a very dangerous coast. The third instance was captain Edwards, who lost the Pandora, and who found the boat and crew from Botany Bay on his arrival.

When all the circumstances of this boat and its crew are considered, they will be thought as wonderful as those of Bligh or Edwards. According to Barrington's history, a man, named Bryant, with his wife and two children, taking with him seven other convicts, escaped from New South Wales, on the night of the 28th of March 1791, in a boat. The master of a Dutch snow furnished them with a chart and compass, and with these they hoped to reach Timor, as they actually did, but after many sufferings. When they landed on the island, they represented that they had been cast away on a reef southeast of it, and that all the ship's crew had perished except those in the boat. Bryant called himself captain, and said that his name was Martin. The only officer saved besides was the boatswain. The Dutch gave full credit to their story, and advanced money for their use, taking bills drawn on the English government. It is reported, and if true, the fact is greatly to the credit of English humanity, that provision has been made by law for men cast away, and in distress in a foreign land; that the bills of such persons shall be honored; and the claims of their benefactors allowed. But be this as it may, the government of Timor did advance money for the relief of Bryant and his party. He lived

at more expense, it seems, and with less care, than his situation and story required. In a period of irritation, and as some say of intoxication, the boatswain, in order to get revenge upon the captain for some insult, disclosed the whole history of their escape from New Holland. The Dutch immediately confined them all in close jail. This confinement commenced not many days before Edwards arrived with his boats. They were delivered to him, and he carried them to England for trial.

I have since understood, that Bryant, the boatswain, and most of the other convicts were transported again to Botany Bay; and that some of them were executed. The woman, having but six months of her exile to serve from the time of her escape, and having suffered very severely in the voyage in the boat, was allowed to stay in England, and complete the term of service there.

All the boats but one, in which these different parties of distressed persons came to Timor, were left there as a curiosity, and we saw them. This kind of gratification is natural, and no doubt has some use. It is immediately associated with the history, which gives interest to the event; and the moral uses of gratifying the sympathy are much the same with those of the history itself. The dangers which men will brave, and the sufferings which they will endure to execute any favorite wish, or to preserve life, show how much our happiness consists in emotion, how little reliance can be placed upon external circumstances, and how far our volitions are dependant upon any strong passion.

Timor deserves something of a description. The soil is rich, of a dark colour, of a bituminous appearance, and is productive. The climate is excellent, like that of Trinidad in the West Indies, the one being nearly in the same latitude south, in which the other is north. The air is good, and the thermometer stands at 85°, seldom varying more than four or five degrees from this point. It affords the necessaries of life in great abundance, rice, wheat, Indian corn, garden roots and vegetables, and all the tropical fruits. Cattle, buffaloes, deer, goats, horses, hogs, sheep, and the several kinds of poultry, are in plenty on the island. There are many kinds of valuable wood for cabinet furniture, and among them is the sandal wood of a very excellent quality. There is a great quantity of bees-wax, and of honey which has the most agreeable aromatic flavor. It is far more delicious than any honey

in our country. The bees are so numerous, that they have been said sometimes to take possession of a vessel near the shore, swarming upon the rigging, and making the crew leave the deck. Their sting is more venomous than that of the bees with us, according to the general increase of the force of poison in warm latitudes. Fish of a fine flavor are found about the island. On the beach immense quantities of ambergris are found. It was confidently asserted, that masses of this had been picked up weighing eighty or ninety pounds. I have since read a history of ambergris, which asserts that a piece was thrown ashore on the island of Tidor, weighing a hundred and eighty two pounds, and measuring five feet two inches in length. In the Edinburgh Encyclopædia it is said that "in 1755, the French East India Company had a still larger mass. It weighed two hundred and twenty five pounds, and was sold for 52,000 francs. According to Captain William Ketching, the Moors are said to find masses of ambergris of twenty quintals weight, upon the coasts of Monbassa, Magadoxa, and de Brava."

There are various opinions concerning the origin of this singular substance; but that, to which I have been led by my own observation, and which seems to be most generally adopted in modern books, is, that it is generated in the bowels of the spermaceti whale. Whether it be the effect, or the cause of disease, I know not; but I have seen a considerable number of whales opened, and never found ambergris in those which appeared to be healthy.

Timor is about a hundred and twenty miles long, and near forty broad. The longest line is from north east to south west. The south extreme lies in latitude 10°, 23′ south, and longitude 123°, 40′ east. The town of Coupang lies on the north west side of a cove at the south end of the island, and is in some measure sheltered by the islands which are westward of it, though they are at a great distance. The fort, which is designed to protect it, could not hold out long against two or three frigates. A beautiful river runs through the town, coming down from the country, and passing over picturesque falls. A short distance from the mouth of the river is one of these falls, where we used to resort in the afternoon to bathe. The parties on these occasions were very pleasant. Ladies and gentlemen were collected; male and female servants prepared the tea, the smoking apparatus, bottles and glasses, and the bathing clothes; and thus we all set out for the place

of the bath, while some of the servants played on instruments of ic, and others sung. They were Malays, and played and sung extremely well. The walk was usually half a mile, or three quarters. The bank of the river was covered with beautiful rows of fragrant trees, under which small houses were placed to afford convenient shelter for throwing off, or putting on clothes. The Dutch people wore a Malay garment into the bath, and we adopted the same style. This garment is a sort of petticoat, which comes up as high as the arms, but always leaves them free. The ladies, as well as the gentlemen, tye them below the arms, although they make them so as to cover the bosom. Some of these bathing robes were extremely fine and beautiful. When prepared, the ladies and gentlemen go into the stream together, sitting, or standing, with their backs to the current, and letting the water, in its natural course, rush over their heads, or flow around them. A place between two rocks, with a stone in front against which to support the feet, was a favorite spot, where one might sit securely and enjoy the current, without being disturbed by it. Half an hour, or three quarters, we often spent in the water in this manner, a period however much too long for health. After dressing in the small houses, the company assembled at tables which were spread under the trees, with a charming prospect before them, aromatic gales around them, and luxuries for their repast. The river was twenty yards wide; the water foamed over the rocks with a most graceful motion in some places, and with a sublime violence in others; and below, it spread itself out like a calm and transparent lake reflecting delicious scenery from its bosom. In such a climate, nothing could be more delightful. The tables were furnished with fruits and liquors of exquisite flavor. The Dutch have the merit of adapting every thing to the taste in their East India settlements. A visit to them in succession is a perpetual feast.

But we paid too dearly for this pleasure of fresh water bathing. We took it so frequently, and stayed in the stream so long, that we brought on intermittent fevers, and several of our officers died. All would have died, had we not left off this indulgence. Europeans must be always cautious how they bathe in fresh water in hot countries. The effect of it in Timor is not the first instance of the kind, which I have known from personal observation.

Besides this amusement of bathing, we had parties for dancing,

and often to smoke a pipe, as at Amboyna. The spirit of society was generally prevalent, and the facility to be pleased was great. Adrian Van Este, who was governor of the island when Bligh was there, was now dead; but his widow was living, and paid us the most flattering attentions. Among other civilities, she sent her band of music, which was remarkably fine, to serenade us every morning at the earliest dawn. The musicians took their stand under the large trees about our house, and while they gave the sweetest tones to the ear, they also furnished a charming scene to the eye, as the day advanced, and showed their handsome liveries amidst the green foliage.

The natives of Timor are Malays, a people whom I have already mentioned several times, whose origin is not clearly ascertained, but who are scattered over an immense portion of the islands and coasts of the east. They are Mahometans, and are numerous upon this island. They had a rajah or prince at their head, who resided seven or eight miles from Coupang, to whom the Dutch paid but little regard. We had some curiosity to see him, and made him a visit. We carried a number of presents with us of small value, which he graciously received. He returned our visit, and brought with him, as a compliment to our commodore, a young male buffalo, which had been recently taken, and was perfectly wild. The Malays led and governed him by a number of their strongest vines, which were fastened about his horns, and which were held by different parties of eight or ten, both before and behind. In this manner they kept him from attacking them, although he was exceedingly restive under their management. After he was led into a yard, his head was brought close to the trunk of a tree, and there confined. Our people made a bowline knot, or noose, in the end of a rope, threw it down by his feet, and pricked him till he stepped into it. But the force and activity of his legs were so great, that he kicked himself loose from the rope fifty times in succession, and we almost despaired of gaining the victory over his heels. And when at length we succeeded in making the noose fast upon his legs, and drew them behind him so as to force him to lie flat upon his side; yet the moment a man approached with a knife to cut his throat, as the present was designed for the table, he made such efforts with his wild unconquerable strength, that it required considerable courage to give him his death wound, with the

deliberation necessary to prevent a repetition of the stroke and a cruel continuance of the pain by mangling his neck. He had the most vigorous muscle, untameable spirit, and made the most obstinate resistance, of any animal, that I ever saw. Indeed I confess that his native courage, his wild proud spirit, his scorn of his numerous foes and their arts, his perservering reliance upon his own strength, and the fear he inspired even when he was subdued, surrounded him with such associations of magnanimity and fortitude under unjust sufferings, that I found myself more interested in him than in any of the human forms in the circle, and instinctively gave him for the moment a higher rank. Our pride, on such an occasion, receives but a poor homage from art, which is offered at the expense of natural strength and courage, when so many men are required to vanquish a single champion from the forest.

To these thoughts however another train succeeds. If the wildness of nature, and the boldness of courage in a savage state, excite our admiration, the blessings and enjoyments of civilized life, when these animals are tamed, will interest our benevolence. The buffalo may be perfectly domesticated, and is then eminently useful to society, while he is equally happy for himself under the kind treatment of a good master, in all the variety of employments to which oxen and cows are appropriated. Two of the males are considered as strong as four horses, in the labors of the cart or the plough; while the females furnish families with milk, butter, and cheese, for their tables. The beef also is nourishing and good, though not of so high a flavor as that of the ox.

I cannot close my account of the hospitality of Timor, without observing, that Governor Vanjon was as attentive to us in his private as in his public character, and appeared to make our interest and wants his own. Lieutenant Governor Frey was of the same disposition and character, and truly deserves to have his name recorded in the same place with that of Vanjon.

When the hospitality and the courtesies of the Dutch islands toward us are so often mentioned in this narrative, it may be supposed by some, that the praise is designed to give colour and prominence to the incidents of the book, and that the representations are too strong for the reality. But it must be remembered that the expedition of Commodore McClure was a public enterprise, under the direction of the English government; that it possessed a

general interest, especially for the inhabitants of all the eastern islands, who were pleased to have the attention of the world called to their importance, and thus to enlarge their intercourse; that the officers of the expedition were capable of appreciating hospitality and of increasing the pleasure of those who bestowed it; and that the manners and temper of McClure himself were remarkably adapted to conciliate affection, and invite confidence, wherever he went.

CHAPTER V.

The expedition, under the command of Lieutenant William Bligh, in the Bounty, to Otaheite for the bread-fruit tree—The mutiny on board—Captain Edwards and the Pandora—The fate of the Mutineers, and the settlement on Pitcairn's Island.

I HAVE now arrived at a point in my narrative, where it is more proper for me, than at any other place, to introduce a subject, which has excited much interest in the public mind, and which is calculated to afford many valuable reflections upon human character. This subject is the singular family which has been discovered on Pitcairn's Island, and which sprung from the mutineers of the English ship Bounty, and the Otaheitan women whom they carried with them.

The reasons which I have for interweaving this story with my narrative, will I trust be thought sufficient. At Timor, I found in the possession of governor Vanjon, a manuscript history of the cruise of the Pandora, written by Captain Edwards himself, who was sent out by the English government, in search of the Bounty and the mutineers. This manuscript I copied, and shall present the substance of it to the reader.

I have also lived a considerable time with Captain Folger, the first person who visited the family upon Pitcairn's Island, and from whom most of the information concerning the state of it has been derived. He very often conversed with me upon this subject, and gave me a number of details which have not been before printed. These details cannot be communicated to the public in a proper form without introducing an abstract of the whole history. It has been considered advisable therefore to devote this chapter to an account of Bligh's expedition and its consequences. I have been at the expense of having a plate cut from Carteret's voyage, to give to my readers a map of Pitcairn's Island, and thus to furnish the

best idea of it which the present state of our knowledge will admit. The most interesting facts, recorded in other books, will be found in this chapter, and to these some additions will be made from the information which it has been in my power to obtain.

It is well known, that Lieutenant William Bligh was selected by the English goverment in 1787, to command an expedition to Otaheite to obtain the bread-fruit tree for the West Indies. His commission was dated the 16th of August. The vessel, purchased and fitted out for this object, was named the Bounty, with a reference to the nature of the enterprise. A very convenient arrangement was made in it for a garden of pots with the bread fruit plants. The crew consisted of forty six persons, of whom twenty one were officers, twenty three were seamen, and two were gardeners.

The Bounty sailed from Spithead on Sunday the 23d of December, 1787. She attempted first to make her passage by the way of Cape Horn, and was in sight of Terra del Fuego March 11th, 1788. But in consequence of the difficulty of the navigation in this course, Lieutenant Bligh determined, with advice, to go by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, and changed his direction accordingly the 22d of April. He stayed thirty eight days in False Bay, and sailed again the 1st of July. Passing the island of St. Paul, Mewstone near the south west cape of Van Dieman's Land, and Adventure Bay, where he anchored the 20th of August, he discovered, the 19th of September, a cluster of small rocky islands, in latitude 47° 44′ south, and in longitude 179°, 7′ east, thirteen in number, and a hundred and forty five leagues east of the Traps, which are near to the south end of New Zealand. These he named after the ship, the Bounty Isles. The 25th of October, he saw the island Maitea, called Osnaburg by Captain Wallis the discoverer, and at six in the evening he saw Otaheite. He anchored in Matavai Bay the 26th, and a great number of canoes came immediately around him. The natives inquired if the people in the ship were *tyos*, friends, and if they were from *Pretanie*, Britain, or from Lima. As soon as they were satisfied, they crowded the decks of the Bounty, without regarding the efforts which were made to prevent them.

Lieutenant Bligh stayed at Otaheite twenty three weeks. During this time, he and his crew became intimately acquainted with the na-

tives, and were treated with the greatest hospitality. They interchanged civilities in the ship and on shore, and lived in the exercise of mutual good will. Many very interesting details are to be found in the history of this period. No appearances of discontent, on the part of the crew, were discovered. At one time indeed three seamen deserted, but they surrendered themselves afterwards, and were received. The 6th of February, 1789, all the bread-fruit plants, amounting to 1015, were taken on board in a healthy state. Besides these, the Bounty had a number of other plants, "the *avee*, one of the finest flavoured fruits in the world; the *ayyah*, not so rich, but of a fine flavour and very refreshing; the *rattah*, not much unlike a chesnut; the *orai-ah*, a superior kind of plantain; the *ettow* and *matte*, with which the natives make a beautiful red colour; and a root called *peeah*, of which they make an excellent pudding."

The 4th of April, Lieut. Bligh stood out to sea from Toahroah harbour, and on the 23d he anchored at Annamooka, one of the Friendly islands. This place he left the 26th, and on the 27th was between the islands of Tofoa and Kotoo, in latitude 19° 18′ south. He steered westward to go south of Tofoa, and gave orders for this direction to be followed during the night. The master had the first watch, the gunner the middle watch, and Mr. Christian the morning watch. Thus far the voyage had been peaceful and prosperous. After this the scene changed.

The following is the account given of the mutiny by Lieutenant Bligh himself. "Tuesday, the 28th, just before sun rising, while I was yet asleep, Mr. Christian, with the master at arms, gunner's mate, and Thomas Burkitt, seaman, came into my cabin, and seizing me, tied my hands with a cord behind my back, threatening me with instant death, if I spoke or made the least noise. I however called as loud as I could in hopes of assistance; but they had already secured the officers, who were not of their party, by placing sentinels at their doors. There were three men at my cabin door, besides the four within. Christian had only a cutlass in his hand; the others had muskets and bayonets. I was hauled out of bed, and forced on deck in my shirt, suffering great pain from the tightness with which they had tied my hands. I demanded the reason of such violence, but received no other answer, than abuse for not holding my tongue. The master, the gunner, the surgeon, Mr.

Elphinston, master's mate, and Nelson, were kept confined below; and the fore hatchway was guarded by sentinels. The boatswain and carpenter, and also the clerk, Mr. Samuel, were allowed to come upon deck, where they saw me standing abaft the mizen-mast with my hands tied behind my back, under a guard, with Christian at their head. The boatswain was ordered to hoist the launch out, with a threat, if he did not do it instantly, *to take care of himself.*

"When the boat was out, Mr. Haywood and Mr. Hallet, two of the midshipmen, and Mr. Samuel, were ordered into it. I demanded what their intention was in giving this order, and endeavoured to persuade the people near me not to persist in such acts of violence; but it was to no effect. 'Hold your tongue, Sir, or you are dead this instant,' was constantly repeated to me.

"The master by this time had sent to request that he might come on deck, which was permitted; but he was soon ordered back again to his cabin.

"I continued my endeavours to turn the tide of affairs, when Christian changed the cutlass, which he had in his hand, for a bayonet that was brought to him, and holding me with a strong gripe by the cord that tied my hands, he with many oaths threatened to kill me immediately, if I would not be quiet. The villains round me had their pieces cocked, and bayonets fixed. Particular people were called on to go into the boat, and were hurried over the side; whence I concluded that with these people I was to be set adrift. I therefore made another effort to bring about a change, but with no other effect than to be threatened with having my brains blown out.

"The boatswain and seamen, who were to go in the boat, were allowed to collect twine, canvass, lines, sails, cordage, an eight and twenty gallon cask of water, and Mr. Samuel got a hundred and fifty pounds of bread, with a small quantity of rum and wine, also a quadrant and compass; but he was forbidden on pain of death to touch either map, ephemeris, book of astronomical observations, sextant, time keeper, or any of my surveys or drawings.

"The mutineers having forced those of the seamen, whom they meant to get rid of, into the boat, Christian directed a dram to be served to each of his own crew. I then unhappily saw that nothing could be done to effect the recovery of the ship. There was no

one to assist me, and every endeavour on my part was answered with threats of death.

"The officers were next called upon deck, and forced over the side into the boat, whilst I was kept apart from any one, abaft the mizen-mast, Christian, armed with a bayonet, holding me by the bandage that secured my hands. The guard round me had their pieces cocked, but on my daring the ungrateful wretches to fire, they uncocked them.

"Isaac Martin, one of the guard over me, I saw, had an inclination to assist me, and as he fed me with shaddock, my lips being quite parched, we explained our wishes to each other by our looks; but this being observed, Martin was removed from me. He then attempted to leave the ship, for which purpose he got into the boat; but with many threats they obliged him to return.

"The armourer, Joseph Coleman, and two of the carpenters, Mc Intosh and Norman, were also kept contrary to their inclination; and they begged of me, after I was astern in the boat, to remember that they declared they had no hand in the transaction. Michael Byrne, I am told, likewise wanted to leave the ship.

"It is of no moment for me to recount my endeavours to bring back the offenders to a sense of their duty. All I could do was by speaking to them in general, but it was to no purpose, for I was kept securely bound, and no one except the guard suffered to come near me.

"To Mr. Samuel I am indebted for securing my journals and commission, with some material ship papers. Without these I had nothing to certify what I had done, and my honour and character might have been suspected, without my possessing a proper document to have defended them. All this he did with great resolution, though guarded and strictly watched. He attempted to save the time keeper, and a box with my surveys, drawings and remarks for fifteen years past, which were numerous, when he was hurried away with 'Damn your eyes, you are well off to get what you have.'

"It appeared to me that Christian was sometime in doubt whether he should keep the carpenter, or his mates: at length he determined on the latter, and the carpenter was ordered into the boat. He was permitted, but not without some opposition, to take his tool chest.

"Much altercation took place among the mutinous crew during the whole business. Some swore, 'I'll be damned if he does not find

his way home, if he gets any thing with him,' meaning me: And when the carpenter's chest was carrying away, 'Damn my eyes, he will have a vessel built in a month.' While others laughed at the helpless situation of the boat, being very deep, and so little room for those who were in her. As for Christian, he seemed as if meditating destruction on himself and every one else.

"I asked for arms, but they laughed at me, and said I was well acquainted with the people among whom I was going, I therefore did not want them. Four cutlasses however were thrown into the boat, after we were veered astern.

"The officers and men being in the boat, they only waited for me, of which the master at arms informed Christian; who then said, 'Come, captain Bligh, your officers and men are now in the boat, and you must go with them. If you attempt to make the least resistance, you will instantly be put to death:' and without further ceremony, with a tribe of armed ruffians about me, I was forced over the side, where they untied my hands. Being in the boat, we were veered astern by a rope. A few pieces of pork were thrown to us, and some clothes, also the cutlasses I have already mentioned; and it was then that the armourer and carpenters called out to me to remember that they had no hand in the transaction. After having undergone a great deal of ridicule, and been kept some time to make sport for these unfeeling wretches, we were at length cast adrift in the open ocean.

"I had with me in the boat the following persons:

Names.	*Stations.*
John Fryer,	Master.
Thomas Ledward,	Acting Surgeon.
David Nelson,	Botanist.
William Peckover,	Gunner.
William Cole,	Boatswain.
William Purcell,	Carpenter.
William Elphinston,	Master's Mate.
Thomas Haywood, John Hallet,	Midshipmen.
John Norton, Peter Linkletter,	Quarter Masters.
Lawrence Lebogue,	Sail Maker.

John Smith. }	Cooks.
Thomas Hale, }	
George Simpson,	Quarter Master's Mate.
Robert Tinkler,	A Boy.
Robert Lamb,	Butcher.
Mr. Samuel,	Clerk.

There remained on board the Bounty:

Fletcher Christian,	Master's Mate.
Peter Haywood, }	
George Stewart, }	Midshipmen.
Edward Young, }	
Charles Churchill,	Master at Arms.
John Mills,	Gunner's Mate.
James Morrison,	Boatswain's Mate.
Thomas Burkitt,	Able Seaman.
Matthew Quintal,	Ditto.
John Sumner,	Ditto.
John Millward,	Ditto.
William McKoy,	Ditto.
Henry Hilbrant,	Ditto.
Michael Byrne,	Ditto.
William Musprat,	Ditto.
Alexander Smith,	Ditto.
John Williams,	Ditto.
Thomas Ellison,	Ditto.
Isaac Martin,	Ditto.
Richard Skinner,	Ditto.
Matthew Thompson,	Ditto.
William Brown,	Ditto.
Joseph Coleman,	Armourer.
Charles Norman,	Carpenter's Mate.
Thomas McIntosh,	Carpenter's Crew.

"In all twenty-five hands, and the most able seamen of the ship's company.

"Having little or no wind, we rowed pretty fast towards Tofoa, which bore north east about ten leagues from us. While the ship was in sight, she steered to the west north west, but I considered

this only as a feint; for when we were sent away, "Huzza for Otaheite" was frequently heard among the mutineers.

"Christian, the chief of the mutineers, is of a respectable family in the north of England. This was the third voyage he had made with me; and as I found it necessary to keep my ship's company at three watches, I had given him an order to take charge of the third, his abilities being thoroughly equal to the task; and by this means the master and gunner were not at watch and watch.

"Haywood is also of a respectable family in the north of England, and a young man of abilities, as well as Christian. These two had been objects of my particular regard and attention, and I had taken great pains to instruct them, having entertained hopes that as professional men they would have become a credit to their country.

"It will very naturally be asked, what could be the reason for such a revolt; in answer to which I can only conjecture, that the mutineers had flattered themselves with the hopes of a more happy life among the Otaheitans than they could possibly enjoy in England; and this joined to some female connexions most probably occasioned the whole transaction.

"The women at Otaheite are handsome, mild and cheerful in their manners and conversation, possessed of great sensibility, and have sufficient delicacy to make them admired and beloved. The chiefs were so much attached to our people, that they rather encouraged their stay among them than otherwise, and even made them promises of large possessions. Under these, and many other attendant circumstances, equally desirable, it is now perhaps not so much to be wondered at, though scarcely possible to have been foreseen, that a set of sailors, most of them void of connexions, should be led away; especially when in addition to such strong inducements they imagined it in their power to fix themselves in the midst of plenty, on one of the finest islands in the world, where they need not labour, and where the allurements of dissipation are beyond any thing that can be conceived."

Such is the account, which Lieut. Bligh has given of this mutiny. The boat, into which so many persons were forced, was twenty three feet long, six feet and nine inches wide, and two feet nine inches deep. In this they passed many islands, ran along the coast of New Holland, and on the 14th of June, a period of forty seven days from the mutiny, landed at Timor. Their sufferings and dan-

gers were extreme. "The abilities of a painter perhaps could seldom have been displayed to more advantage than in the delineation of the two groupes of figures which at this time presented themselves to each other. An indifferent spectator would have been at a loss which most to admire, the eyes of famine sparkling at immediate relief, or the horror of their preservers at the sight of so many spectres, whose ghastly countenances, if the cause had been unknown, would rather have excited terror than pity. Our bodies were nothing but skin and bones, our limbs were full of sores, and we were clothed in rags. In this condition, with the tears of joy and gratitude flowing down our cheeks, the people of Timor beheld us with a mixture of horror, surprise, and pity.

The governor, Mr. William Adrian Van Este, notwithstanding extreme ill health, became so anxious about us, that I saw him before the appointed time. He received me with great affection, and gave me the fullest proofs that he was possessed of every feeling of a humane and good man."

From Timor Lieut. Bligh went to Batavia, and from thence he sailed to England, where he arrived and landed at Portsmouth, the 14th of March, 1790. Out of the nineteen, who were forced into the launch, twelve survived the hardships of the voyage, and revisited their native country.

The 7th of November the same year, Capt. Edward Edwards sailed from England in the ship Pandora, to search for the Bounty and the mutineers. He went round Cape Horn to Otaheite, where he arrived the 23d March, 1791, having touched at Teneriffe and Rio Janeiro. The substance of his account is as follows. After we entered Matavia bay, Joseph Coleman, one of the mutineers, and several natives came on board. In the course of the day, Peter Haywood, George Stewart, and Richard Skinner, also of the Bounty's crew, came on board. From them we learned that the Bounty had been twice at Otaheite, since she had been in possession of the pirates; that she sailed from thence on the night of the 21st of September, 1790, with Fletcher Christian, Edward Young, Matthew Quintal, William McKoy, Alexander Smith, John Williams, Isaac Martin, William Brown, John Mills, and several male and female natives of the island; that Joseph Coleman, George Stewart, Peter Haywood, Thomas Burkitt, John Sumner, James Morrison, John Millward, Henry Hilbrant, Charles Norman, Thomas McIntosh,

Michael Byrne, William Musprat, Thomas Ellison, Richard Skinner, Charles Churchill, and Matthew Thompson, were left at Otaheite by their own desire; and that some of them had sailed from Matavia bay, on the very morning before our arrival, for Papara, a distant part of the island, where some other of the pirates lived. They went in a schooner, which they had built for themselves. In consequence of this intelligence, we sent two boats in pursuit of them the same evening, but the pirates saw the boats, and put to sea immediately in their schooner. The boats chased her, but the wind blowing fresh, she outsailed them, and they returned to the ship. The schooner had, as it was said, very little water or provisions on board, and could not continue long at sea. Persons were employed to look out for her, and give information, should she return to the island.

The 25th of March, Michael Byrne came on board the Pandora, and delivered himself up. In the morning of the 27th, intelligence was received that the schooner had returned to Papara, and the pirates were gone into the mountains to conceal and defend themselves. Mr. Corner, the second lieutenant, was sent in a few hours in the launch with twenty six men to take them; and Mr. Hayward, the third lieutenant, was sent in the pinnace with a party to join the launch. In the evening of the 28th the launch brought to the ship James Morrison, Charles Norman, and Thomas Ellison, three of the pirates taken at Papara. The schooner was captured the 1st of April. On the 7th, Corner and Hayward marched with a party round the island on the opposite side from Papara, and succeeded in taking all the pirates. They had left the mountains, and were near the shore when they were discovered. They surrendered themselves on being commanded to lay down their arms.

It was reported to us, that Charles Churchill had been killed by Matthew Thompson, several months previous to our arrival, and that Thompson was afterwards killed by the natives, and offered as a sacrifice for the murder of Churchill, whom they had made a chief.

We learned that Christian, after he had turned Lieutenant Bligh adrift, went with the Bounty to the island Toobouai, and intended to settle there. But being in want of many things necessary for this purpose, he returned to Otaheite to procure them. He told the natives that Lieutenant Bligh was left at an island, which he had discovered, and where he designed to make a settlement. The

ship had come to Otaheite to get hogs, goats, bread fruit trees, other plants, and various seeds. The natives believed the story, and gave a supply of every thing which they had. Christian then returned to Toobouai, taking with him several women. He and his companions had nearly finished a fort at this place, when they agreed to abandon it, because of quarrels among themselves, and wars with the natives, which they had brought on by their depredations. They determined by a majority of votes, to go to Otaheite, and there leave as many as desired it. Accordingly the sixteen men, already mentioned, were left, while the others went away with the ship. Most of their spare masts, yards, and booms, were lost at Toobouai. The small arms, powder, canvass, and stores were divided equally among them all.

The only intelligence which we could obtain after this period, was, that the Bounty was seen to the north west on the morning after she sailed; that Christain had been heard frequently to say that he would seek an uninhabited island in which there was no harbour for ships; and that he would run the Bounty ashore, break her up, and get from her whatever would be useful to him in his intended settlement. Provided as he was with live stock, plants and seeds, and having women with his men, this plan was highly probable.

The pirate schooner was equipped as a tender; two petty officers and seven men were put on board of her; and we left Otaheite the 8th of May. We visited most of the islands in the neighborhood, and proceeded to Whylootacke and Palmerston. On the latter we found a yard marked *Bounty's driver yard.* We could not however, by any examination, discover the track of the Bounty or her people. In searching for information around this island, we lost a midshipman and four seamen in a cutter. The yard was supposed to have drifted hither from Toobouai.

Hilbrant, one of our prisoners, told us, that Christian had declared to him, he would go to an island near to Danger Island, which answered the description of the Duke of York's, discovered by Byron, and if he found it suited to his purpose, he would stay there. In consequence of this, we visited that island, and some others in the neighborhood, but found no traces of the ship or the mutineers.

The 23d of June, we lost sight of the tender, off the island Oahtooah, and never saw her again. After cruising two days about this place, we made the best of our way to Rotterdam, one of the Friendly Islands. We had agreed in case of separation to rendezvous there. We visited Navigator's Islands, passed Pylsaarts, examined Middleburgh and Amsterdam, saw several not delineated in any chart, and returned to Rotterdam. We sailed thence the 2d of August, with the intention to go to England by Endeavour Straits. On the 25th, we fell in with a reef, and with islands which we supposed were connected with it, on the east side of New South Wales. Along this reef we sailed south inclining to the east, searching for an opening in it, which we found on the morning of the 28th. We sent an officer in a boat to examine the opening, and were informed by signal that it had water enough to permit the ship to run through. It lies in latitude 11°, 12′ south, and longitude 216° 22′ west. Signal was made for the boat to come on board, but it was night before she reached us, and we lost sight of her.

By discharging guns and burning fires we made known our situations to each other. About half past seven in the evening, we got soundings in fifty fathoms water. At the same moment, the boat was seen close to our stern. We thought the water was discoloured, and hauled our tacks on board; but before the sails could be trimmed, and just as the boat got along side, the ship struck upon the reef. We hoisted out the boats to carry off an anchor, but before this object could be accomplished, the ship made so much water that it became necessary to employ every body at the pumps and in bailing. We had more than eight feet of water in the hold. Soon after this, the ship beat over the reef. We let go an anchor, and brought her up in fifteen fathoms. The water gained upon us only in a small degree, and we flattered ourselves for some time, that by the assistance of a thrummed topsail, which we were preparing, and intended to haul under the ship's bottom, we should be able to free her from water. This flattering hope did not continue long. As she settled in the water the leak increased so fast, that there was reason to apprehend she would sink before daylight. But with great exertion at the pumps and in bailing, we put off this event till we saw the sun rise, and had an opportunity to ascertain our situation and its danger. We kept our boats astern, and put into them a small quantity of provisions and

other necessary articles. We made rafts, and unlashed the booms and every thing else upon deck. At half past six, the hold was full; water was between decks; it washed in at the upper deck ports; we began to leap overboard, and take to the boats; but all could not get out of her before she actually sunk. The boats continued astern, in the direction of the tide from the ship, and picked up the people who had laid hold of rafts and other floating articles which had been cast loose for this purpose. We loaded two of the boats with people, and sent them to an island about four miles distant. Boats were immediately dispatched again to look about the wreck and the reef for those who were missing, but returned without finding an individual. Being mustered, we found that eighty nine of the ships' company, and ten of the pirates who were prisoners on board, were saved; and that thirty one of the ship's company, with four of the pirates, were lost.

We hauled up the boats to fit them for our intended run to Timor; we took an account of provisions and other articles saved; and spread them out to dry. We put ourselves on the following allowance: three ounces of bread, which was occasionally reduced to two; half an ounce of portable soup; half an ounce of essence of malt; one glass of wine; and two glasses of water. The soup and malt were not issued till after we left the island.

In the afternoon of the 30th, we sent a boat to the wreck to see if any thing could be procured. She returned with the head of a top gallant mast, a little of the top gallant rigging, and part of the lightning chain, but without a single article of provision. A boat was sent to fish, but returned with the loss of a grapnel, and without a fish.

The boats were completed and launched the 31st; we put every thing we had saved on board; and at half after ten in the forenoon we embarked. The island, or key, that we left, was only thirty two yards across at high water, and a little more than double the distance in length. It produced not a tree, nor a shrub, nor a blade of grass. It had no water, and the only useful article, which we procured there, was a few shell fish.

We steered north west by west. We soon discovered that the water in two of our largest vessels was so bad as to be rejected even by people in our situation, and that we had not twenty gallons fit to be drank. We saw land the 1st of September, probably

New South Wales, and sent the yawl ashore. Water was found, and two kegs were filled. We ran into a bay of what Lieutenant Bligh calls Mountainous Island, and there saw Indians on the beach. They waded off to us, we made them small presents, and gave them to understand that we wanted water. They filled a vessel for us, and returned to fill it again. They made signs for us to land, but we declined. Just as a native was stepping from the shore to bring us a second vessel of water, an arrow was shot at us, and stuck in the quarter of the boat. We fired a volley of muskets, and they fled. We had previously seen that they were collecting bows and arrows, and were upon our guard.

We afterwards landed at what we named Plum Island, from a species of plum we found upon it; but we obtained there no water. We steered our course in the evening for the Prince of Wales Islands, and at 11 o'clock at night came to a grapnel in a sound near one of them. The next morning we landed, and by digging, found good water. We filled all our vessels, and two canvass bags besides, which we had made for this purpose. But with all this, we had only a gallon of water for each man. We sent our kettles on shore, made tea and portable soup, picked a few oysters off the rocks, and had the best meal we had made since the day before the wreck.

The 2d of September, we saw the northern extremity of New South Wales, which forms the south side of Endeavor Straits. From this we took our departure and sailed westward. The allowance of bread, three ounces, the people could not eat, because of excessive heat and thirst. Indeed we suffered more from these two causes than from hunger. The 13th of September, at 7 o'clock in the morning, we saw Timor. Land was never beheld with greater pleasure. We gave him, who first discovered the island, two glasses of water, and to the others one. The yawl and the launch hauled in for the land, and we were soon separated from them. Thinking we saw the mouth of a river, we stood for it; a party swam ashore in search of water; but the supposed river was only the tide of the sea amid islets of mangrove trees. We saw fires on a beach to the south and west; two of our people swam ashore but saw no person, and found no water. We continued our run, and at half past six in the morning of the 14th, we heard a cock crow. We went on shore, found good water, bought some fish of a party of Indians, were joined by the launch, rowed out to clear a

reef, and then stood to the west till we entered the straits of Semau in the afternoon of the 15th. On the morning of the 16th, according to our account, we hailed the fort at Coupang, and informed the people who we were. A boat was sent for us. Lieutenant Hayward and myself landed, and were received by Mr. Frey the Lieutenant Governor, and Mr. Bonberg, captain lieutenant of a Company's ship lying in the roads. They conducted us to Governor Vanjon, who received us with his characteristic humanity and courtesy. Refreshments were immediately prepared for us; the people ordered to land, and provisions supplied; and all dined at the Governor's own house. He gave orders for us afterwards to be received on board the Bamberg, a ship of the Dutch East India Company, commanded by W. Van Dadulbeek, to be carried to Batavia.

Such is the substance of the account of Captain Edwards. That part of it, containing the transactions at Otaheite, is given in a brief way in the Quarterly Review for July 1815, in the article Porter's Cruise, where it is also added, that of the ten who were taken to England for trial before a court martial, six were condemned to suffer death, and four were acquitted. Those condemned were Haywood, Morrison, Ellison, Burkitt, Millward, and Muspratt. "To the two first of these his Majesty's royal mercy was extended at the earnest recommendation of the court, and the last was respited, and afterwards pardoned." Those acquitted were Norman, Coleman, McIntosh, and Byrne.

After mentioning Christian's departure from Otaheite, as it has already been given in the account by Edwards, the Quarterly Review proceeds as follows:—

"From this period, no information respecting Christian or his companions reached England for twenty years; when about the beginning of the year 1809, Sir Sidney Smith, then commander in chief on the Brazil station, transmitted to the Admiralty a paper which he had received from Lieutenant Fitzmaurice, purporting to be an extract from the log book of Captain Folger, of the American ship Topaz, and dated Valparaiso 10th of October, 1808. This we partly verified in our review of Dentrecasteaux's voyage, by ascertaining that the Bounty had on board a chronometer made by Kendal, and that there was on board her a man of the name of Alexander Smith, a native of London.

"About the commencement of the present year, [1815] Rear Admiral Hotham, when cruising off New London, received a letter addressed to the Lords of the Admiralty, of which the following is a copy, together with the azimuth compass to which it refers.

"*March* 1*st*, 1813.

"MY LORDS,

"THE remarkable circumstance which took place on my last vayage to the Pacific ocean, will, I trust, plead my apology for addressing your Lordships at this time. In February 1808, I touched at Pitcairn's Island, in latitude 25° 5′ south, longitude 130° west from Greenwich. My principal object was to procure seal skins for the China market; and from the account given of the island in Capt. Carteret's voyage, I supposed it was uninhabited; but on approaching the shore in my boat, I was met by three young men in a double canoe, with a present consisting of some fruit and a hog. They spoke to me in the English language, and informed me that they were born on the island, and their father was an Englishman, who had sailed with Capt. Bligh. After discoursing with them a short time, I landed with them, and found an Englishman, of the name of Alexander Smith, who informed me he was one of the Bounty's crew, and that after putting Capt. Bligh in the boat, with half the ship's company, they returned to Otaheite, where part of the crew chose to tarry; but Mr. Christian, with eight others, including himself, preferred going to a more remote place, and after making a short stay at Otaheite, where they took wives, and six men servants, proceeded to Pitcairn's Island, where they destroyed the ship, after taking every thing out of her, which they thought would be useful to them. About six years after they landed at this place, their servants attacked and killed all the English, excepting the informant, and he was severely wounded. The same night the Otaheitan widows arose and murdered all their countrymen, leaving Smith with the widows and children, where he had resided ever since without being resisted. I remained but a short time on the island, and on leaving it Smith presented me with a time-piece, and an azimuth compass, which he told me belonged to the Bounty. The time-keeper was taken from me by the governor of the island of Juan Fernandez, after I had had it in my possession about six weeks.

The compass I put in repair on board my ship, and made use of it on my homeward passage, since which a new card has been put to it by an instrument maker in Boston. I now forward it to your Lordships, thinking there will be a kind of satisfaction in receiving it merely from the extraordinary circumstance attending it.

(Signed,) MAYHEW FOLGER.

"Nearly about the same time a further account of these interesting people was received from Vice Admiral Dixon, in a letter addressed to him by Sir Thomas Staines, of his Majesty's ship Briton, of which the following is a copy.

"*Briton, Valparaiso, October 13th*, 1814.

"SIR,

"I have the honour to inform you, that on my passage from the Marquesas Islands to this port, on the morning of the 17th September, I fell in with an Island where none is laid down in the Admiralty or other charts, according to the several chronometers of the Briton and Tagus.

"I therefore hove to until daylight, and then closed to ascertain whether it was inhabited, which I soon discovered it to be, and to my great astonishment, found that every individual on the island (forty in number) spoke very good English. They prove to be the descendants of the deluded crew of the Bounty, which from Otaheite, proceded to the above mentioned Island, where the ship was burnt. Christian appeared to have been the leader and sole cause of the mutiny in that ship. A venerable old man, named John Adams, [there is no such name in the Bounty's crew; he must have assumed it in lieu of his real name Alexander Smith,] is the only surviving Englishman of those who last quitted Otaheite in her, and whose exemplary conduct and fatherly care of the whole of the little colony, could not but command admiration. The pious manner in which all those born on the island have been reared, the correct sense of religion which has been instilled into their young minds by this old man, has given him the pre-eminence over the whole of them, to whom they look up as the father of the whole and one family. A son of Christian's was the first born on the island, now about twenty five years of age, (named Thursday

October Christian;) the elder Christian fell a sacrifice to the jealousy of an Otaheitan man, within three or four years after their arrival on the island. They were accompanied thither by six Otaheitan men, and twelve women: the former were all swept away by desperate contentions between them and the Englishmen, and five of the latter have died at different periods, leaving at present only one man and seven women of the original settlers. The island must undoubtedly be that called Pitcairn's, although erroneously laid down in the charts. We had the meridian sun close to it, which gave us 25° 4′ south latitude, and 130° 25′ west longitude, by chronometers of the Briton and Tagus. It is abundant in yams, plantains, hogs, goats, and fowls, but affords no shelter for a ship or vessel of any description; neither could a ship water there without great difficulty. I cannot however refrain from offering my opinion that it is well worthy the attention of the laudable religious societies, particularly that for propagating the christian religion; the whole of the inhabitants speaking the Otaheitan tongue as well as English. During the whole of the time they have been on the island, only one ship has ever communicated with them, which took place about six years since, by an American ship called the Topaz, of Boston, Mayhew Folger master. The Island is completely iron bound, with rocky shores, and landing in boats at all times difficult, although safe to approach within a short distance in a ship.

(Signed,) T. STAINES.

"We have been favoured with some further particulars on this singular society which we doubt not will interest our readers as much as they have ourselves. As the real position of the island was ascertained to be so far distant from that in which it is usually laid down in the charts, and as the captains of the Briton and Tagus seem to have still considered it as uninhabited, they were not a little surprised on approaching its shores, to behold plantations regularly laid out, and huts or houses more neatly constructed than those on the Marquesas Islands.

"When about two miles from the shore, some natives were observed bringing down their canoes on their shoulders, dashing through a heavy surf, and paddling off to the ships; but their astonishment was unbounded, on hearing one of them on approach-

ing the ship, call out in the English language, 'wont you heave us a rope now?' The first man who got on board the Briton soon proved who they were; his name he said was Thursday October Christian, the first born on the island.

"He was then about five and twenty years of age, and is described as a fine young man about six feet high; his hair deep black; his countenance open and interesting, of a brownish cast, but free from that mixture of a reddish tint which prevails on the Pacific Islands; his only dress was a piece of cloth round his loins, and a straw hat ornamented with the black feathers of the domestic fowl. 'With a great share of good humour,' says Captain Pipon 'we were glad to trace in his benevolent countenance all the features of an honest English face.' 'I must confess,' he continues, 'I could not survey this interesting person without feelings of tenderness and compassion. His companion was named George Young, a fine youth of seventeen or eighteen years of age. If the astonishment of the captains was great on hearing their first salutation in English, their surprise and interest were not a little increased on Sir Thomas Staines taking the youths below and setting before them something to eat, when one of them rose up, and placing his hands together in a posture of devotion, distinctly repeated, and in a pleasing tone and manner, 'for what we are going to receive, the Lord make us truly thankful.' They expressed great surprise on seing a cow on board the Briton, and were in doubt whether she was a great goat, or a horned sow. The two captains of his Majesty's ships accompanied these young men on shore. With some difficulty and a good wetting, and with the assistance of their conducters, they accomplished a landing through the surf, and were soon after met by John Adams, a man between fifty and sixty years of age, who conducted them to his house. His wife accompanied him, a very old lady blind with age. He was at first alarmed lest the visit was to apprehend him; but on being told that they were perfectly ignorant of his existence, he was relieved from his anxiety. Being once assured that this visit was of a peaceable nature, it is imposible to describe the joy these poor people manifested on seeing those whom they were pleased to consider as their countrymen. Yams, cocoanuts, and other fruits, with fine fresh eggs, were laid before them; and the old man would have killed and dressed a hog for his visitors, but time would not allow them to

partake of his intended feast. This interesting new colony, it seemed now consisted of about forty six persons, mostly grown up young people besides a number of infants.

"The young men all born on the Island were very athletic, and of the finest forms, their countenance open and pleasing, indicating much benevolence and goodness of heart; but the young women were objects of particular admiration, tall, robust, and beautifully formed, their faces beaming with smiles and unruffled good humour, but wearing a degree of modesty and bashfulness that would do honour to the most virtuous nation on earth; their teeth like ivory, were regular and beautiful, without a single exception; and all of them, both male and female, had the most marked English features. The clothing of the young females consisted of a piece of linen reaching from the waist to the knees, and generally a sort of mantle thrown over the shoulders, and hanging as low as the ancles; but this covering appeared to be intended chiefly as a protection against the sun and the weather, as it was frequently laid aside, and then the upper part of the body was entirely exposed, and it is not possible to conceive more beautiful forms than they exhibited. They sometimes wreath caps or bonnets for the head in the most tasty manner, to protect the face from the rays of the sun; and though as Captain Pipon observes, they have only had the instruction of their Otaheitan mothers, 'our dress makers in London would be delighted with the simplicity and yet elegant taste of these untaught females.' Their native modesty assisted by a proper sense of religion and morality instilled into their youthful minds by John Adams, has hitherto preserved these interesting people perfectly chaste and free from all kinds of debauchery. Adams assured the visitors that since Christian's death there had not been a single instance of any young woman proving unchaste, nor any attempt at seduction on the part of the men. They all labour while young in the cultivation of the ground, and when possessed of a sufficient quantity of cleared land and of stock to maintain a family, they are allowed to marry, but always with the consent of Adams, who unites them by a sort of marriage ceremony of his own. The greatest harmony prevailed in this little society; their only quarrels, and these rarely happened, being according to their own expression, *quarrels of the mouth:* they are honest in their dealings, which consist of bartering different arti-

cles for mutual accommodation. Their habitations are extremely neat. The little village of Pitcairn forms a pretty square, the houses at the upper end of which are occupied by the patriarch John Adams, and his family, consisting of his old blind wife, and three daughters from fifteen to eighteen years of age, and a boy of eleven; a daughter of his wife by a former husband, and a son in law.

"On the opposite side is the dwelling of Thursday October Christian; and in the centre is a smooth verdant lawn, on which the poultry are let loose, fenced in so as to prevent the intrusion of the domestic quadrupeds. All that was done, was obviously undertaken on a settled plan, unlike to any thing to be met with on the other Islands. In their houses too they had a good deal of decent furniture, consisting of beds laid upon bedsteads, with neat coverings; they had also tables and large chests to contain their valuables and clothing, which is made from the bark of a certain tree, prepared chiefly by the elder Otaheitan females. Adams's house consisted of two rooms, and the windows had shutters to pull to at night. The younger part of the sex are as before stated, employed with their brothers under the direction of their common father Adams, in the culture of the ground, which produced cocoa nuts, bananas, the bread fruit tree, yams, sweet potatoes and turnips. They have also plenty of hogs and goats; the woods abound with a species of wild hog, and the coasts of the Island with several kinds of good fish.

"Their agricultural implements are made by themselves from the iron supplied by the Bounty, which with great labour they beat out into spades, hatchets, crows, &c. This was not all, the good old man kept a regular journal, in which was entered the nature and quantity of work performed by each family, what each had received, and what was due on account. There was it seems besides private property, a sort of general stock out of which articles were issued on account, to the several members of the community; and for mutual accommodation exchanges of one kind of provisions for another were very frequent, as salt for fresh provisions, vegetables and fruit for poultry, fish, &c. also when the stores of one family were low or wholly expended, a fresh supply was raised from another, or out of the general stock, to be repaid when circumstances were more favourable; all of which was carefully noted down in John Adams's Journal.

"But what was most gratifying of all to the visitors, was the simple and unaffected manner in which they returned thanks to the Almighty for the many blessings they enjoyed. They never failed to say grace before and after meals, to pray every morning at sun-rise, and they frequently repeated the Lord's prayer and the creed. 'It was truly pleasing,' says Captain Pipon, 'to see these poor people so well disposed to listen so attentively to moral instruction, to believe in the attributes of God, and to place their reliance on divine goodness.' The day on which the two captains landed was Saturday the 17th September; but by John Adams's account it was Sunday the 18th, and they were keeping the Sabbath by making it a day of rest and prayer.

"This was occasioned by the Bounty having proceeded thither by the eastern route, and our frigates having gone to the westward; and the Topaz found them right according to his own reckoning, she having also approached the island from the eastward. Every ship from Europe proceeding to Pitcairn's Island round the cape of Good Hope will find them a day later,—as those who approach them round Cape Horn, a day in advance, as was the case with Captain Folger, and the Captains Sir T. Staines and Pipon. The visit of the Topaz is of course, as a notable circumstance, marked down in John Adams's Journal. The first ship that appeared off the island was on the 27th December, 1795; but as she did not approach the land, they could not make out to what nation she belonged. A second appeared some time after, but did not attempt to communicate with them. A third came sufficiently near to see the natives and their habitations, but did not attempt to send a boat on shore; which is the less surprising, considering the uniform ruggedness of the coast, the total want of shelter, and the almost constant and violent breaking of the sea against the cliffs. The good old man was anxious to know what was going on in the world, and they had the means of gratifying his curiosity by supplying him with some magazines and modern publications. His library consisted of the books that belonged to Admiral Bligh, but the visitors had not time to inspect them.

"They inquired particularly after Fletcher Christian. This ill-fated young man, it seems, was never happy after the rash and inconsiderate step which he had taken; he became sullen and morose, and practised the very same kind of conduct towards his companions

in guilt, which he and they so loudly complained against, in their late commander. Disappointed in his expedition to Otaheite, and the Friendly Islands, and most probably dreading a discovery, this deluded youth committed himself and his remaining confederates to the mere chance of being cast upon some desert island, and chance threw them on that of Pitcairn's. Finding no anchorage near it, he ran the ship upon the rocks, cleared her of the live stock and other articles, which they had been supplied with at Otaheite, when he set her on fire, that no trace of inhabitants might be visible, and all hopes of escape cut off from himself and his wretched followers. He soon however disgusted both his own countrymen and the Otaheitans, by his oppression and tyrannical conduct; they divided into parties, and disputes, affrays, and murders, were the consequence. His Otaheitan wife died within a twelvemonth from their landing, after which he carried off one that belonged to an Otaheitan man, who watched for an opportunity of taking his revenge, and shot him dead while digging in his own field. Thus terminated the miserable existence of this deluded young man, who was neither deficient in talent nor energy, nor in connexions, and who might have risen in the service, and become an ornament to his profession.

"John Adams declared, as it was natural enough he should do, his abhorrence of the crime in which he was implicated, and said he was sick at the time in his hammock. This we understand is not true, though he was not particularly active in the mutiny; he expressed the utmost willingness to surrender himself and be taken to England; indeed he rather seemed to have an inclination to revisit his native country, but the young men and women flocked round him, and with tears and intreaties begged that their father and protector might not be taken from them, for without him they must all perish. It would have been an act of the greatest inhumanity to remove him from the island; and it is hardly necessary to add, that Sir Thomas Staines lent a willing ear to their intreaties, thinking no doubt, as we feel strongly disposed to think, that if he were even among the most guilty, his care and success in instilling religious and moral principles into the minds of this young and interesting society, have in a great degree redeemed his former crimes. This island is about six miles long by three broad, covered with wood, and the soil of course very rich: situated under the

parallel of 25° south latitude, and in the midst of such a wide expanse of ocean, the climate must be fine and admirably adapted for the reception of all the vegetable productions of every part of the habitable globe. Small therefore as Pitcairn's Island may appear, there can be little doubt that it is capable of supporting many inhabitants; and the present stock being of so good a description, we trust they will not be neglected.

"In the course of time the patriarch must go hence; and we think it would be exceedingly desirable that the British nation would provide for such an event, by sending out, not an ignorant and idle evangelical missionary; but some zealous and intelligent instructor, together with a few persons capable of teaching the useful trades or professions.

"On Pitcairn's Island there are better materials to work upon than missionaries have yet been so fortunate as to meet with, and the best results may reasonably be expected.

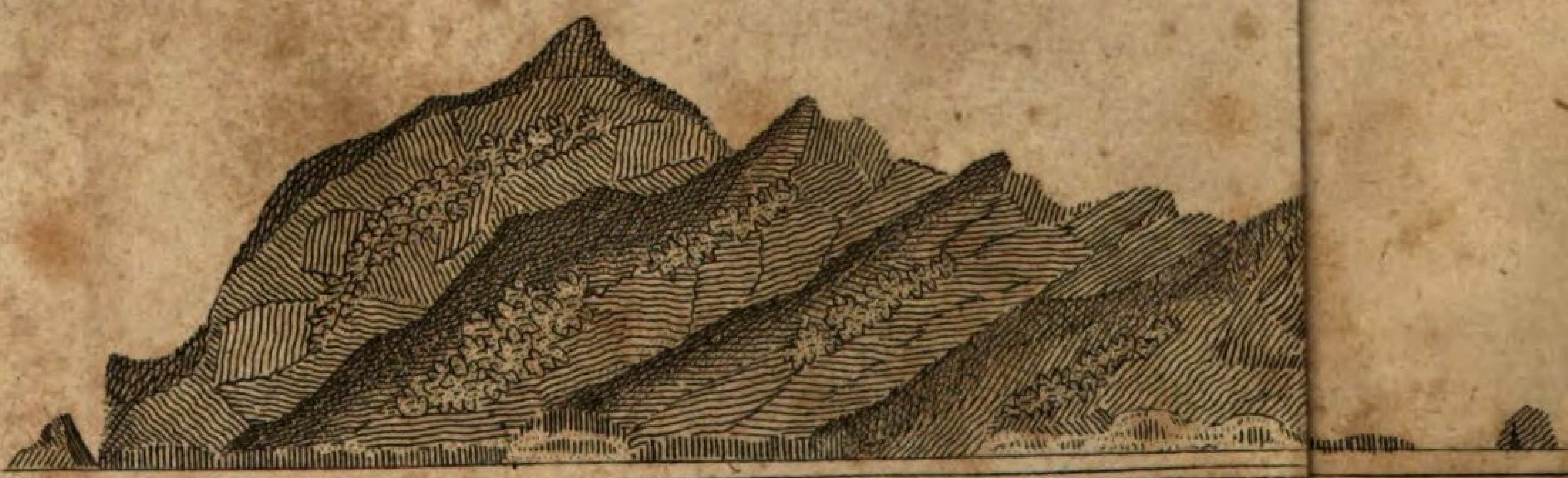
"Something we are bound to do for these blameless and interesting people. The articles recommended by Captain Pipon appear to be highly proper; cooking utensils, implements of agriculture, maize, or the Indian corn, the orange tree from Valparaiso, a most grateful fruit in a warm climate, and not known in the Pacific Islands, and that root of plenty (not of poverty as a wretched scribbler has called it) the potatoe, bibles, prayer books, and a proper selection of other books, with paper, and other implements of writing. The visitors supplied them with some tools, kettles, and other articles, such as the high surf would permit them to land, but to no great extent; many things are still wanting for their ease and comfort. The descendants of these people by keeping up the Otaheitan language, which the present race speak fluently, might be the means of civilizing the multitudes of fine people scattered over the innumerable islands of the great Pacific.

"We have only to add, that Pitcairn's Island seems to be so fortified by nature as to oppose an invincible barrier to an invading enemy; there is no spot apparently where a boat can land with safety, and perhaps not more than one where it can land at all; an everlasting swell of the ocean rolls in on every side, and breaks into foam against its rocky and iron bound shores."

To this information may be added the following extracts from the 5th number of the Quarterly Review, (Febuary 1810,) pages 23

bearing N.W. *distance 15 leagues.*

bearing N.W. *by* N. *distance 4 or 5 leagues.*



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and 24. "About four years after their arrival (on Pitcairn's Island,) a great jealousy existing, the Otaheitans secretly revolted and killed every Englishman except himself, (Smith,) whom they severely wounded in the neck with a pistol ball. The same night the widows of the deceased Englishmen arose and put to death the whole of the Otaheitans, leaving Smith the only man alive upon the island, with eight or nine women, and several small children.

"The second mate of the Topaz asserts that Christian, the ringleader, became insane shortly after their arrival on the island, and threw himself off the rocks into the sea. Another died of a fever before the massacre of the remaining five took place."

Some remarks will hereafter be made upon the difference between this account of the mode of Christian's death, and that already quoted from the Quarterly Review, under the date of July 1815.

As the particulars of the history of Pitcairn's Island, are of general interest, I shall here insert an extract from Carteret's Voyage, at page 561, in the 1st volume of Dr. Hawkesworth's collection.

"1767. We continued our course westward till the evening of Thursday the 2d of July, when we discovered land to the northward of us. Upon approaching it the next day, it appeared like a great rock rising out of the sea. It was not more than five miles in circumference, [now said to be six miles long, and three broad,] and seemed to be uninhabited. It was however covered with trees, and we saw a small stream of fresh water running down one side of it. I would have landed upon it, but the surf, which at this season broke upon it with great violence, rendered it impossible. I got soundings on the west side of it, at somewhat less than a mile from shore, in twenty five fathoms, with a bottom of coral and sand, and it is probable that in fine summer weather, landing here may not only be practicable, but easy. We saw a great number of sea birds hovering about it, at somewhat less than a mile from the shore, and the sea here seemed to have fish. It lies in latitude 25°, 2′ south, longitude 133°, 21′ west, and about a thousand leagues to the westward of the continent of America. It is so high that we saw it at the distance of more than fifteen leagues; and it having been discovered by a young gentleman, son to Major Pitcairn of the marines, who was unfortunately lost in the Aurora, we called it PITCAIRN'S ISLAND."

This description of it, and the fact that it was so high as to be seen at the distance of fifteen leagues, have led some to believe that it is not the same with the Encarnacion of Quiros, as is supposed in the Quarterly Review. Dalrymple's Collection, Quiros's Voyage, page 107, has been cited by a writer to show that the Encarnacion "was small, about four leagues in circuit, *all flat and level with the water, with few trees, and for the greater part sand.*"

One other article, concerning the geography of the island and the sympathies of the inhabitants, ought to be selected. In the notes of a poem, Christina the Maid of the South Seas, written by Mary Russell Mitford, at page 304 is the following testimony, pointed out to me by a friend. "I have the authority of the gentleman, who favoured me with most of the particulars relative to Pitcairn's Island, for stating that there is a cavern under a hill, to which Smith, the Fitzallan of my poem, had once retired at the approach of some English vessel, as a place of concealment and security. The ships passed on, but the cave was still held sacred by the islanders as a means of future protection for their revered benefactor. Never may that protection be required! Never may an English vessel bring other tidings than those of peace and pardon to one who has so fully expiated his only crime! Sufficient blood has been already shed to satisfy the demands of justice; and mercy may now raise her voice at the foot of that throne where she never pleads in vain. On being asked by Captain Folger, if he wished his existence to remain a secret, Smith immediately answered, "No," and pointing to the young and blooming band by whom he was surrounded, continued, "Do you think any man could seek my life with such a picture as this before his eyes?"

This sentiment of forgiveness, and the deprecation of all future prosecution on the part of the British government, will I think meet the feelings of every benevolent heart.

I have now given to my readers all the documents which have been already printed, so far as I have read them, and as they are necessary to furnish an account of the origin, progress, and present state of the interesting inhabitants of Pitcairn's Island. Before I record the further information, which I obtained from Captain Folger in conversation, I shall introduce an extract from a let-

ter of his to me, bearing a very recent date, and written in the state of Ohio, where he now resides. Although most of the facts contained in it have been related already, yet there are some new circumstances mentioned which make it worthy of a place in this volume.

"*Kendal, June 2d*, 1816.

RESPECTED FRIEND,

YOUR favour of the 12th ultimo, I received last mail from the eastward, and as it returns tomorrow, I take the opportunity of forwarding you an answer.

The Bounty it seems sailed from England in 1787, and after the mutiny took place, the particulars of which are so well known, the mutineers returned with her to Otaheite. After many delays on that coast, a part of the crew under the command of Christian went in search of a group of islands, which you may remember to have seen on the chart, placed under the head of Spanish discoveries. They crossed the situation of those imaginary isles, and satisfied themselves that no such existed. They then steered for Pitcairn's Isle, discovered by Capt. Carteret, and by him laid down in latitude 25° 2′ south, and longitude by account from Massafuero, 133° 21′ west, where they arrived and took every thing useful out of the ship, ran her on shore, and broke her up. In February, 1808, on my passage across the Pacific ocean, I touched at Pitcairn's Island, thinking it was uninhabited; but to my astonishment I found Alexander Smith, the only remaining Englishman who came to that place in the Bounty, his companions having been massacred some years before. He had with him thirty-four women and children. The youngest did not appear to be more than one week old. I stayed with him five or six hours, gave him an account of some things that had happened in the world since he left it, particularly their great naval victories, at which he seemed very much elated, and cried out, "Old England forever!"—In turn he gave me an account of the mutiny and the death of his companions, a circumstantial detail of which could I suppose be of little service to you in the work in which you are at present engaged. The latitude is 25° 2′ south, and the longitude, by mean of nine sets of observations, 130° west Capt. Carteret might well have erred three or four

degrees in his longitude, in an old crazy ship with nothing but his log to depend on.

I should be pleased to see your work when it is finished. I think it must be interesting. *

I remain, with esteem,
Your assured friend,
MAYHEW FOLGER.

With this gentleman I became acquainted in the year 1800, at the island of Massafuero. We were then on voyages for seals, and had an opportunity to be together for many months. His company was particularly agreeable to me, and we were often relating to each other our adventures. Among other topics of conversation, the fate of the Bounty was several times introduced. I showed to him the copy of the Journal of Edwards, which I had taken at Timor, and we were both much interested to know what ultimately became of Christian, his ship, and his party. It is not easy for landsmen, who have never had personal experience of the sufferings of sailors at sea, and on savage coasts or desolate islands, to enter into their feelings with any thing like an adequate sympathy. We had both suffered many varieties of hardship and privation, and our feelings were perfectly alive to the anxieties and distresses of a mind under the circumstances of Christian, going from all he had known and loved, and seeking as his last refuge a spot unknown and uninhabited. The spirit of crime is only temporary in the human soul, but the spirit of sympathy is eternal. Repentance and virtue succeed to passion and misconduct, and while the public may continue to censure and frown, our hearts in secret plead for the returning and unhappy transgressor. It was with such a state of mind that Folger and myself used to speak of the prospects before the mutineers of the Bounty, when she was last seen steering to the northwest from Otaheite on the open ocean. not to seek friends and home, but a solitary region, where no human face, besides the few now associated in exile, should ever meet their eyes.

After several years had elapsed, and we had navigated various seas, we fortunately lived to meet each other again in Boston, when it was in his power to renew our old conversation about the Bounty, and to gratify the curiosity and interest which we had so long

cherished in common. The Topaz in which he sailed was fitted and owned in this place by James and Thomas H. Perkins Esquires, and crossed the south Pacific ocean in search of islands for seals. Being in the region of Pitcairn's Island, according to Carteret's account, he determined to visit it, hoping that it might furnish him with the animals which were the objects of his voyage. As he approached the island, he was surprised to see smokes ascending from it, as Carteret had said it was uninhabited. With increased curiosity he lowered a boat into the water, and embarked in it for the shore. He was very soon met by a double canoe, made in the manner of the Otaheitans, and carrying several young men, who hailed him in English at a distance. They seemed not to be willing to come near to him till they had ascertained who he was. He answered, and told them he was an American from Boston. This they did not immediately understand. With great earnestness they said, "You are an American; you come from America; where is America? Is it in Ireland?"

Captain Folger thinking that he should soonest make himself intellegible to them by finding out their origin and country, as they spoke English, inquired, "Who are you?"—"We are Englishmen."—"Where were you born?"—"On that island which you see."—"How then are you Englishmen, if you were born on that island, which the English do not own, and never possessed?"—"We are Englishmen because our father was an Englishman."—"Who is your father?"—With a very interesting simplicity they answered, "Aleck."—"Who is Aleck?"---"Do'n't you know Aleck?"—"How should I know Aleck?"—Well then, did you know Captain Bligh of the Bounty?"—At this question, Folger told me that the whole story immediately burst upon his mind, and produced a shock of mingled feelings, surprise, wonder, and pleasure, not to be described. His curiosity which had been already excited so much on this subject, was revived, and he made as many inquiries of them as the situation in which they were, would permit. They informed him that Aleck was the only one of the Bounty's crew who remained alive on the island; they made him acquainted with some of the most important points in their history; and with every sentence increased still more his desire to visit the establishment and learn the whole. Not knowing whether it would be proper and safe to land without giving notice, as the fears of the surviving

mutineer might be awakened in regard to the object of the visit, he requested the young men to go and tell Aleck, that the master of the ship desired very much to see him, and would supply him with any thing which he had on board. The canoe carried the message, but returned without Aleck, bringing an apology for his not appearing, and an invitation for Captain Folger to come on shore. The invitation was not immediately accepted, but the young men were sent again for Aleck, to desire him to come on board the ship, and to give him assurances of the friendly and honest intentions of the master. They returned however again without Aleck, said that the women were fearful for his safety, and would not allow him to expose himself or them by leaving their beloved island. The young men pledged themselves to Captain Folger that he had nothing to apprehend if he should land, that the islanders wanted extremely to see him, and that they would furnish him with any supplies which their village afforded.

After this negotiation Folger determined to go on shore, and as he landed he was met by Aleck and all his family, and was welcomed with every demonstration of joy and good will. They escorted him from the shore to the house of their patriarch, where every luxury they had was set before him, and offered with the most affectionate courtesy.

He, whom the youths in the canoe, with such juvenile and characteristic simplicity, had called Aleck, and who was Alexander Smith, now began the narrative, the most important parts of which have already been detailed. It will be sufficient for me to introduce here such particulars only as have not been mentioned, but are well fitted to give additional interest to the general outline, by a few touches upon the minute features.

Smith said, and upon this point Captain Folger was very explicit in his inquiry at the time as well as in his account of it to me, that they lived under Christian's government several years after they landed; that during the whole period they enjoyed tolerable harmony; that Christian became sick and died a *natural death*; and that it was after this when the Otaheitan men joined in a conspiracy and killed the English husbands of the Otaheitan women, and were by the widows killed in turn on the following night, Smith was thus the only man left upon the island. The account by Lieut. Fitzmaurice, as he professed to receive it from the second mate of the

Topaz, is, that Christian became insane, and threw himself from the rocks into the sea. The Quarterly Reviewers say that he was shot dead while digging in the field, by an Otaheitan man, whose wife he seized for his own use. Neither of these accounts is true, as we are at liberty to affirm from the authority of Captain Folger, whose information must be much more direct and worthy of confidence than that of the second mate, of Fitzmaurice, or of the reviewers. The last are evidently desirous of throwing as much shade as possible upon the character of Christian.

Smith had taken great pains to educate the inhabitants of the island in the faith and principles of christianity. They were in the uniform habit of morning and evening prayer, and were regularly assembled on Sunday for religous instruction and worship. It has been already mentioned that the books of the Bounty furnished them with the means of considerable learning. Prayer books and bibles were among them, which were used in their devotions. It is probable also that Smith composed prayers and discourses particularly adapted to their circumstances. He had improved himself very much by reading, and by the efforts he was obliged to make to instruct those under his care. He wrote and conversed extremely well, of which he gave many proofs in his records and in his narrative. The girls and boys were made to read and write before Captain Folger, to show him the degree of their improvement. They did themselves great credit in both, particularly the girls. The stationary of the Bounty was an important addition to the books, and was so abundant that the islanders were not yet in want of any thing in this department for the progress of their school. The journal of Smith was so handsomely kept as to attract particular attention, and excite great regret that there was not time to copy it. The books upon the island must have created and preserved among the inhabitants an interest in the characters and concerns of the rest of mankind. This idea will explain much of their intercourse with Captain Folger, and the difference between them and the other South Sea islanders in this respect.

When Smith was asked if he had ever heard of any of the great battles between the English and French fleets in the late wars, he answered, "How could I, unless the birds of the air had been the heralds ?"—He was told of the victories of Lord Howe, Earl St. Vincent, Lord Duncan, and Lord Nelson. He listened with atten-

tion till the narrative was finished, and then rose from his seat, took off his hat, swung it three times round his head with three cheers, threw it on the ground sailor like, and cried out "Old England forever !"—The young people around him appeared to be almost as much exhilarated as himself, and must have looked on with no small surprize, having never seen their patriarchal chief so excited before.

Smith was asked, if he should like to see his native country again, and particularly London, his native town. He answered, that he should, if he could return soon to his island, and his colony; but he had not the least desire to leave his present situation forever.—Patriotism had evidently preserved its power over his mind, but a stronger influence was generated by his new circumstances, and was able to modify its operations.

The houses of this village were uncommonly neat. They were built after the manner of those at Otaheite. Small trees are felled and cut into suitable lengths; they are driven into the earth, and are interwoven with bamboo; they are thatched with the leaves of the plantain and cocoa-nut; and they have mats on the ground.—My impression is, that Folger told me some of them were built of stone.

The young men laboured in the fields and the gardens, and were employed in the several kinds of manufactures required by their situation. They made canoes, household furniture of a simple kind, implements of agriculture, and the apparatus for catching fish.—The girls made cloth from the cloth tree, and attended to their domestic concerns.

They had several amusements, dancing, jumping, hopping, running, and various feats of activity. They were as cheerful as industrious, and as healthy and beautiful as they were temperate and simple. Having no ploughs and no cattle, they were obliged to cultivate their land by the spade, the hoe, and other instruments for manual labour.

The provision set before Captain Folger consisted of fowls, pork, and vegetables, cooked with great neatness and uncommonly well. The fruits also were excellent.

The apron and shawl worn by the girls were made of the bark of the cloth tree. This is taken off the trunk, not longitudinally, but round, like the bark of the birch. It is beaten till it is thin and soft,

and fit for use. The natural colour is buff, but it is dyed variously, red, blue, and black, and is covered with the figures of animals, birds, and fish.

The inquiry was made of Smith very particularly in regard to the conduct of the sexes toward each other, and the answer was given in such a manner as entirely to satisfy Captain Folger that the purest morals had thus far prevailed among them. Whatever might be the liberties allowed by the few original Otaheitan women remaining, the young people were remarkably obedient to the laws of continence, which had been taught them by their common instructor and guide.

Smith is said, by later visitors, to have changed his name, and taken that of John Adams. This probably arose from a political conversation between him and Captain Folger, and from the account then given him of the Pandora under the command of Captain Edwards, who was sent out in pursuit of the Bounty and the mutineers. The fears of Smith were somewhat excited by this last article of intelligence. As the federal constitution of the United States of America had gone into operation since the mutiny; as Captain Folger had given Smith an animating and patriotic account of the administration of the new government and its effects upon the prosperity of the country; and as the name of President Adams had been mentioned, not only with respect as an able statesman and a faithful advocate of civil liberty, but as an inhabitant of the commonwealth in particular where Folger lived; it is thought to be probable enough that this is the circumstance which suggested the name that Smith afterward adopted.

When he was about to leave the island, the people pressed round him with the warmest affection and courtesy. The chronometer which was given him, although made of gold, was so black with smoke and dust that the metal could not be discovered. The girls brought some presents of cloth, which they had made with their own hands, and which they had dyed with beautiful colours. Their unaffected and amiable manners, and their earnest prayers for his welfare, made a deep impression upon his mind, and are still cherished in his memory. He wished to decline taking all that was brought him in the overflow of friendship, but Smith told him it would hurt the feelings of the donors, and the gifts could well be spared from the island. He made as suitable a return of

presents as his ship afforded, and left this most interesting community with the keenest sensations of regret. It reminded him of Paradise, as he said, more than any effort of poetry or the imagination.

The conversations between me and Captain Folger upon this subject, were all previous to the dates of the several printed accounts, to which I have referred in this chapter. There are a few points only in which the article in the Quarterly Review differs from the impressions upon my mind at the time when I read it. In the volume for 1810, as well as in that for 1815, the Reviewers appear to have gone out of their way, and to have taken very unworthy pains to connect slanders against my countrymen with their remarks upon Pitcairn's Island. Perhaps in the next chapter, which is to contain some reflections upon the whole subject, this topic may be taken up.

In regard to the extent of the population of the island a remark may be made. Captain Folger says there were thirty four in eighteen hundred and eight. Sir Thomas Staines mentions forty in eighteen hundred and fourteen. The Review afterwards says, there were about forty six besides a number of infants. As every one of the forty whom Sir Thomas Staines saw, spoke good English, and as this cannot be applied to the very young children, there must have been a larger number on the island at that time. The population now must be, at the lowest estimate, not less than sixty.

CHAPTER VI.

Reflections on the History of the Bounty, and of Pitcairn's Island.

THE mutiny, which happened in the Bounty, invites some reflections. This subject was often discussed between Commodore McClure, his officers, and the Dutch gentlemen at Timor, who saw Lieutenant Bligh and his companions on their arrival at that island, and who were acquainted both with him and with them during their stay there. The manner in which his officers spoke of him, and the kind of treatment which they observed in regard to him, are still distinctly remembered as stated at Timor. The mutineers are not so much excluded from sympathy among the gentlemen at that place, as they possibly may be among those in England who have only read the story of one of the parties. My mind was prevented from falling into rash conclusions and censures, by the conversations in which I then joined; and it has been placed in a still more impartial state by the information which Captain Folger gave me as he received it from Smith. Extreme depravity rarely belongs to persons educated as Christian and his adherents were, and who have manifested so many virtues on other occasions. Acts of a desperate character are not likely to have been performed by such men without considerable provocation. Lieutenant Bligh, I suppose, is still living, and it seems that he has become an admiral. It is proper to speak of him with respect, although we may ascribe to him the ordinary failings of our nature. Anecdotes have been told to me concerning his conduct at Copenhagen with Lord Nelson, which naturally prevent me from viewing him as beyond those weaknesses and defects which most of us are so often obliged to acknowledge, and by which our pride receives a salutary mitigation. The Quarterly Reviewers are unwise, if they wish to be considered as the friends of Admiral Bligh, to provoke an examination of this subject by

an officious and unnecessary bitterness in their condemnation of the leader of the mutineers. The zeal which leads them to record in their pages, without any correcting remarks, two contradictory modes of death for Christian, as they do in February 1810, and in July 1815; and the anxiety which they show to have crimes, which are incompatible with each other, laid to his charge, cannot be well fitted to engage the reader's confidence, or to conciliate his partiality. Perhaps the fling against my countrymen, in the volume for 1810, and particularly against so well known and excellent a man as Captain Folger, and the series of abusive attacks upon the inhabitants of the United States at large, in the article quoted from 1815, as well as in many other parts of the same publication, may have rendered my perceptions more ready to detect this unworthy spirit in the representations given against Christian.

I have a great horror of the crime of mutiny, and feel as every master of a vessel naturally will upon this subject. The bias of mind, which my office in my profession has produced, is against whatever may tend to rebellion in the subject, and in favour of whatever may secure the prerogative of the commander. Crews and subordinate officers ought to suffer very extensively before violent measures against the master of a vessel can be vindicated. Indeed I should find it difficult to point out a case in real life where a mutiny was necessary, or justifiable. I have known more than twenty instances, where crews have attempted to do themselves justice by violent measures against their commanders, and in every one of them, the departures from subordination and obedience uniformly increased the evil, and led to the most unhappy consequences. Probably it is best without a single exception for the sufferers to wait till they are on shore, and can have a regular trial by proper authorities, before they attempt to seek a remedy in any other way than by mild and respectful expostulations. However much commanders may be tempted by sloth, ignorance, selfishness, or passion, to neglect or violate the laws of justice and humanity in regard to the rights and duties of their crews, yet mutiny and piracy are not the means to remedy the evil, or to arrest the course of crime and affliction. The alternative is no doubt often grievous, and sometimes hardly to be allowed, either to persuade a commander by mild and respectful representations, to be just and humane, or to submit in silence and patience, during a long cruise, to his pas-

sions, his caprices, his follies, and his oppressions. But this alternative is always found to be less dreadful than that of mutiny and violence. A resort to the last opens a train of evils which seems never to have an end till all the subjects are in the grave, and even then their children and relatives continue to suffer. Vengeance will not always sleep, but wakes to pursue and overtake them.

Masters and commanders ought to have been regularly educated on ship-board, at least so far as to have an experimental acquaintance with the feelings of the sailor as well as with those of the officer. Mere theory can never give to the mind the knowledge of those sympathies, or those alienations and emotions of hostility, which are developed in the actual intercourse between a crew and their commander. No man's nature is so perfect that he can dispense with the necessity of a personal experience in the operations of feeling and passion on the part of inferiors, if he would fully understand the wants, the dangers, and the duties which are attendant upon the exercise of authority over them.

Not only an education on ship-board, so far as this principle extends, is required to make an accomplished commander, but he must also be thoroughly qualified to judge of the powers, obligations, and rights of every class in his crew, and of every department in the services which they are to render. While he respects himself, and exacts what is his due, he must also respect them, and be as careful to observe the law of gradation in their favour as in his own. If he shows himself more disinterested than might at first be expected, he will never suffer in consequence of it, but will be sure to find the good effects returned upon him sooner or later.

He must never countermand his own orders without very good reasons, and generally such as are obvious. Considerable loss had better be borne than to permit the idea of indecision on his part to be established in the minds of the crew. Rules, which he has made for the ship, he must regard as punctiliously himself, wherever they affect him, as he expects the same of his inferiors. He will never permit them to volunteer in giving him advice upon his duty, but he will often find benefit in asking it for deliberation, and in allowing it to have due weight in his determinations. He will lean toward the system of encouragement much more than toward that of censure and punishment. Understanding the value of praise, he will employ it freely as well as judiciously, and will re-

ward merit twice where he punishes faults once. He will convince his men that their rights and interests are safe when left with him, and that it is not necessary for them to exercise a jealous vigilance over their own claims. The only way, in which this conviction can be produced, is never to consider justice as a light thing, or as that which may be regarded or not, according to convenience and whim. As the laws and discipline of a ship must be precise, and well known to every individual as far as his own conduct is concerned, the commander will remember that his administration must be equally exact and uniform.

How far these principles were reduced to practice by the commander of the Bounty must be known to the parties concerned. Probably every reader of Lieutenant Bligh's book has found a disposition remaining with him, after the perusal, to ask if there were not other causes for the mutiny besides those which the author has assigned. The character of Christian, notwithstanding the mutiny deserves severe condemnation, appears not to have been remarkable for wickedness, but rather distinguished for intelligence, the general love of justice, and magnanimity. Not malice and hatred, but a sense of injury united with a spirit of forbearance, we discover in the language, "come Captain Bligh, your officers and men are now in the boat, and you must go with them." The expression which follows, "if you attempt to make the least resistance, you will instantly be put to death," is harsh, and painful to the reader, but it was probably well understood to be particularly adapted to the governing motives of the individual to whom it was addressed. It was designed to save bloodshed, as it probably did.

Let the conduct of Christian receive the censure of all good men, but let it also not be condemned beyond its turpitude, or beyond the purposes of good policy in regard to its use as a warning to others. The testimony of Smith in his favor is worthy of our attention. This man has devoted himself so faithfully and successfully to the cause of virtue and piety among his children and subjects, and has given so many proofs of his benevolence and love of duty, that his representations ought not lightly to be set aside, even on the subject of the mutiny.—Christian consulted the wishes of those who stayed at Otaheite; he divided the property equally among them all; and he governed with so much wisdom and equity as to produce harmony and peace

for a series of years in the island of their refuge. Bad commanders as well as crews may learn a useful lesson from this story. It is a pity that its application should always be upon one side only.

A thought may now be given to the conduct and virtues of Smith with reference to another subject. This mutineer, with a number of pagan women from Otaheite, has succeeded, according to all the accounts, in training up a community of males and females in perfect chastity, sincerity, and honesty. Their hearts appear to be filled with benevolence, and their quarrels are only *the quarrels of the mouth.* Their moral worth and their practical virtues have stood the test of many years. If they lose their present character, it will probably be through an intercourse with crews from Europe and other commercial countries, claiming the privileges of a more enlightened system of ethics and religion than theirs. If the natural tendency of the human heart be to evil only, this piece of history must be an exception to the theory, and the advocates of total depravity may like to possess it as a new case on which to exercise their ingenuity in explanation.

The entire repentance, and the excellent government of Smith, are great encouragements to others in making attempts at the melioration of character when it is partly corrupted. Notwithstanding the variety of licentious scenes which he had witnessed, and the numerous transactions in which he had shared, all tending to blunt, if not to destroy his moral feelings, he still manifested to Folger the most benevolent solicitude for the preservation of the innocence and purity of the young men and women under his care. His perception of the beauty of truth, his sense of the value and dignity of innocence, and his sentiments of piety, appear to have been as lively and powerful as though he had never been guilty of the crime of mutiny, nor had made himself liable to a disgraceful death by the laws of his country. There is a redeeming spirit in our nature, which may be subdued for the moment by the force of temptation, but which will ultimately give virtue a triumph over vice, and confer happiness on the wretched.

The power of education, when no circumstances in the state of society counteract its effects, is happily illustrated in the innocence, simplicity, and worth of the community of Pitcairn. Intercourse with the world had not corrupted them; artificial laws and institutions had not furnished temptations to their own violation; and

their natural interests had not been made to clash with their duties. A mild and paternal system of instruction and goverment had been left to produce its legitimate effects upon their characters and actions. Could we universally adopt the same system in all families among ourselves, we might look for the same results. The extent of our population would not vary the influence of the cause, if it were to be universally applied. But as the state of society now is, one part of the system too often defeats another. What we teach in one school, in one family, or in one church, another contradicts; and minds which are yet unformed, and still under the power of instruction from teachers, are not unfrequently more at a loss in the pursuit of truth than if they had been left to themselves and the gradual developement of their faculties in a course of nature. In the business of education, let a good temper, a habit of benevolence and disinterestedness, the love of justice and truth, and a liberal acquiescence in the diversities of character, be much more an object than any compend of particular views and principles which might be found in the dogmas of sects. In all countries, and under all institutions, it is of far more importance to give efficacy to common sense, and to our best natural affections, than it is to control our philosophical speculations, and to establish the faith of our children in the articles of the predominant creed.

It is painful to look forward to the time, when the interesting family of Pitcairn shall lose their present innocence and loveliness, by the frequent visits, which they must be expected to receive from ships, that will hereafter be attracted to their retreat by the fame of their beauty, the affection of their hearts, and the softness of their climate. Captain Folger is to be envied the pleasure of witnessing the operations of their minds, when they first beheld the inhabitants of other lands, before any portion of their freshness and simplicity was removed. The history of the world furnishes no similar occasion for an exeperiment of this nature, nor can it be repeated with the same people. Paradise might well be brought to Captain Folger's imagination when he was walking through the village of these uncorrupted children of nature, when he was receiving the full tide of their affection and sympathy, when he looked round on their graceful forms and artless manners, and when he contemplated the felicity which inno-

cence and purity bestow. To leave such a spot and such a group must have been a trial indeed, and might, without much effort, be considered as a second banishment from Eden.

To send missionaries among them, according to the proposal of some good people, would be an unfortunate experiment upon their peace and virtue, unless the individuals selected should be much more enlightened and liberal than any of that class of persons with whom I have been fortunate enough to be acquainted. No mode of destroying their harmony would probably be more successful than the preaching of a man who should declaim to this innocent and uncorrupted community against their natural hearts, and insist upon their being re-fashioned after a model prepared and sent out from the work-shop of the sect. When they should be made anew, under the direction of such an artist, and should learn to decry all that is natural in their affections and manners, as though it were carnal and wicked, they would indeed have their eyes opened to see that no virtue and no happiness are any longer to be found while they are in the body, and that they must suffer until the grave shall release them. Religionists of this cast too often make their doctrines true by the effects which they produce in society when they are believed and followed. The world becomes, as they say it is, quite worthless; the people find themselves without merit by which to claim happiness; and even the saints, according to their own confession, have much more sin than holiness.

While the present natural, simple, and affectionate character prevails among these descendants of Christian and Smith, they will be delightful to our minds, they will be amiable and acceptable in the sight of God, and they will be useful and happy among themselves. Let it be our fervent prayer that neither canting and hypocritical emissaries from schools of artificial theology on the one hand, nor sensual and licentious crews and adventurers on the other, may ever enter the charming village of Pitcarin to give disease to the minds or the bodies of the unsuspecting inhabitants.

CHAPTER VII.

Passage from Timor to Bencoolen—Remarks upon Bencoolen—Passage to Batavia—Remarks upon Java.

MARCH 24th, we left Timor and sailed westward for the Straits of Sunda. The latitude of Concordia is 10° 10′ south. We passed in sight of the islands, which are west of Timor, and 0° 20′ further south than Concordia, leaving them on the north of our course. The 2d of April, we made Christmas Island. We sailed entirely round it, within a mile of the shore, and discovered no dangers. It is a high circular island, which can be seen ten or twelve leagues in a clear day. Landing upon it appeared to be difficult. We saw trees of a good size, although we supposed the soil not to be rich. Hogs are said to abound upon it. The latitude is 10° 26′ south, and the longitude 105° 40′ east. The navigation to this place was safe.

We ran northward till the 7th, when we made Java Head. We saw a Dutch snow, a sloop, and a prow rigged after the manner of the Malays. The snow had the governor of Padang on board, and the other two vessels belonged to him. He was bound to Batavia with his family and effects, having retired from business and office. He had lost his way, getting east of the Straits of Sunda, and was beating his course on the south side of Java, seeking for the Straits. The Captain of the snow had died at Padang, and this event left him without a proper navigator. As the Panther touched at his port on her outward passage, our Commodore and his officers were acquainted with him. The meeting was therefore pleasant. He was an eminently agreeable man, and had been courteous to our company. We were gratified to have it in our power to render him a service by setting him right. After this he bore away for Java Head. The wind had been blowing south east, but it shifted to the north west, and soon rose to a gale. The unfortu-

nate Dutchman was driven to the eastward; his snow lost her masts; and it was six months before he arrived at Batavia. When we met him there, he told us that the prow was never heard of after the gale, that the sloop was lost on the eastern shore of Java, and that the sufferings of himself and family were extreme. The loss of nearly all his property, the defeat of his plans for a life of ease and retirement, and the consequent anxiety and distress, made his story and condition very painful to us, and to all who knew him.

We also were driven a number of degrees eastward; both our masts were sprung; and we sustained considerable damage in other respects. The gale continued for fifteen days, and blew as strong at times as I ever saw it off Cape Horn. At length the wind returned to the southeast, and permitted us to steer again northwest.

The 28th of April, we anchored in Pulo-Bay, near to Bencoolen, in the island of Sumatra, thoroughly weather beaten. As our officers had been here before, and were acquainted with most of the respectable people in the settlement, we met with a friendly reception. Our welcome was not such as sailors too often experience from their acquaintance on shore, after returning from a voyage, when congratulations are warmly pressed for the purpose of making the generosity, which is always felt on this occasion in a seaman's breast, subservient to the views of selfishness. It is a mortifying duty to trace mercenary features in the hearts of any of our fellow men, and still more in any of those whom we are accustomed to love and trust. But my pride for human nature, and my individual interests, have been often wounded by the sinister attentions which I have received, when I have landed among friends and acquaintance, after a long absence at sea, and my feelings were alive to the emotions of confidence and liberality. But this odious trait of human nature, we were not called to study at Bencoolen. The inhabitants, with whom our gentlemen were acquainted, were friendly without selfishness, and ready to perform the offices of kindness without the spirit of making a bargain, and seeking for profit.

We obtained here the supplies which we wanted; we procured new masts and rigging; and we had nearly completed the task of putting the Panther and the Endeavour in good repair, when our men began to be sick, and to die, in a most extraordinary manner. Sometimes death followed the sickness of but a single day. The

first symptom of the disease was dizziness in the head; then a violent fever; sometimes the bowels swelled; a lethargy succeeded; and the patient died without a groan. We lost nearly twenty men in half the number of days. We were obliged to go out of Pulo-Bay with only one topmast on end in each vessel.

This is one of the finest harbours in the world, but it cannot be occupied on account of its unhealthiness. The English Indiamen are forbidden to go into it. The land, on the side next to the sea, is low, swampy, and full of stagnant water, which exhales a very unpleasant effluvium. This was probably the cause of the mortality among our people.

We were in the bay about six weeks, after which we hurried out of it, and anchored in Bencoolen Roads, westward of the town. This is a healthy place, but it is dangerous for vessels to lie long at anchor in it, as there is no shelter for them against the south and west winds, or the sea. We did not remain in it many days, but moved to Rat-Island-Basin, where we found a pure air, and tolerably good riding. This island, which is no more than a sand-key, lies about six miles southward of the town, in the open ocean, and is very small, not more than a quarter of a mile across in any direction. A reef of coral rock extends a mile, or more, on the southwest, west, and north parts of it, furnishing a safe place, in which four or five ships of a thousand tons may ride with safety. Heavy anchors and chains are found in this basin, belonging to the English East India Company, for the convenience of their ships. With the leave of the governor, any vessels may use them. The chains, which are fastened to the anchor, sometimes lie upon the bottom, several fathoms under water. It is necessary for some one to dive with a rope in his hand, which he is to tie to the loose end of the chain, that it may be drawn up and attached to the cable. This service I was one day performing in water of five fathoms depth, when, just as I reached the bottom, I saw a large shark coming close to me, with his eye fixed upon mine. I was not a little alarmed at this, and hardly knew in what manner to attempt an escape. To seek the surface of the water was as hopeless as to remain where I was. I had presence of mind enough to fasten the rope to the chain. I then twitched it, and was drawn up by the men who held it on deck. The shark followed me, while my eye was kept full upon his, and I expected every moment that he

would spring upon me. He did not, however, and I got safely on board, wondering at my deliverance. But my surprise was soon abated, when I learned that this was a perfectly harmless species of the shark, never biting a man, and that people daily swim among them without fear. A person indeed may dive toward them, and make them run away. Some are very large and long, measuring more than twenty feet in length. The violence and voracity of the shark generally are proverbial, but this particular kind is mild and tame, and of a beautiful gold colour.

We sunk the Endeavour at this place, for the purpose of destroying the vermin and insects, with which she was overrun. They consisted of centipedes, scorpions, innumerable black ants, some rats, millions of cockroaches, and some small snakes. The usual mode, in which they get into a ship, is by the wood which is brought on board. Wherever white ants in particular are found, it is a rule never to take in wood. There are two kinds of ants much dreaded by masters of vessels; the black, whose bite is extremely painful, and the white, which will eat the timbers of a ship so as to ruin it in a few months. In half a year, they have succeeded in making the beams fall out of their places, not being able to bear their own weight.

In sinking the Endeavour, we scuttled her between wind and water, where she was empty at low tide, and might be easily raised again by stopping the scuttle. The expedient freed her from the swarms of immigrants, with which she was colonized.

Bencoolen is the principal English settlement on the Island of Sumatra. The circumference of it is about two miles. A mountain, denominated the Sugar-loaf, twenty miles from this place, is a mark for seamen when they approach it. The bay, which is large and convenient for ships, is formed by what is called point Silleban, and an island in front of the town. The climate is unhealthy, although not to the same degree with some of the other places on the island. Fishing supports some of the inhabitants, and others gain a living by cultivating pepper-trees and rice. A long kind of grass grows wild upon the fields about the town. It is dependent on the Presidency of Bengal, from which it receives its governor and laws. The great article of trade is pepper, which is in the hands of the English East India Company. Salt is also a considerable object of commerce. The houses of this place are built of wood;

are generally one story; without glass windows, but have blinds; and are variously furnished. The amusements of the people consist in parties for dancing, music, cards, and riding. Their horses, of which they are extremely fond, are very fine. They are principally the Japan breed, from Batavia; and are handsome, fleet and hardy. Riding on horseback is a favorite amusement. A chair for two persons, and drawn by one horse, is also much used in their parties for pleasure. This vehicle is called a *buggie*; the top is of open work, standing upon legs, and is literally a chair. It is light and airy, and may be driven safely with great speed.

The fort is called Marlborough. It stands upon a hill of a moderate elevation, and has a delightful prospect. The English keep twelve or fifteen hundred men here. The soil about it is a mixture of clay and loam, and is quite slippery when wet.

The island of Sumatra is large, rich, and stored with a very great variety of productions. It lies between 5° 33′ north latitude, and 5° 56′ south, being about 700 miles long, and 120 broad in the widest part. Mountains, running through the whole extent of it, and some of them quite high, afford a sufficient diversity of surface, and furnish many picturesque scenes. There are well cultivated plains among the mountains. The inhabitants choose these as the best places for residence. The temperature of the air is pleasant, the mercury ranging from 82° to 85° of Fahrenheit in the hottest part of the day. The large lakes afford many facilities for intercourse between the inhabitants. The native Sumatrans are pagans, but many of them become Mahometans. Cock fighting is one of their amusements. The pheasant of this island is said to be very beautiful. The storks and the cocks are uncommonly large. Parrots are abundant. Alligators are numerous in the rivers, and often destroy the inhabitants when they are bathing. Goats, deer, and hogs, which run wild in the mountains, besides bullocks and the hog-deer, are frequent in Sumatra. The royal tyger is abundantly found in the island, and is the most perfect of his kind. Buffaloes, and many other sorts of quadrupeds, are numerous. A traveller meets here with reptiles and insects of all kinds. There are lizards, flying lizards, serpents, and cameleons. The bread fruit tree, indigo, coffee, cotton, ebony, sandal wood, manchineel, and the banyan tree, are the productions of this island. The benzoin, or benjamin, is gathered in great quanti-

ties, and is of an excellent quality. It is obtained from a species of the laurus by incisions in the bark, through which the gum exudes. It is used for perfumes, cosmetics, incense, and varnish. Camphor trees grow in great plenty on the island, and afford this article for commerce of the best kind. Iron, copper, gold, sulphur, tin, lead, arsenic, and salt-petre, are found here. Goiters were seen on the necks of some of the inhabitants of Bencoolen, and were said to be considerably prevalent in the interior. The natives are Malays, and notoriously treacherous.

The harbour of Pulo-Bay lies three leagues from Bencoolen, in a south east direction. A ship might go into it, and stay for three or four days, until the markets could be known, without much danger to the crew. Seamen must always regret that so fine a harbour should be so unhealthy.

Rat-Island lies in latitude 3° 51′ south, and in longitude 102° 21′ east. From this we took our departure, and sailed on the 17th of August, having many upon our sick list. We proceeded eastward; passed through the Straits of Sunda; and arrived at Batavia the 16th of September.

This city is the capital of the Dutch settlements in India; it stands on the river Jacatra, which is about an hundred and seventy feet wide within the town. The harbour is filled with islands, which break the force of the winds, and a thousand ships may ride in it with safety. On one of the islands, Onroost, there are excellent dock-yards, and all the conveniences for building and repairing ships. The houses of Batavia are generally of one story, and very high walls. But the governor's house, the hotel, and the dwellings of some few rich men, are of two stories. There are several bridges in the town. The abutments are built of stone; the covering is of wood; and the braces above and below are iron. These are in bars of four sides, and each side is about three inches broad, an enormous size for a bar of iron. The timber is an extremely hard wood, of which standards are made above the bridge, and to them the iron bars are fastened. The river, which runs through it, feeds fifteen canals, which are all faced with stone. The mouth of the river is often cleared of mud by the labours of a great number of slaves. The Chinese and the natives of the island chiefly inhabit the suburbs. The city is surrounded with land, which is low and boggy, and the cause of extreme unhealthi-

ness. There is a citadel, besides many forts and redoubts, for the protection of the place. It was however taken by the English without much loss. The number of inhabitants, as far as I could ascertain it, was about 200,000. Malays probably make half of the whole. They are servants and laborers. A fourth part consists of Chinese, some merchants, some mechanics, and some laborers. Europeans and natives from different countries of India, constitute another fourth part. Negroes and Japanese are counted among the Malays. In the Edinburgh Encyclopædia the following more particular statement is made, which I think my readers will be pleased to see. "Of a population, amounting to 110,000, exclusive of women and children, scarcely 5000 are Europeans; and of these not one fifth are Dutch, the greatest number being Portuguese and French. The rest are composed of a great variety of Indians, who are all under chiefs of their own nation, such as Chinese, Javanese, natives of the island, Malayans, Amboynese, Mardykers, Baliers, Bouginese, Massassars, &c. The Chinese are the most numerous, and are enemies to idleness. They seem born for the active bustle of commerce. They are indefatigably industrious, and will submit to any drudgery, however laborious, that is attended with a certainty of gain. Cunning, however, and deceitful to the last degree, they take a pride in imposing upon Europeans; and boasting of their dexterity, they tell you that the Dutch have one eye, but the Chinese have two. They keep all the shops, and most of the inns of the city, and are in general the farmers of the duties, excises, and customs. The Javanese apply themselves chiefly to agriculture and ship-building; and the Malayans to fishing. This last is a most wicked and profligate race. They profess to be Mahometans; but are absolutely void of morals, and would commit a murder for the most trifling reward. Their last chief was publicly whipped and branded for his villanies; since which they have been ashamed to choose another. The Amboynese, a bold, boisterous, and turbulent people, are not allowed to live in the city, but are confined to a certain quarter of the suburbs. They are generally employed in building houses of bamboo, with windows of split cane, which are very neatly wrought in different figures. The Mardykers are of various trades, as merchants, gardeners, graziers, poulterers, &c. Few of the free Indians however are employed in domestic or menial services. These are chiefly employed [per-

formed] by slaves, which are annually imported from Sumatra and Celebes."

Fruits and vegetables are extremely cheap in this city. I have purchased a hundred pine apples for a dollar. Still, living is expensive in Batavia. Whoever would support the character of a gentleman on shore, must keep a coach. This and a variety of other causes make it impossible for a captain or supercargo of a vessel to spend a little time economically in this place.

The productions of Batavia, and of the island at large, are numerous and abundant. They consist of rice, coffee, the sugar cane, all kinds of bread corn, and every species of tropical fruit. The bohan upas, or poison tree, which has been so famous in the stories about Java, and which has been reported to destroy life at the distance of several miles, I have often seen, and touched. It is no more dangerous than an apple tree, unless the bark be broken, and the juice of it be received upon the flesh. As far as I can judge, I should think it to be the same with the manchineel tree of the West Indies. The impression on my memory is, that the upas is about twenty-five feet high, about three feet in circumference, and the bark of a grey colour.

Canals are cut in Batavia, and some of them run a considerable distance into the country. I have been fourteen or fifteen miles from the city, in several directions, and found the highest cultivation, the most elegant country-seats for the gentlemen of fortune, and every thing that could gratify the eye. But the unhealthiness of the place has forced many of the proprietors of the country-seats to desert them, after having spent immense sums upon them. "The environs of Batavia," says the Edinburgh Encyclopædia, "to a considerable extent, present one universal garden, intersected with rivulets and canals, overshadowed with lofty trees, and interspersed with magnificent villas. The Dutch have here indulged their national taste to its full extent. Every spot is covered with verdure, and the most luxuriant foliage. Whatever can satisfy the palate, or delight the sense, is produced in abundance. Fruits of every description grow almost spontaneously, and without culture; and could we but forget the danger to which life is every hour exposed, from the insalubrity of the climate, we might regard this place as the most delightful region of the world. But in the midst of plenty, beauty, and gaiety, every countenance indicates debility

and languor. To use a strong expression, it is the work-shop of death. There is pestilence in the air, and poison in the water. The atmosphere is continually infected with deleterious vapours, which rise from the surrounding swamps and morasses; and the trees, with which the quays and streets are crowded, impede the free circulation of the air, and retain the putrid effluvia, which otherwise would in some degree be dissipated. Fevers, which are here the general denomination for all kinds of illness, are continually raging in the colony."—"Of strangers, who come to settle at Batavia, three out of five are reckoned to die the first year; and it appears from calculation that the company lose annually one-fifth of their servants."—"Such is the general apprehension of the unhealthiness of this colony, that even the temptation of quickly amassing a splendid fortune is insufficient to induce those, who can reside at home with any comfort, to seek a settlement in Batavia. Many offices and professions are thus necessarily entrusted to persons little qualified for fulfilling their duties; and it is worthy of remark, that one of the clergymen, and the principal physician, had originally been barbers."

Alligators are very numerous and troublesome about Batavia. They are in all the creeks and canals. I was standing at noon day in the door of the principal hotel, in the middle of the city, on one side of a canal, seventy or eighty yards from the spot, and saw an alligator take a child off from the steps the opposite side, in the edge of the water, and eat it. The mouth of the canal, where the boats of ships enter, in going on shore, is full of them. Sharks throng the roads where ships ride. It is convienient to enter the harbour, coming from east, north, or west. The passage is between the islands. The anchorage is in a good muddy bottom, and not more than six or eight fathoms water. The harbour is in 6° 10′ south latitude, and 107° 12′ east longitude. We took on board sheep, cows, goats, bulls, poultry, and two kinds of deer.

Before I leave Batavia, it may gratify curiosity, if I make a few observations upon the mosques of the Malays. I have frequently visited them in the different eastern islands, and seen their worship. A mosque is a shed seven or eight feet high; the sides are open between the upright timbers; the roof is sharp and thatched with the large leaves of the country; it is sixty feet long, and forty wide. Around it there is an inclosure two hundred feet

square, and is made of stone, or of large pieces of clay three feet long and one foot on each side, baked in the sun. Near the mosque there is a great hollow log, which the natives call a *tom-tom*, and which is an enormous drum. The largest hollow tree, that can be found, is selected; the trunk is cut at the length of twenty or thirty feet; it is often from four to six feet in diameter; the inside is entirely cut out and made smooth; it is laid horizontally on cross stakes at about the height of a man's neck, and both ends are covered with a dried skin drawn tight. Sometimes one end is made close with boards. The sticks, with which the priest, at a given time in the worship, plays upon the tom-tom, are four or five feet long, and are made like drum-sticks, with a knob at the end. The priest comes out from the mosque, in a solemn march, sometimes followed by the whole congregation, and sometimes by a few only, and plays with great zeal upon the tom-tom for several minutes, after which prayers are offered, and the priest and the people then return into the mosque.

I was not able to discover the precise import of this part of the worship, but it probably answers in some degree to the praise which we offer to God upon the organ, and with other instruments of music. The Malays carry little tom-toms with them, slung upon the shoulder like a drum, and always play upon them in their engagements with an enemy, and in all dangers. It seems to be martial as well as devotional music, and is used as one mode of imploring the divine protection, and securing the advantages of piety in their enterprises and contests.

When I first saw this part of the worship of the Malays, I was disposed to think it ridiculous and absurd, but it appears sufficiently rational upon examination, and changes all its associations when its object is understood. It is seldom just or useful for travellers to censure the forms of religion and devotion, which they find abroad, differing from those of their own country. The substance and object of faith are so much alike in all countries, that a thorough knowledge of them is pretty certain to give a catholic spirit to every reflecting traveller.

CHAPTER VIII.

Passage from Batavia through the Straits of Billiton—The West Coast of Borneo—Balambangan—Sooloo Seas.

WE sailed from Batavia the 2d of October for the Pelew Islands, and proceeded northward, inclining a little east, with the wind from the easterly quarter, till we were on the south coast of Billiton. We then beat to the eastward the whole of the south side of it, until east of its eastern extreme, when we stood to the northeast for Borneo. In coasting the whole of the south, and part of the east side of Billiton, we saw but few dangers. But it seems, that we passed within several dangerous shoals, which lie south east of it, without discovering them. They are just out of sight of land. In a voyage afterward, I was near being lost on them, as I was coming from Canton. I was running in the night, and felt perfectly safe, because I had surveyed this passage, on the Billiton side of it, when I suddenly found the water becoming shallow, from twenty seven fathoms mud to fifteen and fourteen fathoms coral rock. I altered my course, the water was deeper, then shallower, and I was obliged to anchor. In the morning, we perceived that we were very near a long reef, or sand key, extending nearly four miles. We got under way, steered southward, and passed two or three more reefs, with rocks on them as large as hay-cocks.

In the navigation in this vicinity, and in all that on the north west side of Borneo, mariners ought never to run in the night when there is rocky bottom. Even sand indicates some danger, as almost all the coast is soft bottom when the navigation is safe. There are soundings, and the water is not very deep, after a ship gets to the south of 6° north latitude, until she is out of the Straits of Sunda. If she passes eastward of Java from Billiton, she will also have soundings till she is clear of the islands lying to the south. She can run in the night, if she pays strict attention to the lead, and

can keep in soft ground. Most parts of this navigation have never been well surveyed; many shoals and dangers have been lately discovered; several ships have been lost upon them; and too much care cannot be taken in making passages along this place.

We stood over near the coast of Borneo, and continued our course by it, till we got round the north part. The winds were variable from the north west to the east. Almost all the time, we were working in sight of islands, and amongst them, sometimes near to Borneo, and sometimes stretching off from it. A passage in that way could be made to China with ease, in the north east monsoon, care being taken to maintain a good look-out. I should prefer to pass south and east of Borneo, through the Straits of Macassar, or east of Celebes, and out to the north and east by Gilolo. The passage through the Straits of Macassar is to be recommended most in the north east monsoon. The navigation is safe near to the land on the north west side of Borneo; but off, in latitude 5° 40′ north, and twelve or fifteen leagues from the island, lies a very extensive shoal, which I believe has not water enough for a ship of any considerable size to cross it. We ran into four fathoms water, as we were standing from the shore in the night; and for many miles north and south of this place, we found the water shoal, whenever we attempted to leave the land at any distance. This renders it probable that no part of the shoal would allow a ship to pass over it in safety.

Borneo was said to be the largest island in the world, before the discovery of New Holland. It is 780 miles long, and 720 broad, lying between 7° north latitude, and 4° 10′ south, and between 109° and 120° east longitude. The air is very good upon the high lands, but very bad upon the low. The mountains are pretty numerous, and some of them lofty. We saw one which is called Kinni-Ballu, or Mount St. Peter, at a distance of more than seventy leagues, as we determined it by latitude and longitude. It is not a peak, but is round and regular. It was bearing north east, when we first discovered it. We sailed round the north and east of it, and then inclined south till it was west of us. We saw it all the time in day-light and clear weather at the above distance. It is probably forty or fifty miles inland, and is in the north part of the island.

The soil of Borneo is very fertile. It produces in abundance all the varieties of tropical fruits. The pepper is well known

for its superior quality. This plant is a vine like the grape; as large as a pipe-stem; and supported by a stake, or a small tree, or low hurdles, which are not more than a foot high. The fields of pepper, which I have seen, are from half an acre to an acre. The clusters are like grapes, and sometimes a single plant bears seventy or seventy five of them.

There are some very rare fruits on this island. The madang is one, which looks like a large apple; and the balono is another, which resembles a mango, has the shape of a kidney, and is of a yellowish colour. Cassia, camphor, benzoin, and wax are also among the productions. Diamonds are plenty, and are sometimes collected from the rivers. Gold-dust, iron, copper, tin, and tutenag, abound. The last metal is often called the white copper of China, but zinc is the prevailing ingredient.

In page 100, among the articles of trade at New Guinea, and some of the neighboring islands, I have spoken of the beach-le-mar, which is often called the swalloo. This is also found in Borneo. The following remarks upon it are from the Edinburgh Encyclopædia. "On the coasts of Borneo, there is a species of sea-snail, called by the natives *swalloo*, which is esteemed a great luxury, and is a pretty lucrative article in their commerce with the Chinese. It is fished by the Biadjoos, the original inhabitants, in seven or eight fathoms depth of water. When the water is clear, they perceive the swalloo at the bottom, and strike it with an iron instrument having four points, fixed along a stone almost cylindrical, but narrower at one end than at the other, and about eighteen inches long. To the end of the stone, near the four prongs, they always attach a ball of iron. The swalloos are likewise procured by diving; the best being always found in the deepest water. The black swalloo is much preferable to the white; but there is a kind more esteemed than either, of a clear colour, and found only in deep water. Swalloos of this kind are sometimes so large as to weigh half a pound; and they are sold at China for forty Spanish dollars the pecul, (somewhat more than the twelfth of a ton,) whereas the same quantity of white swalloos never brings more than four or five dollars."

The pecul is not stated correctly, but should be fifteen to a ton. At the Pelew Islands, swalloos were found in basins of water not more than knee deep, at low tide, on the reefs. The black often

weighed a pound. It is about a foot long, as large as a man's wrist, without any perceptible mouth, and with a thick skin. The outer part of the skin is taken off by scalding, and the swalloo is then pickled, and dried in the sun, after which it is fit for sale, or use. When it is cut open, it looks like the hard meat of a sea clam.

Trade may be carried on with this island in all the articles already mentioned, and also in pearls and ivory. The goods to be taken to it for sale should include coarse cutlery, coarse chintz and cotton stuffs, and opium, which they smoke and chew.

The river Borneo is on the northwest side of the island, and a town of the same name stands upon it, several miles from its mouth. The channel is narrow, where it enters the ocean in about 5° 10′ north latitude. The town is built upon piles in the river, on a large shoal, with water enough on each side of it for a vessel of considerable size to pass. It is spacious, and contains a vast number of inhabitants. The Portuguese, the Spaniards, the Dutch, and the English, have all attempted, at different times, to make settlements upon this island; and have all in turn suffered from the treachery and cruelty of the inhabitants. The character of these people is peculiarly bad. I have seen several Europeans, who have been in slavery in Borneo, and from whom I have learned, that the treatment which they received, was far worse than the severities of Algerine captivity. Those who have read the narrative of Captain David Woodward of Boston, will be able to judge, in some degree, how much men are sometimes compelled to suffer from the inhumanity of these savages.

The natives are Mahometans and Gentoos. A mixed language is spoken. The Arabic in some degree spreads with the extension of the religion of the Koran; but the Malay is the general language of the island. The Gentoos, or disciples of Brama, are very numerous, and believe in a Supreme Being, in various orders of moral and intelligent creatures, in the obligations of virtue and piety upon mankind, in the immortality of the soul, in the transmigration of it through different bodies, and in rewards and punishments according to character and conduct.

The Philippine Islands lie north of Borneo; are 1100 or 1200 in number; and are between 5° 10′ and 18° north latitude, and between 120° and 127° east longitude. Mindanao is the most southern, and Luconia the largest. They are named from Philip II

of Spain, and are under the influence of the Spaniards, who have settlements on several of them. Their capital is Manilla, which stands upon the island of Luconia. This city is two or three miles in circumference, and has an irregular form, narrow at the ends, and wide in the middle. The streets are broad; the houses are well built; and the churches are elegant. There are many convents in it, and the population of christians amounts to about 12,000. The Chinese and Japanese live without the walls, and constitute a much larger population than the christians. The Chinese particularly are the most active and successful merchants and mechanics. The Spaniards are indolent, and have been long in the habit of relying upon the returns of the vessels, which they annually send to Acapulco. They formerly employed two in this service, but now five or six. The merchants of all nations at Manilla get some share in the trade with South America. Immense quantities of India and China goods are found in this city; and many thousands of dollars find their way to it from Europe and the United States, in addition to those which come in the Spanish galleons. A great article of trade is sugar, of which a very large amount is made in the neighbourhood of Manilla. Indigo also is manufactured there of the first quality. On the opposite side of the river from Manilla stands the town called Parian, where the Chinese principally reside. It is a depot of all kinds of merchandize.

I have seen most of the Philippine Islands; have landed on several of them; and have some knowledge of the inhabitants. They resemble the Tartars, who make a part of the population of China. There is a class of people among them, who have sprung from Europeans and the natives, and who are said to be peculiarly savage. A large portion of them are of Spanish blood, and are well known under the title of Manilla-men. The English will not insure a ship, if she has as many as five or six of these people on board. Many sufferings and losses have been experienced from them, and they are often associated with the Malays in piratical attacks upon ships. I have seen many of them gibbetted at Bombay, and other English ports. They have murdered several of the Chinese at Macao since my acquaintance with them.

The Malays are known to chew and smoke a kind of plant, by which they are intoxicated, called *bangue*. This is a most powerful and active stimulant. It begins to operate very soon upon the

system; produces an ungovernable frenzy in two or three hours; and gives great vigour to the muscles, while it takes away all discretion from the mind. Our own people, and some of our midshipmen, after being ashore, while we were among the Philippines, came on board, and were for a time incapable of being restrained from acts of violence, except by a very superior force, in consequence of having joined with the natives in smoking or chewing the bangue. When they are excited by this, they draw their cresses, (steel daggers waved at the point,) and run ferociously about, stabbing all they meet, whether friend or foe. They do not frequently take the bangue to this extent, but use it sufficiently to produce that degree of intoxication which drowns their cares, and multiplies their joys. A Malay will not voluntarily use this plant in order to run mad, or *run the muck*, as it is termed, unless he is very much oppressed, and has no other way to get revenge upon society for his wrongs. Whenever he does this, the Dutch offer a reward, as it is said, to any one who will kill him. The cress is a dirk of iron or steel, with a short handle, and a long crooked blade.

The land about Manilla is extremely fertile. The Philippine Islands produce every variety of fruit, and abound in cattle, deer, buffaloes, sheep, goats, hogs, and monkeys. Gold, iron, and tin, are found upon them. Perpetual verdure clothes the trees, and ripe fruits hang upon them through the year.

The following remarks will be of use to those who wish to make a passage through the Sooloo sea. We were at anchor, in the south-west harbour of Balambangan, in latitude 7° 31′ north, near to the watering place. Banguey-Peak bore north 69° east, and the northern Chalk-Cliff bore north 56° west. When a stranger is sailing into this harbour, Banguey-Peak is the best guide as soon as it can be seen. Coming from the south, or west, there is no danger for a ship, until the south west point of Balambangan is brought to bear south 62° west. There will be found three small shoals in the mouth of the harbour. From these Banguey-Peak bears north 62° east. The shallowest water upon them is six feet. They lie about three quarters of a mile from the south west end of Balambangan, or from a small island which is there. When a ship is near the shoals, the harbour is west, and appears as though it were shut up by a reef of rocks. But going toward it, the opening is discovered. The land does not look much like a har-

bour. The reefs form the outer part of it, as it is entered from the three shoals. The southern reef must be kept close on board, for as a vessel goes round the reef to sail into the harbour, a small shoal of coral rock is found not more than three hundred yards from the reef, with six feet of water on it. After that shoal is passed, the harbour is clear, and nothing is to be feared but what shows itself. Having entered the harbour, a ship will run about half a mile up, or until the channel turns suddenly to the westward. She will then anchor in six or seven fathoms in a cove, where there is plenty of wood and good water. The stream flows down a hill, and over the beach, so abundantly, that a ship may take in all the water she wants in a very short time. There are no inhabitants at the place. The only disadvantage in procuring wood and water, is felt from the flats, whi h extend so far as to make it necessary to lade the boat at high tide. The stream is easily distinguished when at anchor. This harbour is not fit to receive ships larger than three hundred tons. But those of a thousand tons may ride safely without the reef, and get wood and water.

No part of Balambangan is peopled. Monkeys of every kind abound in it. They love fish, and we often saw them come down to the shore to collect this sort of food. They ha e water, and shake their paws like a cat when they are wet. They catch small fish in basins of water where there is no escape, and draw the shell fish out, which are near the shore. Their chattering, grimace, and mimickry, make hem irresistibly ludicrous. We shot among them several times. They were frightened; ran a little way; and turned round to look at us, with an amusing mixture of the fearful and the farcical in their faces.

When at anchor in the harbour, the easterly extreme of Balambangan is in sight, and Banguey-Peak in a line north. The southeast extreme is also in sight, and a small island south of Banguey in a line with it. He who wishes to sail between Banguey and Balambangan, will find that the channel is pretty clear, and the passage four or five miles wide. Should there be occasion to work up between Banguey and Balabac, the passage will be found full of shoals and reefs, after Banguey-Peak is brought to bear westward of south. This passage should not be attempted in the night. Working round Banguey to the eastward, small islands will be

discovered intermingled with reefs and shoals, and there is a number of them south of it. Going eastward, a ship will pass with four, five, six, and ten fathoms water upon them, ten or twelve leagues from the island. West and north of Balambangan, there are clear and regular soundings. On the north west side of Borneo, keeping in shore, the coast is pretty clear; but keeping off shore, several large shoals of coral rock will be found, which render the navigation dangerous. In latitude 7° 19′ north, lies a large shoal, just out of sight of land, where a ship would probably run aground. We had four and five fathoms on it, coral rock, in the night. The distance from Banguey to Cagayan-Sooloo is about eighty miles, and all of it is dangerous on account of the shoals. A ship may anchor on the south side of Cagayan, about two miles from shore, in twenty fathoms, or one mile, in twelve fathoms. A long reef of rocks lies off half a mile from the southwest part of the island, but it shows itself. Cagayan appeared not to be very populous, but the inhabitants were friendly, and brought to us plenty of oxen and cows, fowls, and all kinds of vegetables common to the climate. The soil is good, and the fruits are abundant. We were told that rice was much cultivated there, but we purchased none. Gold dust was said to be common on the island, but we did not see any. I should think it a good place for a ship, which has guns and a number of men, to get wood and water. The inhabitants speak the Malay language. The island is dependent on Sooloo-proper. We saw horses upon it, and understood that there are many other kinds of quadrupeds. We did not discover that there is any harbour in it; but anchored on the south side, and the inhabitants came off to us. They were most fond of purchasing coarse chintz, palempores or counterpanes, any kind of cloth, cutlery, and opium. We gave seven or eight dollars for a bullock, in goods which cost us three or four in India.

Sailing southward and eastward from Cagayan, we soon got into seventy and eighty fathoms water, and then found no bottom with a line of an hundred and forty fathoms. Going eastward towards Sooloo proper, the sea is clear of shoals. There are no soundings, but the rippling of the currents, which run south and east, is strong. We fell in with the island Towee-Towee in the Sooloo Sea. It is very bold, and on the north side, two leagues from shore, a line of an hundred and forty fathoms did not reach the bottom. Sailing

eastward, we found a chain of islands, lying in great numbers, from Towee-Towee, all the way to Sooloo. They are not dangerous. A few leagues east of Towee-Towee, and three or four miles from the chain of small islands, we found bottom at forty fathoms. From the south west end of Sooloo, five or six miles, is a little island lying south-west half-west from the north west entrance of Sooloo harbour. South west of this little island, which is low, with trees upon it, is a shoal or reef, at the distance of a mile. Sailing round the south west point of Sooloo, we saw an island, looking like a small lump, north of the main island. A ship may pass within, or without it. Eastward of this are several islands, like hillocks, some low and some high, which form the north side of the road or harbour of Sooloo.

CHAPTER IX.

Description of the Island, and Town of Sooloo.

THE Sooloo sea is formed by a number of islands. The Philippine Islands are north and east; the Sooloo Islands are east and south; Borneo is south and west; and Banguey and Palawan are west. It lies between 5° and 11° north latitude, and between 117° and 123° east longitude. The north east monsoon shows the direction of the prevalent winds during its continuance. The airs are light, and interrupted by calms. In the northern part of the sea, the wind in this monsoon is more fresh and constant. In the southern part, and near to Borneo, the wind is more variable, and the calms are more frequent.

There are two points of the island of Sooloo, which extend northward, lying south west by west, and north east by east of each other. They form the south side of the harbour. Sailing into these roads, the island must be kept close on board. Coming abreast of the town, it may be seen, although its appearance will be humble in the eye of one who arrives from Europe or America. The harbour is in 5° 48′ north latitude, subject to an error of two or three miles, and in 121° 36′ east longitude.

Sooloo-Island is from 25 to 35 miles long from east to west, and from 15 to 25 miles from north to south. It has land of a moderate elevation, and every part is capable of cultivation. The houses of the principal town stand upon piles, and many of them are over the water, according to the custom of the Malays. They are miserably built, with sides of bamboo, and a roof thatched with leaves and long grass. The people are Malays, Chinese, and a few Moors. They speak some Spanish and some Moorish, but no English. The manner, in which the Moors were introduced amongst them, deserves to be mentioned.—In 1766, the king of Sooloo resigned to the English the island of Balambangan. In 1772, they began a

settlement at the north east harbour, which is much better than the south west, and admits of vessels of any size. The Malays of Sooloo assisted the English in building the houses and the fort, and returned to their own island. Not long afterwards, when the houses were inhabited, and the fort had a few guns mounted, the Malays manned a number of prows at Sooloo; came to Balambangan in the night; and early in the morning took the fort by surprise. They turned the guns upon the town, and managed them with so much promptitude as to make the English fly in utter consternation to the boats and the vessels in the harbour for safety. Many were killed, some taken prisoners, and the whole settlement destroyed. A gentleman, who was sitting in the house of the governor that morning, told me that a cannon ball from the fort entered the walls of the room where the family were; struck a chest of dollars; and made them rattle round the apartment like a storm of hail.

Balambangan, an island 18 miles by 9, having an excellent soil, was chosen by the English for this settlement, because it was so conveniently situated for trade with China, and with all the islands in those seas. A considerable number of Moors had been employed by the English, who were taken prisoners by the Malays, and carried to Sooloo. This is one of the sources of the Moorish population and language on that island.

It is observed by the Abbe Raynal, in his history of the Indies, "that the English are still ignorant, or pretend to be so, from whence this act of violence, which cost them 9,000,000 livres, (375,000£) proceeded. Their suspicions have appeared to fix alternately upon the Dutch, who are constantly alarmed for the Moluccas; upon the Spaniards, who might be apprehensive for the Philippine Islands; upon the barbarians of the neighbouring latitudes, whose liberty seemed to be threatened; and sometimes even upon a conspiracy of all these enemies, who had united their resentment and their interests."—Book III.

The island of Sooloo gives laws to most of the other islands in the group. It has a sultan, and the several kinds of officers found in Mahometan communities. The trade is in sago and many other articles, but chiefly in pearls. These are procured in great numbers about the islands. A good judgment is required to deal in them. They are of different sizes, shapes, qualities, and degrees of clearness. Their value is not determined by the size alone, and

considerable experience is necessary to judge of their worth as they are offered by the natives in the market.

The eatable birds-nests, which are esteemed so great a luxury in China, are found at Sooloo. These are the nests of a species of swallow, which very much resembles the bank-swallow, so called, from making holes in the bank near the sea for nests. The swallow, which furnishes the eatable nests, is small, between two and three inches long, with a white breast, and a white spot on each feather of the tail. It collects a white glutinous substance from the foam of the sea, and from the beach, and makes nests of it in the caverns and crevices of rocks in inaccessible places. Persons, seeking for the nests, are often obliged to dive into the water to enter the mouths of the caverns, where the swallows have chosen their residence. I have myself, when we were at Timor, gone down fifty feet by a rope into a chasm between the rocks, and caught the swallows upon the nests, and plucked the nests with the eggs. These are four, and perfectly white. The nest is attached closely to the rock, the surface of which makes a part of its side. The nest, when taken from the rock, has about the capacity of a quarter of an orange peel of the largest size. It is white like isinglass, and is packed like tea cups, one within another, in bunches of two or three pounds. A single nest weighs about an ounce. I have often eaten of the soups, which are made of them, and have found them possessing a very agreeable aromatic flavour.

Beach-le-mar, gold-dust, turtle-shells, and a few dollars which have strayed from the Philippines, are found at Sooloo. This is a good place for ships, which have guns, to procure all kinds of provisions. The cattle are fine, and very cheap, an excellent bullock being sold for two or three dollars in the articles of trade. Goats are plenty, and one was sold to us for a knife. Hogs, sheep, and fowls of every sort, abounded there. Rice, which is the common bread of all India, may be had in any quantity. Vegetables and fruits are in all the varieties. Fish of an excellent quality, and in great numbers, are caught, and sold fo trifles and toys. Large and good green turtles, weighing from four to five hundred pounds, may be purchased for a song. Native camphor and ivory are there.

The articles, which should be carried for trade with them, are coarse goods, Bengal chintz, white cloth, palempores, any coarse piece goods of India, opium, cutlery of the cheap kinds, knives,

scissors, razors, small looking-glasses, spy-glasses for day and night, perfumes, bergamot, essence of lavender, essence of lemon, curious toys, and a few fine goods.

In order to deal with them, a ship must go into the road, or she will have no harbour. It is proper also to make the sultan a visit and carry presents. Otherwise there will be difficulty in persuading the people to trade. Europeans must be always on their guard; must never put themselves in the power of the Malays; and never expose themselves to the chance of having their ship cut off. Fourteen guns, and musketry in proportion, are the least force, which every vessel should have in holding any intercourse with these people. A ship may ride off the town in ten, eleven, and twelve fathoms water, half a mile from the shore. There are guns at this place, by which vessels might be annoyed, if the inhabitants were provoked. This circumstance should be remembered.

Wood is procured with difficulty at Sooloo. It is scarce; it must be brought with considerable labour from the hills to the shore; and is then carried by the natives in canoes to the vessels which want it. It is never given, but must be purchased at a pretty good price. Water may be obtained at the town, or about a mile to the eastward of it, where it can be had with more convenience. This watering place is under a large tree, near to a point of rocks, and cannot be easily mistaken.

Sailing east and south of Sooloo, a ship may go between that island and Tapool, in good soundings from twenty five to fifty fathoms. In this course, there are two small islands five or six miles from Sooloo. As we passed them in the night, I have no further description of them to give. Going south east, soundings are lost five or six leagues from Sooloo, and are not found again till a vessel is clear of the group of islands, which lie northward of Celebes. Passing along this sea in the month of December, we had a strong south east current all the way from Sooloo to Celebes. It then changed, and ran east.

As there had been very little intercourse between the English and the people of Sooloo, since the attack upon Balambangan by the latter in 1772, we did not think it safe for us to go on shore. The natives, however, came to us on board in great numbers, without showing the least mark of fear. Some of their most respectable persons, and females of the first rank, were among them. The

daughters of the sultan came, and were much gratified with the attention which was paid them, and with the indulgence of their curiosity in every part of our vessels. They conducted themselves with great dignity and propriety, and seemed to have an habitual sense of the value of modesty. My desire to know more of the island and of its inhabitants, after seeing those who came on board, was much increased, and my invention enlisted to discover some way to go on shore with safety. Among our visitors, there was an old Moor, who had been a captain in the English service from the taking of Manilla to the time when it was given up to the Spaniards. He was a *subahdar* in the sultan's guards at Sooloo, and had married there. He seemed to be very much pleased with our company, and I was able to converse with him a little in the Moorish language, to which I had paid some attention. I asked him if I could not go on shore with safety, and if I should not find something for amusement or instruction. He answered, yes; and said, that he could have me carried in a canoe, if I would disguise myself by putting on a Malay turban, and a robe which they call a *clout*. I was to sit still, drawing the robe over my head. The canoe could take me within ten yards of his house, and I should be able to enter his dwelling without being discovered. I consulted with the commodore on the subject, who had, as I knew, a strong desire to obtain more knowledge of the island. He said, that the project was extremely dangerous; that I might be taken and considered as a spy; that I might be murdered through jealousy; that the general enmity which they bore to the Europeans might induce the inhabitants to take my life; that the clothes I had on might be thought valuable enough to be the occasion of a quarrel to gain them; and that the treachery of the Malays must always be feared, and the exposure to it avoided. After much deliberation, however, he consented that I should go, saying that I was in the habit of working my way well through difficulties, that he hoped some good would grow out of the enterprise, and that he wanted very much to establish a friendly intercourse with the people. We agreed, if I should be detected, that both of us should say, it was an affair of gallantry, and nobody responsible for it but myself. The Moor, with whom I entered into the same agreement, knew nothing of the understanding between the commodore and me. Between day-light and dark, the son-in-law of the old subahdar came under

the bow of the Panther, and handed in the Malay dress at one of the ports. I put it on over my clothes, and descended through the same port into the canoe. I observed the orders given to me, and sat perfectly still and covered, while my guide paddled between hundreds of canoes to the mouth of a small river, which we ascended nearly a quarter of a mile. On one side of it, stood a part of the town built upon piles. We went up to the house of the subahdar in the midst of a multitude of people. None of them discovered me till I was going into the house. Then it was perceived by some, from my walk, or manner, that I was a foreigner; but as the good old subahdar came out to meet and conduct me into his house, there seemed to be no offence or hostility manifested by the inhabitants, and my anxiety was allayed. I was introduced to the old man's wife, and to his daughter, who was the wife of my guide, the son-in-law. They treated me as well as I could wish, offering me whatever they had or could obtain. There was soon a collection about the house The subahdar went to the people and told them, that he had an old friend with him, whom he had known for many years, and that he wished not to be disturbed. If he were, the sultan would call them to an account. They were silent for a time, but still wanted very much to come in. Two or three females only were admitted. We spent the hours agreeably till midnight, when the subahdar went out to attend upon his guards, as it was his duty. I was then the only man in the house. Fifteen Malays entered, with each a cress, and came into the chamber where I was. They formed a circle round me, and viewed me with scrutinizing eyes. I was not able to speak to them in the Malay language, and was entirely silent, while they looked at me for more than half an hour. My feelings were those of a man just about to be executed, but I endeavoured to suppress them. At length the old Moor arrived; I asked him what all this meant. He told me, after speaking with them some time, that I must not be alarmed, but try to make myself agreeable to them, and they would soon leave me. I obeyed him as far as possible, still complaining however to him aside, at their continuance in the house. He spake to them a second time, and they made me a *salam*, or bow, and took their leave. The subahdar then told me that these men were his friends, and would protect me against all violence; that they belonged to the sultan's guards; and that they came in to gratify their curiosity, hav-

ing heard that he had a friend from the vessel in the harbour to see him. He said, " Were I in England, at your house, and among your friends, would they not want to come in and gaze upon me ?" I answered, as the reader would of course expect, yes. But having some suspicion that this might be treachery, I told him, that all, which I had brought on shore, except the dress necessary to me, I should leave with him ; that if he were to permit me to be killed he would not gain any thing by it ; and that as he saw how much the commodore regarded me, my death would be avenged. At this he seemed to be hurt, and accused me of an unreasonable jealousy. Our feelings were reconciled, and our confidence increased by an interchange of our sentiments. We smoked a *hubble-bubble* of tobacco and opium, and were friends. The old Moor then took another walk through the guards, locking the door as he went out, and taking the key with him. He had not been gone long, before the house was surrounded by a multitude, who made a great noise, and beat upon all sides of it. The wife of the subahdar came up stairs to me, and made me understand that the people would pull down the house, if a woman, who was with us, was not immediately delivered up to them. The friends had come after her. I asked her, why she did not let the woman go out. She said that her husband had locked the door, and carried away the key. This news gave me no pleasure. I felt myself in a bad situation, locked in a strange house, surrounded by an enraged mob of savages, and exposed every moment to be drawn out to their vengeance. By signs, and some words, I made my anxiety known, so as to be intelligible to the Moor's wife, respecting what was to be done. She had no advice to give, and her mind was in a state of confusion. But the woman, who was the object of the search, knew well what was to be done. She told me to help her out of one of the chamber windows. This I did, and handed her to the arms of the people below. They were thus appeased ; made me a handsome salam ; and left the house in perfect quietness. My fears were removed and I felt myself as safe as I should at home. It was evident that no harm was meant me. When the subahdar returned, I told him the story, and the circumstances. He enjoyed a hearty laugh ; we smoked another hubble-bubble together ; and things wore a brighter aspect.

In the course of conversation, the subahdar said, that he believed the sultan knew I was on shore; that he was not displeased with it; that he would be willing to settle terms of a friendly intercourse with us; and that he had no disposition to revive the recollection of the attack upon the English at Balambangan. I became more and more gratified with my visit, and my hope was increased that relations of amity might be formed between us and the sultan, according to the wishes of our commodore. Before I left them, the friends of the old Moor came to see me without any uneasiness on my part, or jealous curiosity on theirs. At day-light I divided all my stock of goods between the females, a stock consisting of scissors, pen-knives, combs, beads, and other articles of a similar nature, all well adapted to the taste of the receivers. The commodore had furnished me with most of these articles, and told me to be generous in bestowing them, that the people might have strong impressions in favour of our liberality. After this, I bade them farewell, returned to the ship, and was cordially welcomed by the commodore and his officers. They were extremely curious to know all that I had seen and heard. It was in my power to gratify them in a high degree, and I omitted no incident in my story, which fact had furnished, and which was calculated to excite sympathy or wonder. Thus finished a night of adventures.

At nine in the morning, the subahdar came on board and gave a general invitation to the commodore and his officers to make the sultan a visit on shore. The sultan had been informed that I had been at the house of the Moor; that a disposition for a friendly intercourse was manifested by me; and he now sent his respects to the commodore and his officers tendering to them every civility in his power, if they would land upon his island and come to his palace. I was consulted upon all the questions concerning the safety of accepting the invitation, and said without hesitation, that I should be under as little apprehension in the island of Sooloo as in that of Great Britian. We prepared ourselves for the enterprise, and six of the officers, besides the boat's crew, went on shore. We were received with great respect, and conducted to the palace of the sultan. He showed us the most flattering attentions; was very communicative; displayed his jewels and precious stones; and laboured to interest and entertain us. One of his pearls was as large as a pigeon's egg, and he had several which he valued at

thirty thousand dollars each. The common calculation is that pearls are worth in Europe double their value in India. The diamonds were large, but in a rough state. The gold ornaments were of immence value. In other respects, he appeared not to be inclined to show. His palace was by no means spacious or elegant. It was a handsome house for the place, but far inferior to a multitude of common gentlemen's country houses in other parts of the world. It was near the centre of the town, upon the river, and about a quarter of a mile from that of the subahdar. It was two stories high; upright posts filled in with bamboo; covered with tiles; and distinguished by handsome walks, trees, and verandahs.

The sultan proposed to take us to his seraglio, a proposition which surprised us, but which was well adapted to gratify our curiosity. He saw that our inquiries were frequently directed toward that part of the establishment, and was willing to admit us into it while he was our guide. He sent word to the seraglio that the women should be dressed as is usual on one of his great visits of state, and that they should make their appearance in the same manner. We entered the court through a strong gate, covered with copper, and furnished with a number of bolts. The court was surrounded by a wall of those large bricks, which I have described heretofore, pieces of clay, three or four feet long, and a foot on each side, baked in the sun. We proceeded along a pleasant walk, about thirty feet wide, and between two and three hundred feet in length, with rows of houses on each side. Passing back and forth in this walk, we saw streets at right angles with it, on which were the dwellings of the sultan's women. They came out when they saw us, and were dressed very richly in the Malay style, long and loose robes of various colours, and the finest cotton of India. They wore smiles upon their faces, and were disposed to as much intercourse with us as the sultan would permit. They were evidently gratified with the attentions which we paid to them, and perfectly understood the language of the eyes. The attendants were principally eunuchs, a race of inanimate and contemptible beings, who had a degree of authority over the subjects of their charge. We were informed that the sultan's women were between two and three hundred. They were not all young, nor very handsome. Youth and beauty however shone in perfection in the countenances and forms of a few. As the sultan was near sixty years of age, he might not have been as particular in the selection of his wives as at an earlier

period of life. What a sacrifice of the rights and interests of one sex to the caprice and tyranny of the other does a seraglio present! How fatal an enemy to the character, improvement, and happiness of woman, is this system of polygamy! And how grateful ought we to be to a code of ethics, laws, and religion, by which it is forbidden and prevented!

In the court of the seraglio was a delightful stream of water, fancifully disposed, and trees were arranged in a pleasing order and variety. To a stranger's eye, the place was enchanting. But it must have been tame and oppressive to those who were condemned to be imprisoned within it. We gave to the women a number of presents, with which we had provided ourselves from the vessels, and which they accepted with graceful motions and grateful looks. At our return to the palace, we were treated with all the delicacies of the table which the island afforded.

After this, the sultan sent some of his officers to show us the town and fort. The town was, as I should think, about three miles in circumference, and thickly inhabited, perhaps 30,000 people. Those houses, which did not stand over the water, were generally two stories high, the lower story being left open. It has already been said that they were for the most part miserably built, with sides, as usual, of split bamboo, and a roof thatched with long grass, or the leaves of the plantain, cabbage, or cocoa-nut.

The fort is on the east side of the river, on which the land projects further into the harbour than on the west side. The fort is on high ground in the town, and is so surrounded with houses that it cannot be seen from ship-board. We went into it, and over it all. It was raised a little with earth, and had a kind of ditch about it, with pickets. But the whole was in the rudest style, and in a state of decay. The wall was partly fallen down, and many of the pickets were gone, and others prostrate. Nearly thirty pieces of ordnance, of different calibre, were there, some of them Spanish, and as large guns as I ever saw, not less than forty-two pounders. The guns taken at Balambangan were also in the fort, and had the company's mark, which is a heart with the letters U. E. I. C. upon it. These were brass six pounders. All were poorly mounted. The fort could not stand the attack of one sloop of war. Nothing in it was in order. The guns could not have been promptly used, if there had been an occasion. There were no

men in the fort. They did a little by way of preparation, when our vessels first appeared in the harbour; but this was soon abandoned.

We walked over the town in any direction we chose, both within and without the walls. We took water from the river, and from the watering place east of it. We procured all kinds of refreshment that our vessels could take on board; and we supplied ourselves with live stock for the Pelew Islands. Among the cattle, we selected bulls and cows, and we took sheep, goats, several kinds of deer, and a variety of fowls. The good understanding between the people of Sooloo and ourselves continued till our departure.

One thing I ought not to omit in this place, the testimony which was voluntarily and affectionately paid by the sultan and his people to the good character of Alexander Dalrymple Esq. who had lived a considerable time among them, and who has written so well upon the islands in this vicinity, as well as in other seas. The sultan and his principal officers made many interesting inquiries after Mr. Dalrymple, and expressed the highest approbation of his conduct and merits. They said that he was devoted to the attainment of knowledge, and those pursuits which would be useful to his countrymen, to Europe, and the world. He was thorough, indefatigable, bold, magnanimous, and generous. He would often go alone in a canoe from island to island, in search of information, and expose himself to many dangers, rather than yield a pursuit which he thought would be useful in its result. They considered him as a great philosopher; were not jealous of his objects; aided his inquiries; wanted him to live with them permanently; and said they would cover him with honours.

These people are Mahometans, and their mosques are such as we have already described. We attended their worship, and with many things in it were gratified.

The remarks, which I have made, imply that we had full means of intercourse with the natives. This is true. We had with us persons from so many nations and islands, that we could speak fluently more than twelve languages. The commodore and four of his officers could speak Moorish very well, and were able to hold easy and full conversation with the old subahdar. We had Malay interpreters for our intercourse with the sultan, and with

the chiefs of the place. We had New Guineans on board, whom we had bought of the savages, who offered them to us, and by whom we could have communication with several other islands. Perhaps no expedition was ever better furnished with linguists than ours.

In regard to the question of trade, it is my opinion that a very profitable voyage could be made to Sooloo, and the other islands in the neighbourhood, with a ship of three or four hundred tons, properly armed, and under the command of a man qualified to transact business. Begin the voyage in America or Europe, and send the ship to Surat, Madras, or Calcutta. At these places, articles might be purchased, which would yield a profit in the future trade of the ship. Take a suitable portion of European or American manufactures for an eastern voyage. Proceed then eastward through the straits of Malacca; thence to the coast of Borneo, in latitude 2° north; try what could be done at Sadang in that island; what also in that vicinity; and then follow the coast to the north east, trying the trade as far as the river Borneo. Here the prospect is good for making large sales and purchases. Pass northward round the north end of Borneo; then to the eastward, trying the ports as far east as Cape Misfortune, which is the north east cape of Borneo; and afterwards touch at Sooloo, and go to Mindanao, visiting different parts of that island. Go to the islands north and west, and touch at Cagayan-Sooloo as you pass it. The south west monsoon is most convenient for such a voyage, and the weather is better. The north east monsoon, however, affords safe navigation, and it is not very disagreeable. If in the places already described, a voyage should not be made up sufficiently to leave the coast, let a ship go to Celebes, and eastward as far as Gilolo, always inquiring of the natives for the best places of trade. Such a voyage should never be undertaken, but by a man who has been well acquainted with Malay customs and manners, and is familiar with their mode of doing business. No voyage requires better abilities, and higher qualifications in the commander. It can be made successful only by perseverance, enterprise, and promptitude. Canton should be taken in the route, and considered as a place to finish the sales and purchases. Many articles would find a better market there than in Europe or America, especially pearls, and the mother of pearl. With the last, a ship might be loaded in any one of the islands.

CHAPTER X.

From Soolon through the sea of Celebes—Gilolo—Passage to the Pelew Islands—Further remarks upon them—Passage to Macao.

WE sailed from Sooloo through the chain of islands northward of Celebes, in latitude 2° 15′ north, between Tagolanda and Bissano, the former north, and the latter south. The passage is very clear, about three leagues wide. Tagolanda, lying in latitude 2° 18′ north, and in longitude 126° east, and an island near it, are inhabited. There is a small low island to the west of them, about three miles. Bissano and an island near it appear also to be inhabited, but we did not approach them closely enough to ascertain it. All the islands in this group are high land, and can be seen at a great distance in clear weather. The navigation seems to be perfectly safe amongst them. This is the best route for a ship making an eastern passage. If she comes through the straits of Macassar, she should go to the eastward as fast as possible, not going northward of 3° north till east of Mortay, which lies about 2° 30′ north, and about 120 miles east of Tagolanda and Bissano.

We had the winds constantly to the westward, till we were in sight of the north east end of Gilolo, when the wind failed us for a short time. Off at the north west end of Gilolo lie several islands, five or six in number, by which, as well as by the latitude, it may be known from Mortay. There are islands indeed west of Mortay, but they do not lie like those off Gilolo. About west from the northern extreme of this island, there are two or three islands, the north one of which is the largest. It is half a mile from Gilolo, and seems not to afford a passage between them. After leaving the large islands, to go through the straits between Gilolo and Mortay, sail east, and the straits will soon open. The island Rouw will be seen off to the westward of Mortay. Passing this to go through the

straits, a number of small islands will be discovered south of it along the coast of Mortay. From the body of this island, they lie about south-south-east, and run quite through the straits. Rouw must not be brought to bear more northerly than north-north-west. If this direction be violated, a ship may get upon some of the small shoals, which lie off some of the small islands. It is a good course to steer south-south-east, if you are on the easterly side of the straits when you enter them; if on the northwesterly side, keep more easterly. The straits appear perfectly clear quite through. Give the land a reasonable birth, (or distance) till you come near to the south part of them, when you will find a small island, the southernmost of the group, on the easterly side of the straits, lying in a line with the southwest extreme of Mortay and a remarkably pointed hill on Gilolo. The three lie in a line south 55° west, and north 55° east. Just in that line is a shoal west of the small island. About two miles from it is a shoal of breakers and of dry sand. We sailed between the small island and the point of Mortay. The least water was seven and eight fathoms. We had no soundings in the straits, or in either mouth of them, except for about two miles between the small islands and Mortay. When in mid channel between Mortay and the island, the north west head of Gilolo bears north 40° west. It is safe to navigate the straits night or day, except off the island already mentioned. If the bearings of the shoals and the distance be observed, a ship may go through with safety in the night. In this case, it is best to sail within the island, as I do not know the dangers to the west so well as those to the east of it. Coming near to the island in the night, another small island will be seen north of it about two miles. Getting up to this, you are nearly abreast of the north shoal. It is then necessary to keep near to the northern island, giving it a birth of three quarters of a mile, then steer over more for the southerly island to give a good birth to the point of Mortay. Off that point there is some shoal water, after getting nearly up with the south island. You may haul close to it, and you have then passed the dangers. The latitude of the north east extreme, or Gilolo head is 2° 12′ north, and the longitude 128° 20′ east. After sailing through the straits, all is clear to run east. You may get your easting as soon as you please. Should you wish to go on further to the southward, after you are through the straits, the course is south east from Mortay to Waygoo, about 180 miles.

It is clear navigation till near Waygoo. Within about seven leagues of it, you begin to meet with islands. The first are two low flat islands close together, one pretty large, and the other very small. They are called Syang and Eye. North of these there are no soundings, but south there are ten or twelve fathoms, good ground. There is no danger about them, except the reef, which lies off from the shore three or four hundred yards. East-south-east of them is a small island of considerable height like a hillock. South east from Syang is Wyag, four or five leagues long, of a moderate height, hilly, and about three leagues distant. South of it is a shoal, about a mile from the shore, with two fathoms water. To avoid the shoal, keep a small island, or rock, which lies off the west end of Wyag, just on with the north extreme of Syang and Eye. Then sail within or without the shoal. The passage within is not so safe as that without. According to the passage chosen must be the allowance in the mark, by which the sailing is directed. The anchorage so th of Wyag is good, in twenty, thirty, and forty fathoms. The islands, which bear east-south-east from Syang and Eye, are about four leagues from the latter. It appears to be clear about them, except some small islands like lumps. If you are near the inside of Wyag, sail about east for the north side of Waygoo, leaving several islands to the south. Two small islands lie about east from Wyag, five or six miles distant. The north east side of Waygoo is clear, giving the shore a birth of four or five miles. Off this shore is a number of small islands like hillocks. The course of the north side of Waygoo is nearly east and west. It has several remarkable peaks, one of which is called the Buffalo's horn, and the others first and second. They are east and west of each other. The horn is the most eastern. On the north side of Waygoo, about two miles from the north east point, is Manouaran, a small island about three miles long. It has excellent water, though not easily procured, The best is on the north east end of it, in a cove formed by a projecting hill. From this hill the water runs in a beautiful rivulet. In order to procure it, anchor off to the northward of the head-land, in thirty fathoms, half a mile from the shore. In the rainy season, good water may be had on the south west side of the island. For this purpose, anchor between Monouaran and Waygoo, near to the shore of the former in twelve or fourteen fathoms, and a remarkably large rock will be seen on the shore, where plenty of good fresh water

may be obtained. Always be upon your guard against the natives. They come on board a vessel from different parts of the coast, but are never to be trusted. The watering place at Manouaran has been mentioned in the fourth chapter, and 81st page.

Sailing from this to the eastward, Manouaran must not be brought to bear north of west, for there is a shoal four or five leagues from it, bearing east 5° south, with three or four fathoms water, and perhaps less. There is also another shoal, not far from the shore of Waygoo, southward of Manouaran. The situation of this shoal I cannot ascertain.

Sailing eastward, one is subject to calms and squally weather. We had a very strong easterly current all the time, till we were as far as 3° north latitude, after which we had a strong north easterly current, and steady winds at north east, in December and January. In 5° north latitude we had a current setting north west, at the rate of forty or fifty miles a day. After passing that latitude to the northward, we had a westerly current nearly as strong. By this, and the strong northerly winds, we were obliged to go southward again in order to get more easting that we might make the Pelew Islands. We then stood to the northward, in the latitude of these islands, having strong winds from the north east, all the time, with squally and rainy weather.

To run for the Pelew Islands, if you are to the eastward of them, keep in the latitude of 7° 25′ north, you will then fall in with the north east end of the group; and I believe that there are no reefs off that part of them. I know that there are several reefs to the northward, and the current is constantly setting to the south west, in the latitude of the islands at this season of the year. Hence it is proper to run in the latitude of the Pelews, 7° 25′ in the north east monsoon. In the south west monsoon, you must run down for the southernmost island of the group, as has been already mentioned.

We arrived at the Pelew Islands the 20th of January, 1793. We were pained, and the disappointment of our expectations mortified us, when we found the confusion and the sufferings, which the misconduct of the successor of Abba Thulle had brought upon the people. Those of our old friends, who had survived the civil dissentions consequent upon the death of the good king whom we had left there in 1791, met us with friendship and cordiality.

As I have several new remarks to make upon the Pelew Islands in this place, something like an apology is due to the reader. At the time the third chapter of my narrative was put into the press, I thought I had collected in it all the information, which would be interesting to the public. But in conversation with some of my friends since, I have detailed to them a few facts and circumstances, which they have persuaded me to insert in this part of my story, where a proper opportunity is offered for their introduction by our arrival again at the islands. Should a second edition of this work ever be published under my inspection, this portion of the present chapter will be added to the third, and the method of the whole narrative be rendered less imperfect.

What I have said of Arra Kooker in the 68th page, I have reviewed carefully, since it came from the press, and have compared it with my notes, which were taken at the time. Raa Kook should be substituted for Arra Kooker. They were both brothers of Abba Thulle, but Raa Kook was the oldest; had the command of the forces next to the king; and was a man of the most ambition, and of the severest temper. If Abba Thulle had died without male issue, Raa Kook would have succeeded to the throne by right; and it was this circumstance which led him to think of attempting the usurpation against the eldest son of his brother, who was the lawful sovereign. It is said, on the authority of Wilson, in a collecticn of historical and geographical works by Thomas Smith, volume xii. and page 61st, that "the general [Raa Kook,] was to succeed the king in case of his death, and on his demise Arra Kooker, when the sovereignty would again revert to Abba Thulle's eldest son, then to Le Boo, and so on." But this is undoubtedly a mistake. We had distinct information, that Raa Kook, who was on the throne when we were there in 1793, was a usurper, and had deposed the lawful successor of Abba Thulle, his eldest son.

It may be remarked that Abba Thulle is properly a name of office, although I have heretofore used it in this narrative as the name of an individual person, in which sense it is also used by other writers, and was so employed constantly in our conversation, as well as by the Pelews themselves. The real name of the individual, whom we first knew as Abba Thulle, whose likeness is given in this book, and who is spoken of by Wilson, we never discovered. This double use of the name Abba Thulle, is one of the

reasons why a degree of uncertainty should have existed in my mind in regard to Raa Kook and Arra Kooker. For when we arrived, at the date of this chapter, a canoe came off to us as usual before we landed, and we inquired, "who is the king now?" The natives answered, "Abbe Thulle." We said, "who was the king before?" They replied "Abba Thulle." We asked the question again, and again were answered, "Abba Thulle." The truth is, that the despotism of Raa Kook was such as to make the people, from fear, merge the name of the usurper in that of the office, and cease to use the former. The history of this man might not be publicly canvassed, and the means, by which he rose, detailed. Nothing was allowed which would tend to increase the sensation among the people, that violence had made war upon justice.

The news of the assassination of Raa Kook, as it is mentioned in page 68, in connexion with Arra Kooker, I received from the two persons, to whom I have alluded in page 76, and also from others at Macao, who had opportunities of intercourse with the Pelew Islands.

In regard to Abba Thulle, the king whom we first knew in 1791, and who deserves to be called the great, in distinction from all the others who bore that office afterwards, it may be said, in addition to the description of him already given, that he was not only an eminent warrior, statesman, and sage, but was a most sportive and delightful companion. He was as distinguised for his pleasantry in the hours of relaxation in his house, or among his friends, as he was terrible in the field, able in council, and sagacious in morals. The women of his court wore a species of apron, called a *cray*, which was made of the husk of the cocoa-nut. They had also ornaments upon their wrists, necks, ankles, and in their hair. With any, and all of these in turn, our officers and myself have often seen him, in the flow of feeling and good nature, make amusement for himself, the women, and us, without the least offence to any individual. We had become so much acquainted with the language, that we could enter into the spirit of his wit and humour, and were able to find new sources of admiration for his character in his moments of the greatest levity.

When we sailed in 1791 from the Pelew Islands for New Guinea, we left two boys with Abba Thulle, who was to be a father to them, and teach them whatever was to be learned in regard to their lan-

language, manners, customs, arts, religion, and laws. Their names were Ross and Terence. They were born at Bombay, of European parents, and were active, intelligent, and interesting. The king and the natives were extremely fond of them, and treated them like young princes. They had every facility for improvement and happiness, which such a state of society afforded; and they promised to be of great service to the commodore in the project which he had formed, of extending the blessings of civilization, agriculture, and christianity, among the Pelew Islanders. The design in leaving them, however, was not accomplished, partly because of the civil dissentions, which followed the death of Abba Thulle, and partly because McClure abandoned the enterprise, upon which he entered, as has been stated in page 69, and which probably extended at one time in his mind to the idea of becoming the king of the islands. This idea was not in fact so extravagant as it would at first appear, nor was it at all connected with a purpose of usurpation by violence or injustice. Commodore McClure was always, and every where, a great favourite with the natives, and particularly at the Pelew Islands. In consequence of his design, and the efforts which he used to introduce among them the domestic animals and the arts of agriculture, he was voluntarily made equal to the king in the administration of the government, and in the direction of all their affairs. Every thing was managed according to his wishes. At his age therefore, about thirty, it is not surprising that he should have cherished the idea of becoming sovereign in this dominion, and of forming a people and their institutions after a model of his own. Although I have said, that there is not sufficient evidence of the design, which has been ascribed to him, of spending his whole life at Pelew, and abandoning England forever, yet it is highly probable that he intended to execute some great project, like the one here suggested, and which would have required many years to be brought to maturity. The decision of this question cannot now be known, since he died not long afterwards at an early age. On our return we found the boys had been separated, Ross remaining at Pelew, while Terence was taken to Artingall. This separation was not the effect of any hostility to the boys, but of the policy and self interest of the contending parties. Each wished to have some pledge of their attachment to the English, and of the care they had bestowed, during our absence, upon the wards left be-

hind. Hence it was that Terence was carried away to Artingall. We did not see him, while we were at Pelew, but he was afterwards delivered to the commodore, and brought away in the Panther. Ross we took on board with us, when we came to Macao.

At this visit, we parted our vessels for a time, and I went on board the Endeavour, while the Panther stayed at Pelew. The Endeavour remained about a month only at the islands, and the Panther about two, but McClure continued there with the Panther's launch for a number of months.

A circumstance on our arrival from the Spice Islands will show the wonderful activity of the natives of Pelew in managing their canoes, and the rapidity with which they can sail. As we approached the town, a canoe, having a sail and an outrigger, with ten or twelve men, came off, according to custom, to meet us. We were going at the rate of seven or eight miles an hour. We threw out a rope for them, which they caught while in the centre of the canoe, not knowing the effect of it upon themselves. The canoe was immediately turned over and over, and they let go the rope. They were, as they always are, excellent swimmers. They got their canoe upright at once; bailed out the water; arranged the sail; and with the wind and their paddles overtook us at the distance of a mile.

Their canoes always have one outrigger. Some of those for war are thirty and forty feet long, from two and a half to three feet deep, and eighteen inches wide. They can go equally well with either end first, and always keep the outrigger to the windward in sailing. The mast is in the centre, with a lateen sail, the yard shifting at pleasure from one end of the canoe to the other. The outrigger preserves the balance, and the narrowness of the canoe permits it to be propelled very fast through the water. Sails and paddles are both used, when great speed is wanted. The canoes are beautifully ornamented with inlaid work of mother of pearl, of any other oyster shell, or of any shell which is white. The outside is always painted red, and the white figures are very conspicuous by the contrast. The decorations are in imitation of birds, fishes, flying foxes, and men. The paddles often are adorned in a similar manner, especially those of the king and the chiefs. They have each but one blade. In some of the eastern islands there is a blade at each end, the hands are in the centre, and the paddle is used alternately upon the sides of the canoe.

The children of the Pelew Islanders are all taught to swim very early, the girls as well as the boys. I have seen the mothers throw them into the water twenty times in succession, when they were not more than two or three years old, and catch them up again, after they had paddled awhile with their hands and feet, and were about sinking. In this manner the art of swimming is acquired incredibly early, and affords them complete protection against drowning, since they can all swim like dolphins.

They are remarkably sharp sighted, although they dive a great deal in the salt water after oysters and other shell fish, a practice which is said to injure the eyes. But the mothers are in the habit of squeezing green lime-juice into the eyes of their children, when they are a week old, and afterwards. I have seen this done often, and even to adults. At first, it produces exquisite pain, and makes the children writhe in agony. But after a time, the painful effect principally ceases.

The tarra-root, mentioned in page 70, is the same with our dragon root. It has, if I remember right, a yellow flower; it grows in low marshy land; is cultivated with as much care as we bestow upon Indian corn; is collected by the women, who are sometimes drawn out of the bog, where it grows, with a rope; and is often cut into thin slices, and dried like apples. It cannot be kept, in its green state, longer than a week, without turning sour; and just before it is spoiled it becomes glutinous. It must be boiled much, or it will take the skin off the tongue and mouth. It has the shape of a beet, with annular ridges at the top and half of the length, and is as thick as a man's arm. It is propagated by cutting off the root, and putting the part, which remains, into the earth.

The swalloo, which is spoken of in page 164, I found in much greater abundance on the shores and reefs of the Pelew Islands than in any other place I ever visited. This is one of the articles of trade there, or might be made such, to a great extent. Among themselves, they have a system of barter in fishing lines and tackle; in cocoa-nut oil for the hair, the body, and as an article of food with fish; in cocoa-nut shells beautifully wrought and inlaid; in *kypattles*, or hatchets, formerly made of flint, the oyster shell, and bone, but now of iron or steel, which they procure by intercourse with Europeans and others; in bows, arrows, spears, swords, and all the implements of war; and in ornaments for the ears,

wrists, body, and hair. These we were able to purchase of them for trifles, to any amount we wished.

Since the third chapter was printed, I have seen, during the fall of 1816, my brother Samuel, who is mentioned in page 42. He tells me, that while he was at Macao, in the latter part of 1807, he saw a vessel, which had just arrived there from the Pelew Islands, with a very valuable cargo of swalloos, oysters and tortoise shells, cocoa nut oil, and a variety of valuable kinds of wood, for cabinet work. The cargo was sold for a large amount, and the profits of the voyage were very great. The islands seem to be in a better condition; the trade more important; and the stock of animals much increased. Some Europeans have settled there, taking wives, according to custom, from among the natives, and raising a population of mulattoes.

In page 61, I have spoken of the order, in which the canoes, accompanying the launch, approached toward Artingall. At that time, the natives sung a war song, as it is customary among them on all similar occasions. They practice a kind of chant, with great skill in keeping time, and in executing all the motions, which are periodically required of them. I was able to understand the substance of the words, which they used, and a part of them might be thus rendered.—"We are the warriors of Abba Thulle, the great king. Let us be brave men. We have slain our enemies. Let us be invincible. We will conquer or die."—At the close, a word was pronounced by an individual, who might be considered as a chorister; and immediately the flourish of paddles followed.

In page 62, the chant was a song with the meaning in our language as follows:—"We are heralds from the chiefs of Artingall. We are lovers of justice and law.—We are friends to the good. We seek our rights and honour with peace.—We bury our hatred when we enjoy the love of our king."—Then again the flourish of paddles.

Something is said of their religion in the 71st page. To that account may be added some pious hymns, which I have several times heard, and which will give more precise ideas of their devotion. I have often seen the men and women sitting together after sunset, particularly in moonlight evenings, and heard the women chant their prayers and praises, while the men would listen, and at intervals join in the chorus. The meaning of the words

was not always the same, but always included a prayer for Abba Thulle. I remember one instance, in which the impression, made upon my mind by their devotion, was deep and interesting. It would not be in my power to give an adequate translation of the hymn, but it began with thanksgiving for the serene and beautiful evening; for the peace, which they enjoyed under Abba Thulle; for health and prosperity; and then it offered a prayer for his continuance in life, for his success in war, and his wisdom in government; for their parents, children, and friends; for good seasons, abundant fruit, and tranquil days for their enterprises on the water, and the collection of fish and food; for deliverance from civil war and domestic contentions; and for the fruitfulness of the women, and the prosperity of the islands.

The Panther had just come from Pelew, at the time when I first became acquainted with commodore McClure at Macao, as stated in the 43d page, and had brought two Pelew women, and Cockawockey, a Pelew man, whose name appears in page 53. One of the women was a daughter of Abba Thulle, who had formed a desire to visit China under the protection of the commodore. While we were lying in the harbour at Macao, and on our passage back to the Pelew Islands, it was a custom with these women and Cockawockey, as it was afterwards with the women whom we carried with us to New Guinea, to take their seats together in some retired part of the deck, and sing a religious hymn in a peculiarly plaintive and touching manner. We were often listening to them, while we appeared to be engaged only about our own concerns. We could plainly distinguish many of the sentiments which they sung, and heard prayers to the Deity, that he would protect and bless their fathers, their mothers, their sisters, and their brothers; that he would keep them in health, and make them happy; that he would allow themselves to return to their native islands in safety, and make glad the hearts of their friends to receive them; that he would be kind to Abba Thulle and the people; and that he would send them fruit, and give them peace.

It was a frequent petition in their prayers, that they might have an abundance of tarra-root, the principal bread of the country, and the chief object of their cultivation. There was also a great aversion to barrenness among the females, and their prayers often ascended with an earnest intreaty that they might have children.

A circumstance of considerable interest happened, when we were returning to Pelew from Artingall, as in page 65th, after the treaty of peace with those who had revolted, and the sixty female hostages were with us. Abba Thulle and Wedgeborough, my friend and fellow officer, were behind the launch and the greatest part of the canoes employed in the expedition. We were desirous of stopping at some place till they should come up. It was a delightful evening at twilight, when we saw, in passing one of the islands, a beautiful cove, where we might have a charming place to lie at rest, till the king and his party should overtake us. During this period, the chiefs were pleased to unite in a song of thanksgiving for the advantages, which they had received from the English in the success of the present expedition, and also for the good they had derived from the nation at other times. They offered praise to God for the assistance of the brave Englishmen, just, generous, greater than others, and equal to gods; expressed their gratitude for a victory and a peace without the shedding of blood; hoped they should never have war with the English; said they would rather be their servants, than their enemies; wished them prosperity in their expedition; and prayed that they might return to their friends in health and safety, and enjoy every blessing.

All this was done with some ceremony, and with great solemnity. The natives stood upon the benches of their canoes, and kept time with their feet, as well as with their hands. The sound, which they produce by striking the flat hand upon the hollow part of the thigh, is wonderful. It is loud and clear when an individual does it alone; but when it was done by this multitude together, the report, and the echo from the forest, through the stillness of the night, and over the unruffled surface of the cove, were deep, and awful beyond description.

This song continued about twenty minutes. It is the common practice, on such occasions, for one to name the song and the few short and simple sentences which are to be sung. The sentences are always direct and brief, easily remembered and repeated, and many of them handed down by tradition, which are learned early, and can by habit, be called up to the mind at pleasure. They have persons among them, who can make with facility such alterations and additions as any new combination of circumstances may re-

quire. I have always found great force in the laconic language of savages. And under such circumstances as the above, the ornaments of rhetorick, and the long sentences in which they are often conveyed, would only mar the beauty, and weaken the impression of their simple songs. However mixed with errors in regard to many of the subjects of thought, and duties of life, the religion of the Pelew Islanders may be, it must be allowed by all to be of great value, so long as it contains sentiments, and cherishes affections, like those of the pious hymns here recorded.

Leaving these islands, we sailed for China through the straits of Formosa. We had severe gales, thick and stormy weather, a remarkably high cross sea, and found the passage uncomfortable, as it usually is in the north east monsoon. Off the south end of Formosa, there were many dangers, which it was difficult to avoid entirely, especially as the commander of the Endeavour was quite young, and seemed not to be thoroughly acquainted with the navigation of this sea. Fifteen leagues east of Grand Lama, we got soundings in a thick, dark, stormy night. With much difficulty we made the Asses-ears, two peaks on the China-shore, about a mile distant, bearing north east, three leagues from Grand Lama. We were then in nine fathoms water. The Ears were a guide, by which we entered Canton bay. After this, we found no difficulty till anchoring in the Typa.

CHAPTER XI.

Occurences at Macao and Canton—Passage from thence to the Isle of France —Remarks upon the Isle of France.

ON our arrival at Macao, I found that most of the European and American vessels had sailed from Canton. One remained, the ship Eliza, from New-York, commanded by captain William R. Stewart, who had come from the island of Massa Fuero with seal-skins. She had been a long time on her voyage. Captain Palmer, who started from the United States with her, had left her previous to her arrival in China. Captain Stewart wished to find a market for his skins; and after I became acquainted with him, we concluded to go to Canton together, leaving his ship in the harbour of Larks-bay. I had come to Macao for the purpose of getting a passage home to America, and thought that the Eliza would afford me one opportunely.

It was in March when we were in Canton. A scene, very different from what we expected, presented itself to captain Stewart. The Chinese government, finding that he had come to Canton without his ship, and that he had left her below, out of the reach of the laws of the empire, caused the house, where he was, to be surrounded by a great number of soldiers, and charged him with the breach of an established and indispensible usage in coming to Canton to learn the state of the market, and take advantage of his information, while his ship was not liable to pay the common perquisites for a place of anchorage, measurement, and other privileges. Compensation was demanded in money. This was the only alternative, which he could think of adopting. After much difficulty and anxiety, it was settled by the agency of our friend, the chief Dutch supercargo, that Stewart should be released for $500. He thought himself fortunate to escape, with so little injury, from the storm, which he had raised. This is a warning to other mas-

ters of vessels not to subject themselves to the same penalties and embarrassments.

The price of seal-skins was very low at this time, and Stewart was not able to raise funds enough to load his ship on his own account, although she was small. He therefore took a freight of sugar for Ostend in Flanders.

It was now time for me to bring my accounts to a close with the English government for my service in the expedition under commodore McClure. The chief surpercargo of the English at Canton paid me two dollars a day, for two years. This was not the whole time, during which I had been employed by them. But the commodore had always granted me many privileges, and good opportunities to gain a profit in various parts of the expedition, and I felt no disposition to complain of my wages.

The Panther and the Endeavour sailed from Bombay in August 1790. I have their journals complete from that date to July 1793, the period of their return. The most interesting parts I have already selected for the reader, and shall now leave them, although a few more articles of value might be taken, did my limits permit their introduction.

Having agreed for a freight, captain Stewart ordered his ship to Canton. He sold his cargo of seal-skins, 38,000, for only $16,000, so reduced was the price for this article. The Dutch gentleman, Mr. Van Braam, who freighted the ship, knew that captain Stewart was not a regularly bred seaman, and wished that I should go in her to Ostend. For a small consideration, as I desired very much to get home, I took the command of her, by agreement with Stewart. We had the sugar put on board, and on the 10th of April, we sailed for Ostend. As we were to pass Macao, we took provisions on board for the Panther and Endeavour, having purchased them at Canton, and delivering them in the Typa. For this service I received $200.

I soon discovered that the Eliza was a very leaky ship, and extremely dull in sailing. We were late in the north east monsoon, when we left Canton, and at Pulo-Condore, in latitude 8° 30′ north, we met the south west monsoon. After this we had head winds, calms, and flattering weather, till we were to the north east extreme of Banca, in 2° north latitude, when we had a north west, and west wind, which carried us to the straits of Sunda. After taking the

wind ahead off Pulo-Condore, we endeavoured to keep the western coast best on board. We worked over to Pulo-Timoan in latitude 3° north, then stretched off eastward among the Anambas Islands, and coasted, or beat to the southward, through them, till we reached the equator. The soundings were regular, from thirty five to twenty five fathoms, and clear sandy bottom. In page 162, I have said, in regard to the navigation of this sea, that even sandy bottom is dangerous. That remark was made while I was in the southerly part of it, and must be limited to the coasts of Borneo, Billiton, Banca, Sumatra, Malaya, and other shore-soundings. The midway passage is sandy bottom, and the sea is interspersed with sandy islands, small and low, while it is still apparently safe to sail among them in every direction. We landed on several of them, and seldom failed to precure plenty of fine green turtles. Saddle-Island is a good place for them.

It must be remembered that the northern Anambas, and the great Natunas, are inhabited, and must not be approached with boats, on account of the treachery and cruelty of the Malays.

In making this passage, we went within two miles of the north east point of Banca, between that and Tree-Rock, and steered for its south east point, which we passed four miles distant. The soundings were regular all the way, from eighteen to twenty-five fathoms, except off the south east point, where they were irregular, and the ground broken. The water was sometimes as shoal as seven fathoms, and then immediately would be sixteen or eighteen fathoms, large coral rocks. The whole of this passage appeared to be safe, provided a ship would run directly from the north east part of Banca, giving it a birth of one or two miles, to the south east point of the same, giving it a birth of four miles. The course will then be nearest south-south-west. Should you keep further to the eastward, after you pass the north east point, as I did on a succeeding voyage, you will find shoals and reefs in great numbers on the western side of the Isle of Sal, or Salt Island. Should you get to the eastward of the passage, first described, I should advise you to go eastward of Salt Island, between that and the next large island east of it, which is called Middle Island, where the passage is tolerable. Eastward of Middle Island, the sea is filled with shoals, until you get eastward of Billiton. I have passed between Middle Island and Billiton, and can say, that it is hardly possible for more

dangers to be found any where. I have also been through four passages between Borneo and Banca. The one next to Banca is the safest; and the one next to Borneo is the second in point of safety. The passage by the straits of Banca is most frequented, but in my opinion it is not as good as the passage eastward of it. Its navigation is intricate, and you are liable to be attacked by the Malay pirates, who haunt the straits. A small ship must not encounter this danger, if it can be conveniently avoided. I once saw a fleet of prows come out of a small harbour, or bay, on the north east side of the island, and pass across our fore-foot, at the distance of a mile and a half, sailing in a line one ahead of another, with the wind directly after them. As soon as they had passed our bow, they hauled under our lee, and formed nearly a semi-circle round us. This manœuvre did not please me, and I ordered two six pound guns to be fired with round shot at the foremost prows. This was done, and repeated a few times, when the Malays altered their course, and left us free. I have no doubt that they had bad intentions toward us. Had we not fired at them in season, and, as I have reason to believe, hit some of them, we should no doubt have found ourselves in trouble from their treacherous attacks and manœuvres.

I have long been convinced that a ship, not strongly armed, should never let a Malay fleet of prows approach very near. It is different with Europeans or Americans. With them, it would be a mark of ignorance, or fear, to waste ammunition as soon as there should be the least chance of hitting a vessel of the enemy; but with the Malays, fire as soon as you can reach them, even if you are not near enough to do them any injury.

After beating in the China Seas for two months, we got through the islands, and as far as the straits of Sunda. Filling up our water, and supplying ourselves with wood, we proceeded to the Isle of France, where we arrived the 10th of July, worn down with fatigue in working at the pumps. In all my life at sea, I never knew a ship leak at such a rate as ours did, during the whole passage from China to the Isle of France. The two pumps sometimes gave fourteen hundred strokes an hour, and seldom less than a thousand. Our sugar was wet, and a large part of it dissolved and mingled with the water, which was pumped out of the hold. From this, or some other cause, we were surrounded with an im-

mense multitude of fish, of all varieties, from the largest whale down to the smallest sprat, the whole distance from the straits of Sunda. We caught many of them with the hook, with grains, and with the harpoon. We eat some of them, and the greater part of the crew was poisoned. Which of the fish was the cause, we did not know, but we supposed it to be the bonito.

We took a pilot off Quoin de Mer. After he had got us under the fire of the guns of four frigates, which were lying outside of the buoys, he told us that Louis XVI was beheaded; that France had declared herself a republic; that she had made war with England, Spain, and Holland; that there was then an embargo in the Isle of France; and that the people of the island had fitted out fourteen privateers, which were then at sea, some as large as forty gun ships. This information struck us dumb. But we had hardly time for reflection, when the frigates sent their boats on board of us, and took possession. Our ship was warped into the basin. I went on shore, and found a number of Americans in the same situation with myself, embargoed, and without any certain prospect of an immediate release. We were indignant at this conduct, as we considered our nation on terms of particular friendship with France, and perhaps the only friendly power she then had. Nearly all the supplies of the Isle of France came from us, and yet the government did not treat us with respect or justice. It was mortifying to see very low men, without talents or integrity, in possession of power, and using it for the worst purposes, under the name of liberty. I soon discovered, that what they meant by this word was to do as they pleased, while others should be bound to conform, or die. Their equality was to rise as high as any body, but not to give up any possession or privilege to those beneath them. They were a good specimen of the defenders of liberty and equality throughout the world. Those who declaim the most vehemently in favour of the levelling system, are, as far as my experience has extended, among the greatest tyrants when they get the power. Liberty and law are excellent when they are properly mixed. The one cannot make men happy without the other. The attempt to establish perfect liberty, or what the unthinking sometimes call perfect liberty, must of course fail, for it is not in the nature of man to prevent the strong and violent from overcoming the weak and timid, except by the forms of civilized society, and the laws which

are necessary to their observance. It is idle to look for an equality of talents, accomplishments, influence, or property. In regard to all the causes, by which we rise to power, and gain possessions, in the social state, nature has made us unequal, and circumstances still more so. There is however a limited sense, in which men are equal. Our right to use our talents and lawful advantages for our own happiness in connexion with the happiness of those around us; to have our responsibility measured by our means and opportunities; to seek for knowledge, influence, and enjoyment, according to the relations we sustain in a society where a natural and fair competition is allowed to all its members; to be governed by just and equal laws; to be punished no more than our crime demands; to be rewarded according to our virtues; to use our invention, skill, and enterprise for our own benefit, when we do not interfere with the same right in others; to make the most of our existence, as members of the family, the state, and the church: our right to these, and to many other things, is equal. But the terms of this statement show how unequal the condition and circumstances of men must become from the exercise of powers and opportunities so various as nature has distributed among them. Liberty and equality have suffered much from the violence and excesses of their French defenders, and are sounds which now offend the ear. But we are not to go to the opposite extreme, under the idea that whatever is hostile to error, in one of its forms, is of course truth. There is such a thing as civil and religious liberty, which every politician, and every philanthropic man of piety, are bound to understand and defend, as far as they have mind and means.

We passed our time as well as we could in this place, and that was miserably enough; for we saw our people eating out our cargoes, and the worms eating up our ships. It was not common then for vessels, in the merchant service, to have the bottom coppered, and defended against worms. The sugar, which I had on board, belonged, as has been mentioned, to Mr. Van Braam, a Dutch supercargo at Canton. The French were at war with the Dutch, and it became ncesssary to lose the sugar, or to make it appear that it belonged to me and captain Stewart. I saw every day, that the French were taking, from American ships, all the property of enemies, which they could find. I kept my cargo, and had never shown my bills of lading. My ship's papers the French had ob-

tained at the custom house, and would not let me have them, saying that I had property of their enemies on board. I held no argument with them, and made no parade about the charge, but unloaded my ship as fast as possible in order to repair her bottom. As soon as I could, and without many words, I sold the sugar for what it would bring in the market. I found the ship so much eaten by the worms, that I did not think her worth the cost of repair, and sold her also. Captain Stewart and myself had each of us between 12,000 and 15,000 dollars. Mr. Van Braam's property, which we had, amounted to about the same sum. I was repeatedly examined at the custom house in regard to this property, but succeeded at last to secure it, at that time, to the right owner. After consultation, Stewart and myself agreed to purchase a large prize ship, and return to Canton by Bombay, taking a freight of cotton at that port. Having the benefit of a neutral flag, we thought that we might be able to do something handsome for ourselves and Mr. Van Braam with a large ship. He was a friend to us both, and might greatly assist us in China, as he would be the more induced to do, from the efforts we had successfully made to save his property. At an auction of ships, there was one belonging to the Dutch company, of fourteen hundred tons, pierced for sixty guns, new, and suited to our purpose. We bought her, and had, as we thought, money enough left to fit her for sea. We went to work preparing her, but soon found that the undertaking was too much for us. Our daily expenses were very great, and the colonial assembly laid one embargo after another, stating publicly that such a ship as ours ought not to be permitted to go into an English port in India, where she would be employed as a man of war, and would return to blockade their own harbour. We were detained till all our money was gone, and we had to take up more, at an exhorbitant interest, to be paid at Bombay. All this time, we had between one hundred and twenty and one hundred and seventy men on board, our expenses being 100 dollars a day. The 21st of February, 1794, we got clear, and sailed for Bombay, having nearly twenty English gentlemen on board as passengers, besides a number of ladies, from whom we never received a farthing, as they were all in distress at the time.

A few remarks we now offer on the Isle of France. When they received news of the declaration of war in 1793, the inhabitants were industriously pursuing their agriculture and commerce, and

were as honest and honourable as people usually are in a place of trade. But they soon learned to cry, "Liberty and equality;"—"the tyrant is dead;"—"oppression is destroyed;"—"the rights of man are triumphant." They fitted out privateers, and got a number of them at sea, ships mounting from twenty to forty guns. They owned them in shares, commonly having five hundred shares in a ship, and sometimes more. Thus all ranks of men were able to embark in privateering. The effects of this, and the nature of the principle, will make a benevolent man shudder. This system of licensed robbery enables a wicked and mercenary man to insult and injure even neutral friends on the ocean; and when he meets an honest sailor, who may have all his earnings on board his ship, but who carries an enemy's flag, he plunders him of every cent, and leaves him the poor consolation, that it is done according to law.

In honourable warfare, private property is to be respected. The object is not to do injury to the individuals of a nation, with which we are in hostility, but to seize or destroy the property of the government, and to kill, or take captive, the troops by which the war is carried on against us. We wish so to distress, or affect, the rulers of our enemy, that they may do us justice, regard our rights, and wish for permanent peace. If, in carrying on the war, it becomes necessary for us to use, or destroy, the property of our own citizens, we are, as a nation, to divide the burden among the whole, and not to let more than a just portion fall upon the individual. Privateering is entirely at variance with this first principle of honourable warfare. The distress, which it causes, is the distress of individuals, and reaches the government but remotely. The benefit of it is also the benefit of individuals, and makes them rich, while it adds nothing to the immediate powers of the nation to continue the war. The principle therefore is not supported in the same manner as the principle of war is by national vessels, and national troops. The ships and the men, employed by the government, act directly for the puposes of the government, and are under the proper responsibility to prevent abuses. They have their instructions, their laws, their military tribunals, their character as naval or military men, and a variety of other channels of influence to keep them in the path of honour and duty. But it is not so with privateersmen, who are under the restraints of neither civil

nor military life. They are more perfectly let loose from all the checks of society than any other people. The influence of their profession upon them is peculiarly unfortunate. I would not say that all men, engaged in this business, are wicked and corrupt. It would be false and cruel to intimate this. But it is certainly true, that few situations could be imagined, where a man's conscience, his moral feelings, his sentiments of honour, and his generous ambition, would suffer more. Privateering is a mode of warfare never to be encouraged, although it is sometimes tolerated, by a lawful government. It should be considered as an expedient, to which resort must not be had, except the circumstances are peculiar, the necessity urgent, and the promise of utility as a national measure very great. It is not easy to prevent the abuses of it, unless by abolishing it entirely. It is very often carried on under false colours, and false names, and is a depraved mode of making abandoned individuals rich, without any public benefit. Much has been done to put an end to the miseries of slavery, and to enlighten barbarians in the principles of the true religion. To these benevolent efforts let others now be added to soften the miseries of war, and particularly to put an end to those sufferings which spring from privateering, and which are evidently not necessary, even should they sometimes be thought expedient. Innocent persons are too often the victims, and particularly the innocent mariner, when no advantage results to the nation. We ought not to be liable to just reproaches from the savages themselves. When the subjects of Abba Thulle cut down the cocoa-nut trees of an enemy, in the spirit of private revenge, he asked them, why they acted in opposition to the principles, on which they knew he always made and conducted a war. They answered, and let the reason make us humble, "The English do so."

The Isle of France, which was called Mauritius by the Dutch who discovered it, was deserted by them in 1712, and the French took possession of it in 1720. It is about 150 miles in circumference, well watered, and fertile. The air and climate are excellent. It has a number of mountains, on some of which the snow is said to lie through the year, though this may be doubted, since no one of them is more than 2500 feet high, and the latitude is above 20° south. Sugar is produced in great abundance. Coffee and indigo are found in smaller quantities. Oranges, citrons, lemons;

and pine apples, are there in great perfection. The island has ebony and dye wood. Indian corn is cultivated with great care and attention. It was introduced into the island by M. de la Bourdonnais, whose administration was remarkable for its patronage of every improvement and every useful virtue. The agriculture of the place may date its prosperity from him. By his zeal, aqueducts, bridges, and hospitals are said to have been built. The Indian corn, which he introduced, furnishes the common bread of the inhabitants. It is not unusual to see the best people eating it from the ear in the market. Women boil it, and carry it about in covered baskets, from whom it is bought as the people want it. There are two crops annually, one of wheat, and the other of Indian corn. The market is well supplied with poultry, fish, all kinds of meat, and every variety of fruit.

The number of inhabitants, in 1790, was, according to the books which I have seen, 8000 white people, and 12,000 black, besides those enrolled for the military service. Twenty seven years have elapsed since this census was taken, and the number is probably more than doubled.

Hurricanes sometimes do great damage in the island, blowing down houses, destroying fields of corn and cane, prostrating valuable trees, and jeopardising life. I saw the wrecks of several ships on the reefs in the harbour of Port St. Louis, some of which were seventy-fours, cast away by the force of the hurricanes. The south east trade wind continues the whole year.

The situation of the Isle of France is remarkably good for the purposes of commerce. It lies in the track of all vessels bound from any part of Asia to Europe, Africa, or America, and of most of the vessels bound eastward. The merchants have in general grown rich very fast. Their character however has the stain upon it of the numerous privateers, which they have been in the habit of sending to sea, on every occasion. At the period I was there, the people were divided on the subject of the difficulties in France, some wishing to remain quiet, and others burning to enter into the levelling system, and make all that they could from the revolutionary mania. The majority belonged to the corps of *sans culottes*. They obliged the men of property to receive the paper money of the colony, which had lost nine tenths of its value, and to pay for it in specie, to the amount of one fourth of all they had.

They at length became so violent, that they would go to a gentleman's house or store, where there was flour, beef, pork, wine, or any other article they wanted, break the doors open, if they were not allowed to enter at their pleasure; and take away whatever they wished, paying the owner in the depreciated money of the colony, at the time when the relation between that and specie was as twenty to one. He, who was governor while I was there, was one of the best of men, and was peculiarly adapted to the time and the place. His name was Malartick. He did all, that was in his power, to restrain them from doing wrong, and from acts of violence. The form of government was a colonial republic. When the Assembly met to legislate, a self authorized club would meet and prescribe what they should do. This club consisted of low and unprincipled men, who still had great popular influence. When the Assembly was about to pass any law, which the club did not like, a clamour would be raised, and threats used to prevent it. On some of these occasions, Malartick would rise, and begin to speak in favour of the law in a conciliatory manner. The sans culottes would seize hold of him, threaten him, and shake him violently for a time. He would remonstrate with them, tell them that they ought to hear him, and that they would find him their friend. He would then go on, after they were appeased for the moment, and point out to them the great advantages of having the proposed law, and the immense evils of being without it, until the leaders would find the multitude too much affected to permit them to continue their violence, and the law would be passed. Many of the people would relent; and some of those, who attacked him fiercely at first, I have seen go up to him, after the manner of Frenchmen, and embrace, kiss, and caress him like lovers. The good old man died in the place, and a splended monument has been since erected to his memory on the Champ de Mars, where he was buried. It was undoubtedly owing to his practical wisdom, and judicious moderation and firmness, that thousands were not guillotined on the island. A guillotine was in fact built while I was there, and I saw an inscription on the front of it, in French, "A cure for aristocrasy."

The Isle of Bourbon was also included in the colony with the Isle of France. It is 40 miles long, and 30 broad. The shores are steep, and the ports few. The soil has a considerable portion of

sand. It is well watered. There are annually two crops of corn and rice. The mountains are high, and the "three peaks, called the Salasses, are said to be 1600 toises," according to the Cyclopædia of Rees. The same authority says, that "the sky is serene, the atmosphere pure, and the water salubrious. Although the climate is hot, the breezes from the mountains are refreshing; and the hurricanes, which commonly occur once or twice every year, contribute to purify the air, and to preserve its salubrity. The island, which the French found at their settlement almost a desert, abounds in fruits, grass, and cattle of various kinds. The wild goats and wild hogs have retired to the woods and the summits of the mountains. The land tortoises were formerly abundant, but are now found only in the western part; those of the other parts having been exterminated by the crews of ships that have touched upon the island. The rabbits, quails, partridges, and pintadoes, brought to the island, have none of them increased, except the last. It is said, that no venomous animals are found in this island; nor any disagreeable to the sight, except spiders of the size of a pigeon's egg, which weave very strong nets, capable, as some say, of being rendered as valuable as silk; and a kind of large bats, denominated 'l'oiseau bleu,' which are skinned and eaten as a great delicacy. The rivers are well stocked with various sorts of fish. Among the vegetable productions, we may reckon tobacco, sugar-canes, ebony, benzoin, aloes, white pepper, the cotton shrub, abundance of timber fit for ship building; and several kinds of fruits, such as the guavas, bananas, citrons, tamarinds, lemons, and oranges. On the shores are found ambergris, coral, and many beautiful shells."

CHAPTER XII.

Passage from the Isle of France to Bombay—Remarks upon Bombay—Transactions there—Elephanta.

FROM the Isle of France we proceeded towards Bombay. On the fourth day after leaving port, we had a tremendous gale of wind, which might be called a hurricane. It blew violently for eight hours, between east and west, at all points of the south half of the compass. We lost three topsails, which were clewed up in the first part of the gale; and as we hoped that it would not be any thing more than a squall, we did not hand them till the wind became so hard, I dared not send my men aloft, fearing every moment the masts would go over the side. Our fore yard broke in the slings quite into halves. This happened because our lower masts were not well guarded with shrouds, which were also too little spread on the hull of the ship. The masts played in the upper deck nearly a foot during the gale. The lower rigging of a ship, especially of a large one, should be over the common size, rather than run the least risk by its being under it, and should have a wide spread. When it is new, it should be set up well before going to sea, and as often afterwards as it is found to be stretched. Otherwise, should there be a period of warm and rainy weather, your masts may take their leave of you; a circumstance not very congenial to the feelings of a good seaman.

The hurricane differs from other gales of wind in several respects. It commonly comes on with a squall, blows for a few moments with astonishing violence, then is nearly calm for the same length of time, and afterwards returns with full force in a direction perhaps four points different from what it at first pursued. Thus it may take a ship off from the wind, or perhaps aback if there be any sail set, either of which would be an evil when lying to, but when scudding, the sudden and shifting gusts would be still worse. Add to this the cross sea, which is produced, and which all seamen dread.

Repairing our damages, we proceeded on our course, and in fifteen days after leaving port, we struck soundings on the Mahe, or Seychelles bank, in the night, in latitude 5° 10′ south, and longitude 56° east. We had at first forty fathoms water, then twenty, and next twenty-five, after which, fifteen, thirteen, twenty-seven, seventeen, nine, and fifteen. At one o'clock, A. M. we anchored. At sunrise, we weighed anchor, and stood to the north east, having sometimes twenty fathoms, next fourteen, and eleven, then as low as nine, and again up to twenty-five. We ran in these irregular soundings, from five to seven miles an hour, on different courses, between north and east, nearly the whole day, before we got clear of the bank. The water was so clear that we sometimes saw the large coral rocks at the bottom, and expected the ship would strike upon them. The sun shone brightly all day, and enabled us to distinguish the colours of the rocks, which were red, white, and black. No land was in sight at any time. We frequently saw a Portuguese snow on the bank, which had come out of Port St. Louis with us from the Isle of France. We thought that she was aground, and she thought the same of us. The soundings were so extremely irregular, that we were both anxious to get into better water, and often tried to meet for inquiry, but did not, and escaped without injury.

Immense numbers of sharks were on this bank. They followed the lead, whenever it was thrown, and appeared to be much inclined to play with it as a novelty. They were from three to ten feet long, of a beautiful gold colour, and were not fierce or voracious. We put out hooks and lines, which were well baited, but we could not tempt them to touch the bait. They were of the same species with that, which I saw in Rat-Island-Basin, as is mentioned in the 154th page.

This bank, among the Mahe Islands, is very extensive. How shallow the water may be upon it in the parts which we did not visit, I cannot of course say; but I suppose, in some places, a vessel would strike the ground. We saw no breakers, but we are told that others have seen them. The island and the bank are laid down in some charts larger than we supposed them to be. The latitude of the island, from which the bank takes its name, is 4° 37′ south, and the longitude 55° 38′ east. The part of the bank,

where we were, was south east and north east of the island. It was the cause of great solicitude to us, while we were upon it.

After getting clear of this dangerous bank, we sailed northward. The winds were light, and chiefly from the north east, interrupted by calms through all the month of March and into April, till we fell in with the east coast of Africa. We passed between cape Guardafui and the island Socatara, and came to the coast of Arabia Felix in the gulf of Babelmandel. We then took the wind from the north west off the land. We sailed near to the place where the Commerce was wrecked, a ship commanded by captain Johnson, and owned by Robert Williams Esq. and Nathaniel Seaver, merchants of Boston. Captain Johnson was standing northward in the early part of the night, and at twelve o'clock came upon soundings of thirty-five fathoms. He thought that he was on the coast of Malabar, and gave orders to haul the ship to the westward to find sea room. After this, he did not throw the lead once to ascertain the soundings till four o'clock P. M. when his ship struck, and was lost five or six miles from the shore. We thought we could see with our glasses some of the timbers and other parts of the wreck on the beach. It was a strange mistake indeed in captain Johnson to suppose the coast of Arabia Felix was that of Malabar, and especially as he was sailing northward. It is difficult to reconcile this story with the idea, that he possessed proper qualifications for a ship-master on foreign voyages. The crew, getting ashore in boats, was attacked by the Arabs, and afterwards many of them died in the sands of the interior as they were making their way to Muskat. To this place the survivors arrived by the aid of some of the roving tribes of the country, after having suffered incredible hardships. Johnson came home from Calcutta in the ship Three Brothers, owned by Jeremiah Stimpson, a worthy merchant of this town. On board this ship, he did duty as chief officer under captain Brown, and I was a passenger. I had therefore an opportunity of hearing the story of the loss of the Commerce frequently, and was never satisfied with the apology of captain Johnson for his mistake, and its calamitous consequences. He afterwards became a kind of preacher in our country in some of the migratory companies of religionists.

On the coast of Arabia, we did not observe any dangers more than two or three leagues from the land, in running the whole dis-

tance from the entrance of the Red Sea to cape Rasalgate near the gulf of Ormus. We were generally in soundings between twenty and forty fathoms. In passing, as we did, between cape Guardafui and the island Socatara, we had no choice, for the north east wind drove us westward, near to the entrance of the Red Sea, and continued in the same quarter till the middle of April. After this we had a pleasant run to Bombay, where we arrived the last of the same month. We kept the Arabian coast on board, fearing to stand across the Indian Ocean for the coast of Malabar, lest the winds should head us again.

At Bombay, we met our old friends with joy, and experienced the most perfect hospitality. The members of the government passed warm encomiums upon our characters and conduct for what we had done in favour of the English and others in the Isle of France, and for giving passage to so many of them in our ship. They allowed our former ship's papers to give us the privileges of an American flag, and a neutral power. To the papers of the Eliza, we were able to add some certificates, which we had obtained in the offices of the Isle of France. On the strength of these, and of our reputation for integrity and humanity, it was certified, under the authority of the government of Bombay, that our flag was entitled to respect as a neutral, and ought to be our protection on the high seas.

The news, however, of which we were the bearers, did not assist our purposes of business, particularly that part which showed that American ships were not respected by the French, according to the treaty with Louis XVI. Free ships were not allowed to make free goods. The French seized all the property in our vessels upon which they could lay their hands, as belonging to their enemies. They had taken the American ship Canton in the Indian seas, because she had English freight on board. These circumstances discouraged all persons from putting property into our ship as freight in this port. After lying here several months, and finding the season gone for doing any thing toward a voyage to China, we turned our thoughts to Calcutta. But we had now to pay the debt, which we had been obliged to contract in the Isle of France. This gave us great difficulty, for it had accumulated to nearly 20,000 dollars. At length we found a gentleman by the name of Dunlap, who wished to go to America, and would advance the

money for us upon a respondentia, if we would give him a bottomry bond on the ship, and would allow him an exorbitant profit. He would wait for us to get a freight, and then go with us. The state of the times prevented our selling the ship, if we wished to do it. We were very unwilling to relinquish our high hopes of making a fortune by our large ship and our neutral flag. But we were ultimately compelled to accept of Dunlap's proposal, and to yield the golden dream, which we indulged when we bought the ship at Port St. Louis.

The latitude of Bombay is 18° 58′ north. It is not in any direction more than ten or twelve miles long. The soil is said to be sterile by some writers, but it did not appear to me to deserve this character. It may not be called fertile, but is considerably productive, and every part of it is cultivated. The climate is mild, and the island enjoys a refreshing sea breeze. It produces rice, cocoa-nuts, all kinds of garden vegetables, and a small variety of the eastern fruits. Cattle, sheep, goats, horses, and buffaloes, are found upon it. Geese, ducks, turkies, and hens are in abundance. The population of the island is more than 150,000. It is the great mart of the western coast of India. All the commerce of the Red Sea, the gulf of Persia, the coast of Arabia, Surat, and the coast of Malabar, centre in it. The harbour is excellent in the north east monsoon, but in the south west monsoon it is rough and hard riding, because the wind then blows directly in from sea, there being no shelter in that quarter for six or eight points of the compass. The best cables and anchors should be provided for ships going to Bombay. The English Indiamen commonly procure a good kayar-cable, which is found by experience to be much better than one of hemp. The kayar-cable is made from the husk of the cocoa-nut, and is far more elastic than the common cables. It will hold a ship, riding at sea, as long again as one of hemp will. A thousand ships may lie in the harbour at once. It is easy to make it in the north east monsoon, but sometimes difficult in the south west. If you mean to make it in the latter, you must get your westing before you come near to the coast of Malabar. If you make the land one league south of the harbour, you may generally think that you have lost your passage, on account of the strong currents, which set to the southward along the coast during the south west monsoon. If you go much to the northward, you are in danger of

getting into the gulf of Cambay, which is full of shoals and reefs. The reason why you cannot run surely is, that the weather is constantly thick, and an observation of the sun cannot be taken for the latitude. I have known a fleet of ships to lie off fifteen days, waiting for an observation of the sun. Navigators should form the habit of observing the stars for the calculations of latitude, and become so familiar with this as to depend upon it. It is very commonly the fact off this coast, that the nights are clear for a week together, when the days are so thick that an observation of the sun could not be taken. In this region, the nights are generally clearer than the days.

The harbour is easily known, when you make it, even if it be thick weather, by two small islands, which lie in the entrance of it. Their names are Henry and Keneri. They are seen very distinctly at a distance in good weather, and there are no others which make or show like islands near this port.

The people of Bombay have many large ships of their own. The largest merchant ships in the world are built there, and belong to the commercial capitalists of the town. The ship builders are all natives, and are pre-eminent in their profession. They build many ships of the teak wood, which they call the king of the oaks, and which they procure from Pegu. It is as large as our largest oaks, the timber very straight, free from knots, and excellent for planks. I have seen it grow fifty feet before a limb shoots from the trunk. Some of them are three feet in diameter. There is another kind of tree, which is called there sissor-wood, and which is the best in the world for the crooked timber required in ships. It is extremely hard and durable.

Thirty or forty of these large ships are loaded with cotton at Bombay in a season for China. Other articles are also sent to that market from this place, sharks-fins for soup, sandal wood, and sometimes a cargo of rice free from all duties. The yellow cotton for all the nankin is sent from Bombay, and never receives any dye after it is taken from the tree. The traffic of the island is very great.

There is an extraordinary octagon building at Bombay, 150 feet in diameter, for pressing cotton. There are in it twelve sets of wooden screws, and one set of iron. The wooden screws are like those which we use in cider-mills. A very strong frame is

made of planks, into which the cotton is put, with a gunny bag at the bottom and at the top for a part of the covering. The cotton is pressed by the wooden screws from six feet to less than three, as far as the screws can carry the pressure. The bolts are then taken off and they fall apart from the cotton, which is made into a bale to be pressed again under the screws of iron. These are so arranged that sixty men can work at the levers, and apply a force which would raise a thousand tons. Four bales are here pressed at once into a size of fourteen inches each. In this manner, the bulk of the cotton is so reduced, that a ship may be loaded with it, and cross the ocean safely with very little ballast.

Bombay has walls, and is well fortified. As many cannon were said to be mounted on the ramparts as there are days in the year. I have been over every part of it, and should think it impossible to take it by sea or land. There are seldom less than 12, or 15,000 good troops stationed there. The island is four or five miles distant from the main-land, where there is an abundance of all kinds of provision. By the rules of their religion, the natives live on fish and vegetables. Rice is one of the articles of food. They have a dish, called cudgeree, which is made of dhol or peas, and ghee or butter. The dhol is a kind of pea as large as duck-shot. This is boiled with rice till they are completely mixed, and not more wet than damp coarse meal. The ghee is then put upon it, and it is considered as a great treat with fish. Ghee is butter made from the milk of buffaloes as well as cows, and is boiled and skimmed when it is new. After this it never becomes hard, and it continues sweet much longer in hot climates than butter in the common state can. They drink no kind of ardent spirit, and are very healthy.

"In the year 1803, Sir James Mackintosh, the eloquent rocorder of this island, computed the number of inhabitants at 150,000. These consist of English, Portuguese, Indian Catholics, Hindoos, Persians, Mahometans of different sects, and some Armenian Christians. The English have a handsome church at Bombay; and the establishment of chaplains for their presidency is four in number, but the list is never full. The Roman Catholics have a bishop of Bombay. They are very numerous, and their churches are sumptuously ornamented within."—*Edinburgh Encyclopædia*

The appearance of Bombay is that of an old, dirty, weather beaten place. The buildings and walls are of stone, brick, and clay. The windows of the English are glass, but of the rest they are thin shells in wooden frames. The apartments of such houses are dark. Crows are extremely abundant, are never killed, and are permitted to act as scavengers of the city. They fly in thousands wherever they please. They are perfectly tame, come in at the windows, fly round the room where you are at dinner, and I have seen them pick the bread off from the table when they were not watched and driven away by the servants. They sometimes drop their excrements upon you in the streets, and often upon the window seats of the houses, and even defile the table from which your meals are taken. The people of India do not bury their dead, and hence a great quantity of putrid flesh is exposed to the open air. Some of the casts among the natives carry out the dead, lay them on high scaffolds, and watch them to see which eye the vultures will take out first. This they consider as ominous, according to the principles of their superstition, and draw an inference from it in regard to the future condition of the souls of the departed.

A complaint of the liver is prevalent among the diseases. The liver becomes inflamed, an abscess is formed, and an incision is made in the side of the patient for relief. Sometimes he dies, but more frequently recovers.

There are the first Arabian horses in Bombay, that I ever saw. Riding is a great amusement, both on the saddle and in the carriage. The horses are broken in the following manner. A man takes a young horse out upon the Apollo-Green, a place of parade without the walls. A rope of thirty feet in length is tied to the horse's head or neck, and fastened to a swivel in a large rock. The man then whips the horse to make him go round at the rope's length. The animal is very obstinate, kicks with the greatest rage when he is whipped, and often attempts to bite. After one horse is thus broken till he is obedient, two are put together, and the same process pursued. When both become obedient, a drag is fastened to them by a strong harness, and they are whipped till they draw it uniformly and kindly. They are black, and dark bay. They are peculiarly vicious, and also proud. They have been known several times to throw their riders, and voluntarily stamp

them to death. I often had, during my stay there, the horses of Mr. Tate, an eminent merchant, and a gentleman of fortune. They went in a coach at my service, whenever I wished to take a ride out upon the island. The coachman used to adorn their heads with artificial flowers, green, yellow, blue, and red, such as were made for the purpose; and they were so disposed that the horses could see them upon each other as they were in the harness. Their bodies were covered with silken nets, ornamented with tassels and fringes. They were as vain of their dress as a beau or a belle, and would show it in their motions and spirits.

Many of the coaches were made in the English style. Those in the fashion of the country were contrived with a bed or mattress at the bottom, covered with scarlet silk, on which the passenger might repose. A top shields him from the sun. A place is arranged in which one's shoes or slippers are put, and the comfort of the vehicle is as great as that of a palanquin.

On this coast there are two kinds of snakes, which are very poisonous, numerous, and troublesome. One is the cobra-di-capello, and the other is the cobra-manilla. The former is the hooded snake. Goldsmith says, "it inflicts the most deadly and incurable wounds. Of this formidable creature, there are five or six different kinds; but they are all equally dangerous, and their bite followed by speedy and certain death. It is from three to eight feet long, with two large fangs hanging out of the upper jaw. It has a broad neck, and a mark of dark brown on the forehead, which, when viewed frontwise, looks like a pair of spectacles, but behind, like the head of a cat. The eyes are fierce and full of fire; the head is small and the nose flat, though covered with very large scales, of a yellowish colour; the skin is white; and the large tumor on the neck is flat, and covered with oblong smooth scales. The bite of this animal is said to be incurable, the patient dying in about an hour after the wound; the whole frame being dissolved in one putrid mass."—*Animated Nature, vol. I. p.* 126.

I have often seen the cobra-di-capello carried about in a basket for a show. When he is approached, he raises nearly one third of his length from the ground, bends his neck like a goose, sometimes hisses, then spreads his neck perfectly flat from the head for three inches, makes it form almost a circle, and at length raises the fold higher than his head, giving it the appearance of a hood.

It had some resemblance to the shape of a heart, and was not peculiarly disagreeable. The person, who carried the cobra-di-capello about, played on a pipe or reed, which either pleased or vexed the reptile so as to make it always raise its neck in this form of a hood.

The cobra-manilla is a snake not much larger than a pipe stem, has a greenish colour, is not thick for its length, is found about old houses and old wood, and climbs trees. The bite of it is mortal, and will produce death in half an hour. The poison is more rapid in its operation than that of the cobra-di-capello. In the house where I lived at Bombay, I opened a window shutter, and brushed one off from the window seat, which I did not see till it fell down. I escaped being bitten, but the snake ran under the house, before I could kill it. This reptile is very much dreaded by every body. The natives are often prevented from climbing trees by the fear that they may put their hands on one of these snakes among the limbs, and be bitten before they can discover the source of their danger. The legs of the bedsteads in Bombay all stand in large vessels filled with water to keep centipedes, scorpions, and the cobras from creeping into bed at night, when they are wandering about. The cameleon is often found here. I have frequently seen them upon the guns, then on the carriages, next on the green grass, and afterwards upon bricks, continually changing as nearly as their nature allows to the colour of the substance with which they were united.

In connexion with the subject of the trade of Bombay, a remark may be made upon the country near it, and especially upon Surat. All this region is filled with the manufactures of the east. Surat is an immense factory, producing in the greatest abundance all the varieties of chintz, and sending at the same time nearly all the cotton to Bombay, which is shipped from there to China. It is one of the first places where Europeans were allowed to settle, and to establish manufactories. It now contains more than 300,000 inhabitants, and is a place of the first importance in the circle of the useful arts, and in the traffick of the east.

There are three dry docks at Bombay, each of which will admit a ship of the line, and another which will admit a sloop of war. The three docks are all in one large inclosure, the main land with a wall on one side, and a stone wall raised on the other. The shape is

a long parallelogram, with but one entrance into it, so that the ships at the head of it cannot get out till the one at the entrance is gone. No considerable trouble however is experienced on this account.

Before I leave Bombay, I cannot omit to speak of the celebrated antiquities in the islands of Elephanta and Salsette. I visited them, and think that they surpass all the curiosities, which I have ever seen. It is common to form parties at Bombay, when strangers are there, and go to these islands for amusement. The caves had so much water in them, at the time I went to see the wonders which they contain, that I could not go into them, a disappointment which I bore with no small impatience. I learned from my companions whatever was most interesting in the interior of the excavations. The cave on Elephanta is the largest, the island is high, and has two summits which are covered with wood. It is five miles in circumference, and the cave is less than a mile from the beach. The elephant, from which the name of the island is derived, is the size of life, cut out of rock, and is black. It stands near the mouth of the cave, and not far from the shore. The cave is formed in the solid rock, and is 135 feet both in length and breadth. A great number and variety of figures in high relief are found in it. The whole is supposed to be of Hindoo origin, although the common people are told that it was made by the gods. The extent of its antiquity is not known. Some have said that it was dedicated to Seva the destroyer, a god of the Gentoos; but of this there is some doubt, although the cave was probably a work of religion or superstition. The exhibition of the benevolent as well as of the terrific principle in the religion of the authors, must have mingled with their design, and with the choice of the figures. The Edinburgh Encyclopædia may assist to illustrate this remark by the following quotation. "The upper extremity of the cave is chiefly distinguished by the profusion of figures. Here the most striking is a bust, eighteen feet high, of a figure with three heads, expressive of that being, of whom the Hindoos had the most sublime conceptions. The middle head represents Brahma, or the creative attribute; the head on the left Vishnoo, or the preserving; and on the right Seva, the destroying, or changing. Brahma's face is represented full, with a look of dignity and composure; his head and neck profusely covered with ornaments. The face of Vishnoo is in profile, with likewise a complacent regard, and a richly decorat-

ed head. One hand bears a lotus flower, the other a fruit resembling a pomegranate; on one of his wrists is seen a ring, as worn by the Hindoos at present. Seva, on the contrary, frowns with a terrific countenance in profile, with a projecting forehead, and staring eyes. Snakes supply the place of hair; and the representation of a human skull is conspicuous on the covering of the head. One hand grasps a monstrous cobra-di-capello, the other a smaller one; the whole calculated to strike terror and amazement. The length, from the crown of the head to the chin, is six feet, exclusive of the cap, which is three feet more."

This account gives us three attributes personified by three heads. We might be inclined to trace an analogy between these and the cherubic figures described in our sacred books, which so many christians consider as representing the Deity, were it not that Seva seems to be too nearly the same with Satan to be introduced among the emblems of the God described in the Bible. Another difficulty also might be supposed to arise from the variation in the numbers, the cherub of Ezekiel having *four* heads, and the figure of the cave having but *three*. Where numbers are fundamental, a personification which is *fourfold*, and another which is *threefold*, must be somewhat uncomfortable to the mythologist in his attempts at reconciliation. It is our own opinion however that the difficulty is not insurmountable when the true philosophy of the mythology of all nations is understood. It is not necessary to consider Seva as a distinct deity, and answering to Satan, but he may be taken as a personification of avenging justice, the right or the disposition to punish the obstinately guilty, as this attribute exists in the true God. The personification of one attribute more, or one less, does not alter the theory of the explanation, or prevent us from using it as an illustration of the same great truths.

It has been thought that the caves of Elephanta and Salsette are proofs not only of great perfection in the arts at a very remote period of antiquity in Asia, but of a much earlier and higher degree of perfection than in Egypt. The priests of the Nile are supposed to have gone to the Ganges, not to carry, but to acquire knowledge and improvement. The characters of some ancient language are found inscribed on the pillars of the caves, which no one living has been able to interpret.

CHAPTER XIII.

Passage from Bombay to Calcutta.—Coast of Malabar.—Goa.—Tellicherry.—Calicut.—Cape Comorin.—Ceylon.—Coast of Coromandel.—Pondicherry.—Madras.—Pogodas.—Calcutta.

WE finished our business at Bombay, and attempted to go to sea, but before we could get out of the harbour with the ebb tide, the flood met us, and we were obliged to anchor. We rode sixteen hours with a violent wind and sea, after which we were able to leave the harbour, and steer down the coast of Malabar.

The great object with a seaman, in going out of the harbour of Bombay in the south west monsoon, is to get to the windward of the two small islands Henry and Keneri. Until this is done, and a ship is entirely outside of them, a sailor does not consider himself as safe; for it is extremely difficult to do this in the south west monsoon. Ships have sometimes been driven to the leeward of these islands into shallow water, and upon the shore, when they could never be got off.

Our course along the coast of Malabar was in water from 25 to 30 fathoms, soft and muddy bottom. We might have sailed in less depth of water, had it not been for the numerous large stakes, or trunks of trees which are put down along the coast for the use of the fishermen in the management of their nets. Some of these stakes have a diameter of thirty inches. They are left round, are sharpened at the small end of the trunk, and are driven much in the same manner with the piles, on which the New Guineans build their houses, as mentioned in the 85th page. The vessels, which are used for this purpose on the coast of Malabar, instead of being canoes, are sometimes twenty tons burthen, two of which are lashed with cables to a single pile, and force it into the earth as the tide ebbs, and as motion is added by the wind and the sea. In this manner, the stakes are so firmly fixed in the bottom, that

they sometimes break in the bows of a ship, and compel her to seek a port immediately for safety. They are from 20 to 200 and 300 feet apart; from 10 to 20 feet above water; from 3 to 6 miles distant from the shore; and in 8, 10, and 12 fathoms water.

The coast of Malabar is sometimes considered as extending from cape Comorin to the gulf of Cambay, and sometimes not further than to a point 100 miles south of Goa. The Abbe Raynal takes it in the greatest extent, when he says, "Goa, which rises in the form of an amphitheatre, is situated near the middle of the coast of Malabar, upon an island separated from the continent by the two branches of a river, which, issuing from the Balagate mountains, falls into the sea at the distance of three leagues from the city, after having formed under the walls one of the finest harbours in the world." (Vol. I. p. 73.)

The term Malabar is supposed to have the same meaning with our word mountaineer, and to refer to the mountains of Hindostan, from which the people of the coast came. Pepper is a very important article of trade in all this country; also the areca nut, the wild cinnamon, and various kinds of cotton goods.

At Goa, the principal place of the Portuguese on this coast, my friend and fellow officer Wedgeborough, of whom I have spoken several times, sustained the office of master attendant, and died in 1805 or 1806. His wife died at the same place with him, and on the same day, both of the fever of the country. He was a man of an excellent character in all respects; his head was as good as his heart; and his education was as extensive as it could be made with the greatest diligence in the school of Christ's Hospital in London, where he and White, another of our officers under commodore McClure, were taught much more than is commonly learned by men in their situation in life. The news of his death was particularly painful to me at the time when I heard of it, and united with other circumstances to awaken recollections which filled my mind with melancholy and regret. He was distinguished by the attachment of all the crew in our eastern expedition, and was always judicious and self-governed, when many of us were tempted to rashness and excess by the vicissitudes which we met among the islands. It was well for him, although it unfortunately ended in his death, that the English had gained such an influence over the Portuguese government as to have him appointed master attendant

of the port of Goa. This office is important and lucrative. He, who fills it, has the care of all the vessels in the port. They must all be reported to him; no one can be moved, or go away, without his permission; and if any quarrel arises upon this subject between the owners of vessels, it must be referred to him, and his dicision is obligatory and final.

Goa is in 15° 28′ north latitude, and 73° 45′ east longitude. It is an island of about 24 miles in circumference, has a good soil, and is well supplied with water. Mandova is the name of the river which separates it from the continent. The town is estimated at 20,000 inhabitants, whose character is not very good for either of the sexes. The habit of administering poison for revenge is said to have been common among the women. The influence of the inquisition, and of the worst form of papal superstition, has tended much to corrupt the minds and morals of the people.

This place was conquered for the Portuguese by the famous general Albuquerque the great, about whom so many instances of magnanimity have been related. One is mentioned by Raynal. "Goa was looked upon as the most advantageous post in India. It belonged to the king of Decan; but Idalcan, who was intrusted with the government of it, had assumed an independency, and endeavoured to extend his power in Malabar. While this usurper was pursuing his schemes on the continent, Albuquerque appeared before the gates of Goa, took the city by storm, and acquired this valuable advantage with very little loss. Idalcan, informed of the loss he had sustained, did not hesitate a moment what measures he should take. In conjunction even with the Indians, his enemies, who were almost as much interested in this matter as himself, he marched toward the capital with a degree of expedition never before known in that country. The Portuguese, having no firm footing there, and finding themselves unable to preserve their conquest, retreated to their ships, which kept their station in the harbour, and sent to Cochin for a reinforcement. While they were waiting for it, their provisions failed. Idalcan offered them a supply, giving them to understand that he chose to conquer by arm, and not by famine. It was customary at that time, in the Indian wars, for the armies to suffer provisions to be carried to their enemies. Albuquerque rejected the offer made him, with this reply, that he would receive no presents from Idalcan till they were friends."

This story is not a little honourable to both parties, and the spirit of it would not injure the magnanimity of modern times, should it be imitated. Albuquerque ultimately took Goa, and the most important places along the coast of Malabar. He left the Portuguese possessions in Hindostan in the most prosperous condition. He was an equally great general and statesman; was proverbially temperate, just, generous, and exemplary, in private life, while his patriotism led him to an unbounded ambition for conquest in favour of his country. He is a rare instance of a man, regarding private rights with the greatest disinterestedness, and at the same time making the public rights of nations bow to his desire of conquest and power, not for his own gratification, but for the honour and prosperity of his sovereign. It is a common idea, that private and public character must be the same. It generally is; but there are many exceptions, and the truth should always be allowed, though some favourite theory may suffer. Alburquerque died in 1515, at the age of 63.

Southward of Goa is Tellicherry, which is considered as a place of some importance by the English, who have a factory there, and a garrison.

Calicut, on the same coast, has some curious articles in its history. The proper name is said to be Colicodu, which means cock-crowing. The origin of the name is this: a Mahometan chief received from his sovereign as much land as could be embraced within the sound of a cock made to crow upon the top of a small temple. "This town was taken from Tippoo by the East India Company, in whose possession it still remains."—"It is chiefly inhabited by Moplays; is about three leagues in circumference, and includes an extensive suburb, principally inhabited by fishermen."—"Teak-wood, which was one of the principal articles of commerce at Calicut, has now become very scarce, in consequence of Tippoo having carried off all the elephants that were employed in this trade. The process of procuring this wood is very tedious. The tree, which is intended to be cut down, is first deprived of its branches; the trunk itself is then cut nearly two thirds through, and long incisions made in the bark. In this state it is left to dry for one year, during which the bark drops off. The tree is then pushed into the river Beypour by elephants during the rains, and is floated down to within a little distance of Calicut."—"When Malabar fell into the hands

of Tippoo in 1789, he destroyed Calicut, and removed the inhabitants to Nelluru, the name of which he changed to Furruckabad. He razed the city to the ground, destroyed its trade, and banished the merchants and factors of the foreign commercial houses. He cut down all the cocoa-nut and sandal trees, and ordered the pepper plants in the surrounding districts to be torn up by the roots and cut to pieces. His cruelty to the inhabitants of Calicut was marked by the most dreadful barbarity. Great numbers of them, both male and female, were put to death. The mothers were first tied up, and then the children suspended from their necks. Several christians and heathens were brought out naked, and tied to the feet of elephants, which dragged them about till they were torn limb from limb. All the churches and temples were burned or pulled down. Christian and pagan women were compelled to marry Mahometans, and Mahometan women to marry heathens and christians. The pagans were deprived of the token of their nobility, which is a lock of hair named *cudumi*, and every christian, who was seen in the streets, was either circumcised or hanged on the spot."

—"Before the town was destroyed by Tippoo, it contained about 6 or 7,000 houses. It now contains about 5,000 houses, and is rapidly recovering its importance. The inhabitants are principally Moplays, a stout and industrious, but villainous race of men, who settled in this country about four hundred years ago, and are nearly as numerous as the Nairs, whose authority over them they dispute."—*Edinburgh Encyclopædia.*

The coast of Malabar is nearly south-south-east, very straight, and free from all kinds of dangers in its navigation quite to cape Comorin, the most southern point of India. During the south west monsoon, there are tremendous gales, or tornadoes, off this cape, which blow from a quarter of an hour to an hour and a half. In one of these, in the night, we lost eight or nine sails in our large ship, the Hector, owing to the carelessness of the officer who then had the command of the deck. In the north east monsoon, the coast offers the most delightful navigation that can be found in the world. For six months, the weather is perfectly mild and serene, the sea calm, and the breezes fragrant from the shore.

Before I pass from the coast of Malabar to that of Coromandel, the important and interesting island of Ceylon demands some attention. It lies between 5° 50′ and 10° 51′ of north latitude, and be-

tween 79° 50′ and 82° 10′ of east longitude. Its greatest length is said to be 280 miles, and its greatest breadth 150. A reef of sand and shells from the island to the continent is called Adam's Bridge, in consequence of a tradition that Adam, after the fall, passed upon it from the island, which was paradise, to the continent. The Portuguese discovered, and for many years possessed Ceylon. The Dutch took it from them, and the English took it from the Dutch. They all in turn entered into wars with the king of Candy, the sovereign of the native Ceylonese, and whose capital is in the interior, surrounded by woods and mountains. The conduct of the Europeans of all parties in this island has been marked by a disposition to make conquests and to monopolise the trade of it. It is painful to every benevolent and impartial observer, as he visits the Asiatic coasts, or the oriental islands, or reads the history of them, to be obliged to acknowledge that the natives find numerous apologies for their treachery and cruelty toward Europeans, in the treachery and cruelty of the Europeans toward them. The king of Candy was extremely grateful to the Dutch for assisting him to drive out the Portuguese; but it was found to be only an exchange of one selfish and mercenary power for another. The Dutch used the gratitude of the Candians to fortify themselves, to prepare the means to gain the entire control of the country, and to appropriate its commerce exclusively to their own benefit. The English too invaded the territories of the sovereign of Candy, and retribution accompanied them, cutting them off in a cruel manner, in the very heart of the enemy's empire.

The prospect which is presented to the eye at sea by the hills, the vallies, and the fields of Ceylon, is eminently beautiful, and perhaps unrivalled. Groves of cocoa-nut trees are growing in great luxuriance upon the high lands, and rice in the vallies, while various kinds of cultivation, with useful and ornamental fruits and flowers, unite to produce the most agreeable impression upon the imagination, and the most interesting train of reflections. To the mind of a traveller from Massachusetts nothing can be more enchanting than a country which should appear to realize, what is known only in our poetry, a perpetual spring.

Among the mountains of Ceylon is one called Adam's Peak, where there is a flat stone, on which is an impression of a man's foot, twenty-four inches in length, which, some say, is that of our

first ancestor, and others, the print left by the god Buddhu when he ascended to heaven to be an intercessor with the supreme God for his followers. It is very remarkable that the following language from the Edinburgh Encyclopædia should be so much like that to which we are accustomed in the books of our own religion. The Ceylonese "acknowledge the existence of one Supreme Being, the creator and governor of the world, but they have also a number of inferior deities and evil demons. Of the former, the most exalted is Buddhu, whom some represent as originally a divine person, and others, as the spirit of a good man crowned with divine honours. He is said to have appeared in the world in the form of a man, and after having performed a vast number of virtuous actions, and been transformed into a great variety of shapes, he ascended again into heaven, where he acts as a mediator with the Supreme Being, and procures the pardon of his worshippers."

The climate of Ceylon is milder than we might be led to suppose from its latitude. The medium of heat is stated to be 81°, and the extreme rarely higher than 86° in the shade in midsummer. The sea breezes give a fine temperature to the atmosphere. The mountains, which run through the island, stop the course of the monsoons, and produce different seasons at the same time on the different sides. One side is often favoured with clear and genial weather, while the other is deluged with rains. The great and sudden changes during the night assist other causes to produce much ill-health, especially among the natives.

Candy is the capital town of the interior and of the territory of the aborigines. "It is a poor miserable place, and is surrounded by a mud wall of no strength whatever. It is about two miles in length, and consists of one broad street, with a number of smaller streets, which, at different places, proceed from it as so many branches."—"The only buildings of consequence in Candy are the temples of Buddhu, and the palace which is situated at the head of the great street."

"Of the European part of the island, Columbo is the capital. It is a large and beautiful town, is built on a regular plan, and much in the European style, though few of the houses are above one story in height."—"Including all the different classes, Columbo, according to Mr. Cordiner, contains upwards of 50,000 inhabitants. There is probably no place in the world, where so many different

languages are spoken, and which displays such a variety of nations, manners, and religions. Besides the European inhabitants, and the proper natives of the island, you find almost every race of Asia; Moors of every class; Malabars, Travancorians, Malays, Hindoos, Gentoos, Chinese, Persians, Arabians, Turks, Maldivians, Javeans, and natives of all the Asiatic isles; Persees, or worshippers of fire, who would sooner allow their houses to be burnt to ashes, and themselves to perish in the flames, than employ any means to extinguish them; together with a number of Africans. Caffres, Buganese, besides the half casts, people of colour, and other races which proceed from a variety of the original ones."

"The island is particularly abundant in fruits. Almost all those plants, which are peculiar to tropical climates, are found in Ceylon in great plenty, and of a superior quality. Most of those fruits, which are natives of the island, grow spontaneously in the woods without culture or care; and the only labour necessary is to pluck and bring them to market, where they are of course sold at a very moderate price. Among them are most of those, which constitute the greatest delicacies in the desserts of our European tables, such as pine apples, pomegranates, melons, citrons, limes, oranges, and almonds."—"Among the vegetable productions of this country, cinnamon is the most important. The principal woods or gardens of this tree lie in the neighbourhood of Columbo. They approach within half a mile of the fort, and fill the whole surrounding prospect. The grand garden near the town is so extensive as to occupy a tract of country from ten to fifteen miles in length; and in this space nature has concentrated all the beauty and all the riches of the island."—"The whole quantity of cinnamon, sent annually to England, amounts to 4,000 bags, or 368,000 pounds, for which the East India Company pay to government a stipulated price of £60,000 sterling."

"Ceylon is much celebrated on account of its mineralogy, and particularly for the number and variety of the precious stones which are found upon it. To this class of minerals we may refer the diamond, the ruby, the hyacinth, the agate, the amethyst, the sardonyx, the emerald, the jasper; the tourmaline, red, green, blue, and yellow; the topaz; the sapphire, green and blue; the suphrytus, white, yellow, brown, and black; crystals; cat's eye; and cornelians."—"Lead and tin are found in the interior; but they are

not applied to any useful purposes. There is also abundance of iron stone, the preparation of which constitutes one of the principal manufactures of the natives."—"Among the quadrupeds of this island, the elephant justly holds the highest place. This animal is produced in great numbers in Ceylon, and is superior to those of every other part of the world, with regard to shape, appearance, and docility. In 1797, no fewer than 176 were sent over from this country by Adam's Bridge to the continent of India."—"The Indian horses are extremely spirited, and often defend their riders from the attacks of other animals. Captain Percival mentions that on one occasion he was indebted to their prowess for his preservation from the fury of a buffalo. It is only when so vicious as to be perfectly unmanageable, that these animals are ever castrated in this part of the world; and in this mutilated state, they decrease greatly in value, as they are then by no means so capable of enduring the heat of the climate, and the violent fatigue occasioned by exertion in a warm country. The oxen of Ceylon have a hump on their back, and in size scarcely exceed our calves of a year old. The beef however is sometimes tolerably good, and forms the principal food of our European soldiers; and though these animals are so remarkably small, they are very useful as beasts of burden. The buffalo is also found in great numbers on this island, and being much larger and stronger than the ox, it is more frequently employed for the latter purpose. Few parts of India produce a greater variety of wild animals than Ceylon: indeed the forests are extremely dangerous, in consequence of the number of b asts of prey and noxious reptiles which infest them."—"The pearl fishery in the bay of Condatchy is one of the most important and valuable acquisitions which the British have made on the island."—"An oyster commonly contains several pearls, and one has been known to produce one hundred and fifty, including the seed or dust pearls: but on the contrary an hundred oysters have been opened without yielding a single pearl which was discernible. The oysters are supposed to obtain a complete state of maturity in seven years; after which, it is said, the pearl becomes so large and inconvenient to the fish, that it throws it out of the shell."—*Edin. Encyclo.*

The same authority shows how painful and unnatural the profession of a pearl diver is. It must be followed from infancy in order to acquire the power of suspending respiration long enough

for success in the fishery. The pearl divers usually continue under water two minutes, but it is said by some that they have extended the time to five, and that a Caffre boy has remained seven; but from abundant experience I am led to believe that no man ever remained under water voluntarily more than two minutes and a half. Blood frequently issues from the nose and ears as they rise to the surface of the water.

The Ceylonese chew the betel nut, a habit prevailing over all the eastern islands. This nut produces in the mouth a crimson liquor, which looks like blood when it is thrown out. When it is mixed with other substances, as it often is, and particularly at Ceylon, it leaves the mouth and teeth black, an effect which the natives consider as a beauty, and think that white teeth should be the privilege only of brute animals. At the Pelew Islands, it is allowed to leave the teeth a dark red. It is a stimulant and an opiate, and is used as a luxury and a sensual indulgence. I have myself chewed it, till it has produced a considerable degree of intoxication.

The population of Ceylon is loosely stated to be 1,500,000.

In the passage, from Ceylon to Calcutta, the coast of Coromandel presents itself to our attention. This shore is low, without any good harbour, and covered with sand a mile in width, which is entirely barren, and exposed to the fury of the waves. The natives employ canoes only, and can manage them in the surf of this coast; but large vessels are compelled, in the stormy season, to seek shelter on the other side of Hindostan, or in some other place. This is the reason why settlements were formed on the Malabar coast rather than on this, although Coromandel is said to have a more fertile back country. The trade of the eastern side is limited chiefly to various cotton manufactures, which are finer than those in other parts of the peninsula. Foreigners engross the trade, and the natives are subordinate to them.

The weather is generally not so good on the coast of Coromandel as on that of Malabar. In the north east monsoon, it is the best. The greatest part of the year, there is a severe drought, especially near the sea.

It has been often said, that there are no harbours on this coast; but there are two or three, which are pretty good.

At all the places on this coast, where I have had an opportunity to make observations, I have found the power of the priests to be

very great over the consciences of the natives. The following test of the innocence or guilt of an individual, charged with a crime, I have frequently seen applied, and never knew it fail of success. The accused is called before a priest, who gives him an handful of rice, and tells him to chew and swallow it. If he is innocent, it will do him no harm; if he is guilty, his present life will be embittered with evils and remorse, and his future life will be spent under the wrath of God, who will continue to increase the intensity of his punishment. The guilty person rarely has hardihood enough to swallow the rice, at least the whole of it. The effort is often commenced boldly, but generally conscience gets the victory before the whole is swallowed. I saw two women tried. One of them chewed and swallowed the rice very quickly. The other chewed it slowly and heavily; some of the rice was falling out of the corners of the mouth; and after some time was spent in a state of internal agitation and indecision, she threw down the remainder which was in her hand, and made a full confession. This ordeal has had more effect than any that I ever knew, which appealed only to conscience. The deliberation, with which the unboiled rice is to be chewed and swallowed, gives the criminal time for much reflection and repentance, and is found by the experiment to be irrisistible upon the superstitious mind. Some good at least is thus done by a prejudice, which appears sufficiently gross in our eyes.

Sailing northward along the coast of Coromandel, a pagoda on point Calymere may be seen at the distance of four or five leagues in good weather.

Tranquebar, in the district of Tanjore, is the only possession, which the Danes have in the peninsula. The tribute, which they paid to the rajah of Tanjore, is, I believe, still continued. It is a free port. It is visited annually by a Danish ship or two to make up a cargo. It stands upon the river Caveri. The country in its vicinity is full of populous villages; has many valuable factories; and is very fruitful in rice. Like all the other European settlements in Hindostan, it has undergone various fortunes from contentions with the natives, and with European competitors. It has been entirely reduced, and again rebuilt, and at length is a place of but moderate importance to the owners, or to the world.

What is called the China Pagoda, and which is very large and black, stands north of Negapatam, with a flag staff upon it. The flag may be seen from the deck at the distance of six leauges west-north-west in thirteen fathoms water.

Pondicherry is the only place, which the French possess in Hindostan. It is not a good port, and ships cannot approach nearer than within half a league, and even then with danger. The town was once as promising as any in India, but has not been nursed as much as other places since, and has lost much of its comparative importance. Since the war of our revolution, it has been taken and given up several times by the English, who do nearly what they please with the possessions of other European powers in India. There is a small tract of very valuable country about it, which is highly cultivated, and yields excellent rice. It is hot, but not unhealthy. It has no rain, except for a few days in October. The common articles of food are purchased at this place at as low a price as in any part of the coast.

Seven miles north of Sadras are the Seven Pagodas of Mooliva-ram. They are seen only near the shore, and even then are often hidden by the woods when they lie westward of the ship. Before you arrive at Madras, and after passing St. Thomas, you see a very high black pagoda, which bears west-south-west, when you are at the proper anchoring place in Madras Road.

Madras is a town standing quite upon the margin of the sea, and in a place so dry and sandy that the water is brought from a considerable distance, except what is caught in cisterns during the rains. The land in its vicinity is perfectly barren, producing nothing spontaneously, and meagerly rewarding the labours of the cultivator. The climate is excessively hot, but is relieved by the sea breezes. There is no port for the town, and the boats of the country are used to load and unload all the vessels employed in trade with this place. These boats are made very differently from ours, and are well adapted to the purposes for which they are designed. They are flat bottomed; are constructed without metal; are sewed together with twine made of the hemp of the country, or of rattan, which is split into very small threads; are considerably flexible; and can bear without injury the shocks of the surf, where one of our boats would be dashed to pieces. The seams are filled with *chinnam*, a kind of cement made of shell-lime, wood-

oil, sometimes white of eggs, and sugar. This plaster is very adhesive; becomes utterly impervious to water; will allow some motion without breaking; and is an admirable substance for this object. The bottoms of all the ships, built in India, are covered with it before the copper is put on. It is used also for the tops of the houses, which are flat, and is a perfect security against rain. It may be made smooth like polished marble. The houses often have an awning above the roof, and thus furnish an agreeable place upon the top for conversation and the enjoyment of the sea air. They are usually built of brick, and have one story. A few have two stories, and many are raised one story from the ground for coolness and security. Each house is supposed to contain seven, and some say, even nine inhabitants. The whole population of the town is estimated at 300,000. They consist of Gentoos, Mahometans, and Christians. One part of Madras is called White Town, and the other Black Town. White Town is also denominated Fort St. George, and is inhabited by the English. One of the suburbs is occupied by the black watermen, who live in thatched cottages. The town is well fortified, and has two hundred pieces of cannon mounted. It is rich, and of great importance to the English in their trade.

After leaving Madras, we made the coast of Coromandel in 16° 40′ north latitude, and kept about two leagues off shore, in our course toward Calcutta, passing the white, the Jaggernaut, and the black pagodas.

The Book of Directions made to accompany the East India Pilot, in two large volumes, by Mr. Robert Sayer, page 277, says—"From Narsapour Road to Point Gordaware, the coast is east-north-east fourteen or fifteen leagues. About eight leagues east of Narsapour you see two white pagodas, which you should take care not to confound with those that are to the west of Point Gordaware, and to the eastward of which pagodas is Visheron river: several navigators have been mistaken herein for want of observing that these last are three in number."

Point Gordaware is in latitude 16° 40′ north; that, and the two white pagodas as above, (which stand to the eastward of the three that are mentioned,) are considered the principal guiding points for navigators when they first fall in with this coast. The Jaggernaut pagoda lies to the north east of them, seventy or eighty leagues

distant. They have acquired more notoriety than any other in India, and have particularly excited the religious sympathies of the community. "There is a large town, about two leagues from the sea side, which is seen far off by the height of its buildings. As soon as you are off Mannickpatam, you may percieve the pagoda from mast head. At this distance it appears like a ship under sail. On approaching it, it looks like three pagodas very near to each other, the south west one exceedingly high and round with a spike and a large ball at the top. The second, which almost joins to the first, appears less round at the top; it has also a spike and a ball, as has likewise the third, which is the last, and round like the first. These three pagodas, which seem joined together, form a high and broad building. Four leagues and an half east-north-east of Jaggernaut Pagoda is the Black Pagoda, which at a distance resembles (like the former) a large ship under sail, but on a nearer view it loses its appearance and becomes less in width. When you bring it to bear north-north-east, it looks like two buildings joined at the bottom, and separate aloft, which finish in a peak. From the Black Pagoda to False Point they reckon about eighteen leagues, the first five leagues east by north, the next three east-north-east, and the ten last north east. The coast between these two places is bordered with a bank that stretches half a league into the sea, and in some places a little less. Off False Point it extends a league and an half. On approaching False Point, you would take it, although it is the main land, for a little island, on account of the want of wood, and of the entrance of a river, which makes a discontinuation appear. The part, which is perceived separated, is False Point. From this place the coast, whose direction was north east, extends to the northward and more westerly, forming a great light. Many navigators, deceived by this appearance, have taken False Point for Point Palmiras, and the mistake has occasioned the loss of several ships." (*Sayer's Oriental Navigator, page* 284.)

We took a pilot in Balasore Road; crossed the western brace, or sea reef, off the mouth of the Hoogly river; and were compelled to anchor at night, as the weather became bad, and it was not considered safe to run. At ten A. M. we parted our small bower cable by which we were riding; called the pilot and all hands; let go the best bower; gave out seventy five fathoms;

attempted to bring up the ship, but she would not look toward it; parted the cable in the hawse before she came head to the wind; let go the sheet anchor; gave out one hundred and ten fathoms; and were thus held till morning. At midnight, whilst we were riding by the sheet, the ship sheered, the cable crossed our fore-foot, and parted two bobstays out of three. The helm was put the other way, and the ship was sheered so as to keep the cable on the other bow. We soon found that the bow-sprit was sprung; made great exertions, and got runners and tackles on it and down to the parts of the bobstays which were left in the stem; and got every thing off from the foremast. After daylight, we found by signal, that the pilot snow, which according to custom accompanied us, had parted her cables also. The pilot, who was one of the best men in his place, remarked, that if we should lie there another night we should lose all our masts; and as the weather then was very bad he did not like to run, but it was the only alternative, for in drifting in the night we had got within a mile of the breakers on the eastern brace. They were half mast high, and were out of sight of land in a clear day. We made signal to the pilot snow to get under way, and began to heave at the anchor, when the cable came short, the palls of the capstan gave way, the bars flew round, and knocked down, or threw against the guns and other articles, sixty men, breaking some heads, some legs and arms, and producing other shocking effects. The ship was held by a short part of the cable; the palls of the capstan were fixed again; the people, who were able, returned to the work; they tugged till the cable was nearly up and down; and suddenly the capstan broke into halves. We put stoppers on the cable short as it was, and reeved a tackle with a hawser and purchase blocks for the purpose of weighing our anchor, the ship hanging by a new cable of twenty two inches and a half fast to an anchor of 5500 pounds, in nine fathoms water, stiff clay bottom. Before the tackle could be fitted for the purpose of putting on the cable, it parted in the hawsehole, and thus went the third anchor. We still had one more, and a cable bent to it, our spare anchor. We made sail and followed the pilot vessel, which had got under way long before us, in consequence of these difficulties. She run for the first buoy, and after some time made a signal for it; then a signal that the buoy had shifted its place; then a signal for the second buoy; then

that this buoy also had shifted its place; afterwards a signal for the second buoy again; and then that it had shifted its place a second time. Until a signal was made for the third buoy, we had no sure guide by which to sail. The extremely bad weather, from which we had suffered so much the night before, had produced these derangements in the position of the buoys. Before we got up to Calcutta, we let go the spare anchor; but a *bore of the tide*, a peculiar swell of water in this bay, took the ship, after all sail was set in order to get under way, and we were obliged to cut from our last anchor to avoid a still greater misfortune. Thus we lost four anchors, averaging 4500 pounds each, amounting to 18,000 pounds: parted and cut four cables, the smallest nineteen inches and an half; sprung our bowsprit; and experienced other damages, the whole of which could not be repaired, in the country where we were, for less then 10,000 dollars. This was indeed a disasterous current in the sea of our fortunes.

What is denominated a bore of the tides is a large wave, with a white head, which is seen and heard at a considerable distance. Three of them make the full sea. The first, as a general fact, comes at about two hours of the flood tide; then two hours calm, and the second comes; and two hours calm again, when the third comes. The longer it keeps off, the more violent is its approach, and the more destructive is its course. It is to be greatly dreaded by seamen, who are not well prepared to sustain the shock which it gives.

The face of our affairs was now gloomy and oppressive. On our arrival at Calcutta, we waited upon Benjamin Joy Esq. American consul in this place at that time, to whom we had written from Bombay, in the hope that he would be able to procure us a freight for our ship. But he had a ship of his own at Calcutta, and soon expected another. To this was added a general stagnation of business, and it was out of his power to do any thing for us. He however treated us with every mark of respect and gave us his friendly offices in a sincere and generous manner. Dunlap, who had advanced the money for us at Bombay, held out allurements to us whenever he supposed Mr. Joy would do any thing in our favour, and thus determined to keep a claim upon the ship. Our prospects continued in this unsatisfactory state for some time, when news arrived that the United States had laid an embargo for thirty

days under president Washington. It was also reported, and believed by many, that England and America were at war. This crowned our misfortunes, and decided our fate. Dunlap immediately pretended that he wanted his money, or further security, and we were obliged to transfer the ship to him. We gave him a complete bill of sale of her, uniting some consideration for our own interest with the force of his importunity, as we feared that our ship would be seized as American property. The spirits of my partner and myself were now sufficiently depressed. But we had yet another trial to meet. Dunlap was not contented with the security, which we had given him; and insisted upon the payment of the money. The ship would not sell for half the sum which she would bring in the market at a period of active business. He commenced suits against us, one against each, and one against the ship. We were obliged to keep out of his way, and for this purpose went to Serampore, which was a Danish settlement, and the usual place of resort from Calcutta for men in our situation. Under these circumstances, Mr. Joy enlisted himself for us, and made an arrangement with Dunlap, obliging him to receive the ship at 90,000 rupees, a sum much greater than any body else would have given at that time. We could have kept the cause in court so long that the ship would have been worth nothing at the time a decision should be obtained. For Mr. Joy's services on this occasion, I shall always hold myself under an obligation of sincere gratitude to him, and shall be ever ready to bear public testimony to his generosity. The balance due us for the ship was little more than what was necessary to pay our debts in the country, and thus ended our speculation in the Isle of France in the purchase of the Hector. It was originally planned for the purpose of saving Mr. Van Braam's property, which the French were about to seize. Our design was to return to Canton and settle with Mr. Van Braam, and then to continue our enterprise for ourselves. But the whole project failed, and proved to be a total loss of all the capital for Van Braam, Stewart, and myself, as will hereafter more fully appear.

CHAPTER XIV.

Bengal—Calcutta—A notice of some other European settlements—Passage to America by the Cape of Good Hope.

BENGAL is the most fertile part of India. Its greatest length is 720 miles, and its greatest breadth 300. It lies in the torrid zone, with the exception of a small portion of the northern side. Europeans find the climate hot and unhealthy. But as they become more temperate in their manner of living, and as the physicians understand the nature of the prevalent diseases better, Europeans enjoy more health, and live to a greater age. The fine sand however, which is flying in the air in the dry season, and the effects of putrifying bodies thrown out upon the banks of the rivers by inundations, must be permanent enemies of health. The season of rain is between June and October. Sometimes the quantity, which falls, is so excessive as to destroy the crops upon the low lands that are overflowed, and to leave an extensive covering of sand upon the soil. Instances are said to be frequent when rice has been reaped in boats. The droughts are also very severe and ruinous at times. In the latter part of the eighteenth century, there was a drought so extreme, that a famine followed, thousands of people died, and the air was filled with pestilence from the unburied bodies. So many carcasses were thrown into the rivers, that the water and the fish became unwholesome, and as much mortality was anticipated from food thus received as from starvation. To remedy, as much as possible, the evils of drought, immense reservoirs of water are prepared, some of which will occupy an acre of land. These are called *tanks;* are filled by the inundation; and are emptied according to the wants of the husbandmen. Dykes are made along the banks of the rivers to prevent an indiscriminate overflow of the lands in the season of rain. These are often too feeble to resist the swell of water; are frequently broken away;

and the crops ruined in the track of the torrent. The periodical floods of the Ganges and its tributary streams, notwithstanding the sand which they sometimes leave upon the soil, generally enrich it, and render it extremely fertile. The best parts of Bengal are those through which the Ganges and the Burrampooter flow. The soil is a mixture of clay, sand, and decayed vegetation, and is thus made a loam of great fertility. It has a great variety of depth, sometimes a few feet, and sometimes a great number, even twenty or thirty. It is said that sand, the remains of wood, and shells are found below the soil, and are sufficient evidence that the present is not the ancient surface, but is secondary, and comparatively modern. Rice is the principal object of cultivation, as it is the greatest article of food in the country. Wheat and barley of a small kind are produced. Maize, peas, beans, and other sorts of pulse are cu tivated. Different crops are seen surrounding one another, ripening at different periods, and are gathered in such a manner as to do great injury to those which come to maturity last. The husbandry is bad, the fields are not inclosed, the best kinds of grain are not selected, and the arts of agriculture are but imperfectly understood. Were the same pains and skill applied to this class of pursuits as are applied in some parts of Europe, Bengal would be able to feed an addition to its present population of twenty fold. The land is generally level, and surrounded by mountains. The woods are called *sunderbunds*, and many of them on the frontiers of the province are left for defence against foreign invasion. The variety of beautiful trees is very great. The chulta, the tatoon, and the russa are extremely handsome when in bloom.

The number of wild animals is large, and among them the royal tiger is remarkable. He is said to be sometimes five or six feet high, able to carry off a bullock, and possessed of the power to leap an hundred feet. An animal between a bull and a buffalo is called the *gyal*. The horses are Persian and Arabian. The birds are astonishingly tame and familiar. Crows, sparrows, and kites fly about the people in the manner described at Bombay. A species of the stork is called the *adjutant*, because of its martial strut. It eats toads, lizards, serpents, and insects.

Bengal has an internal commerce with Thibet, Agra, and Delhi, in silks, calicoes, muslins, salt-petre, opium, and some other articles; in exchange for which, grain, tobacco, and the betel nut are given.

The carriage by land is effected by oxen, horses, and in a few instances by buffaloes. The latter would be more extensively used, if it were not so difficult to provide suitable food for them. The water carriage is however so easy, and reaches so generally to all places, that it must be the common mode of transportation forever. It is said, that 30,000 boatmen are employed in Bengal and its dependencies. The maritime traffic is by Calcutta principally. The Europeans are engaged in it. "The principal manufactures and articles of trade, which Bengal could furnish to the merchant in great abundance and perfection, are cotton piece goods of various descriptions; calicoes, a name applied to several kinds of cloth, to which no English names have yet been affixed; pack thread woven into sail cloth, and employed as clothing by the mountaineers; cotton canvass, flannel, and blankets; dimoties of various kinds and patterns, and cloths resembling diaper and damask linen; wove silk taffeta, plain and flowered; tissues, brocades, plain and ornamental gauzes; a mixed cloth of silk and cotton; filature silk, and tessa, or wild silk; grain, sugar, tobacco, indigo, salt-petre, hides, gums, liquorice, ginger, and a great variety of medicinal and dying drugs. The articles which are most in demand in Bengal are japan copper, tin, lead, pewter, sandal and sapan wood, all kinds of spices, and a variety of European commodities."—*Edin. Encyclo.*

In a trade with the Maldives, cowries, the shells which are used for coin, are procured; and rice, cottons, and silks, are exchanged for them. The trade with Asam is gold, silver, ivory, and gum lac. The unhealthiness of this traffic secures it to the natives.

The population of the presidency of Bengal is stated at 30,000,000, and half within Bengal proper. Four fifths are Hindoos, and the others are Moguls, who are all Mahometans. The English, Dutch, and Danes have settlements in Bengal.

Calcutta is the capital of this district, and of all the English possessions in India. It stands upon the river Hoogly, extends along the river three miles, and is about an hundred from the sea. The river is navigable for the largest ships as far as Calcutta, and for small vessels still further. The manner, in which this town is built, furnishes a strong contrast between the English and the natives. The English dwell in houses which are extremely elegant, and resemble palaces. They are built of brick, and are covered with the plaster, of which I have spoken at Madras, called *chinnam*,

or as some spell it *chunam*, a cement that admits of a fine polish, and looks remarkably well. The apartments are spacious; verandahs are generally formed as a necessary appendage of a convenient house to which the inhabitants may resort for the best air in the hottest part of the day; and nothing is admitted into the domestic economy which shall obstruct the circulation of the air and the attainment of comfort. Porticoes are made; flights of steps are before the houses; and colonnades give them a magnificent appearance.

The part of the town. where the natives live, is directly the reverse of this. The streets are narrow and crooked; the houses low, small, and ill contrived; they have commonly but one story; and many are built of bamboo, and covered with thatch.

The citadel of Fort William was begun by Lord Clive in 1757, and is an extraordinary fortress, exciting great attention from strangers, and affording the best protection to the town. By some, it has not been thought to be well planned for defence, although it is extensive and magnificent. It might not be as effectual in a time of war as it is imposing in a period of peace, but I should think it impregnable, and that nothing could pass it in the river to attack the town. The barracks are bomb-proof, and can accommodate 10,000 men. The works could mount six hundred pieces of cannon. The arsenal supplies all kinds of arms which are wanted, and I was told that 100,000 stands are commonly kept in it fit for use. The fort is built upon a plain, and not many feet above the level of the river. It was reported to be near two miles in circumference, and is a star fort. The ditch, I think, is thirty feet wide, and twelve feet deep, paved with brick on the bottom, and guarded with brick at the sides. A drain was left in the middle, between two and three feet wide, and the same or a little more in depth. The trenches were kept so clean, and were so cool, that it was common for gentlemen to walk in them in the morning. In case of need, the ditch could be filled with water from the river eight feet deep. The parapet is fifteen feet above the plain, on which it stands, and is twelve feet thick. Trenches were dug fifteen feet deep, behind the platforms for the carriages, with bridges across them, thus affording still further obstacles to the surrender of the fort, even if it should be stormed, and the enemy gain an entrance. The inner trenches run to a sharp angle

at the bottom, and are adapted to wedge the bodies fast which should fall into it. Under the wall within were means for blowing it up, if the occasion required. I walked over the whole repeatedly with those who were well acquainted with the principles of its construction, and with the power it has to annoy an enemy by land or water. It was deemed a perfect security for the town, from which it stands a quarter of a mile. The prospect from it is very beautiful in every direction. The river, the city, the plain, and the distant views, make the walk upon the parapet delightful. The l nd between the fort and the city is appropriated to exercise, relaxation, riding, or any other mode of enjoyment in the open air. The scene is very various, and often splendid. It is a resort for all classes of people, and in the evening the most elegant and costly equipages are displayed there. The diver ity of objects and pursuits affords a fine study for a curious mind.

On one side of this plain is the government house, founded, since I was first there by the Marquis of Wellesly. It cannot be adequately described, either within or without. It must be seen before it can be justly appreciated. The marble hall is a wonderful exhibition of beauty and grandeur in architecture. The specimens of sculpture, which adorn the avenues to it, are appropriate and impressive.

The tank of Calcutta is an object which soon arrests a stranger's attention. This is an immense reservoir of water to supply the wants of the inhabitants in the dry season. It covers twenty five acres; is dug fifteen or twenty feet deep; has a great many springs at the bottom; is in the shape of a parallelogram; and is surrounded by a rail. No persons are allowed to wash in it, though all may take as much water as they want. Stone steps are laid for the inhabitants to go down to the water, whether it be high or low. A large and handsome border covered with grass is between the tank and the fence. Those inhabitants, who can afford it, have water brought to their houses on the backs of men, in the skins of animals, which are used for bags. The skins are dressed whole, and when filled with water have the shape and limbs of the animals from which they a.e taken. The head is downward upon the back of the man who carries it, and the legs project out full. A tap is fixed into one of them, and the water is easily discharged from it. The tank is kept particularly clean.

I have already spoken of the birds of this country. The stork, called the adjutant, has a white breast and thighs, with a dark coloured back and wings. It walks on the parade at Fort William as familiarly as the officers do, and appears to feel as much pride as a beau in full dress. Two or three of these storks will pull a man out of the river as he is floating near the shore.

The jackall abounds here, and helps to remove filth. It sometimes makes a noise exceedingly like the human voice. In the night these animals set up their cries, and you would think that there were multitudes of girls and boys alternately screaming and laughing together.

There are 700,000 inhabitants in Calcutta, consisting of Europeans, and of all the nations of the east. Most of the laboring people are Bengalees, or Lascars, industrious, peaceable, and harmless. Though not athletic, they are active. They are well protected by the English laws, and may embrace any religion which they choose. They are equally protected with Christians, Mahometans, and Gentoos. They are commonly bare footed and bare legged. They have loose drawers made of white cotton, a white frock or jacket, and wear turbans. The females are handsome, wear short gowns and petticoats, with short chemises, and the hair done up with ornamental combs.

The natives are said to be parsimonious, even when they become rich, indulging in little expense except at marriages and religious festivals. Banians, sarkers, and writers engross the retail trade and peddle their goods. They are cunning, and cheat whenever they can. They often sell cheaper than the Europeans. The Moguls are rich, and despise the Gentoos.

It is a common opinion among the natives that the water of the Ganges and of its branches washes away sins. They throw the bodies of their deceased friends into the river, and even put them into the water to die, when the physicians have despaired of effecting a cure. I have often seen them bring their fathers, brothers, and sons, when they were about dying, to the the river on their backs; plaster the mouth, nose, eyes, and ears with mud; and leave them to be carried away by the tide. I have stayed at the bank to watch the conduct of the victims afterwards, and have seen them blow the mud from their mouths and noses; lie still till the water began to rise upon them; turn over upon their faces;

crawl upon their hands and knees to the market place; lie down again upon their backs; and cry out for alms or assistance. They were shunned, their cries were disregarded, and they were considered as losing their cast for having refused the blessing of dying in the Ganges according to the custom and faith of their religion. The power of the clergy over the popular faith is so great, that it is extremely difficult to regain one's standing in a cast, after it is lost by any of the higher forms of impiety. The penance for such an one is so severe that an outcast is seldom restored to favour. The nearest friends will never show them affection or regard while they continue under disgrace. Outcasts are often punished in the following manner. Two hooks are put into the back; these are fastened to the end of a pole which is suspended in the middle about fifteen feet high; a rope is attached to the other end of the pole; drawing this rope raises the victim, who has a basket of flowers in his hands; these he is obliged to scatter upon the heads of the people below, as he is carried round upon the end of the pole, which is fixed upon a pivot, and makes a full circle. They perform some prescribed service by a chant during the punishment. The same custom prevails on the coast of Coromandel. Such is the power of this religion over the faith and feelings of the people. It would be gratifying to us, if no tortures in the persecutions carried on by Christians could be found to compare with this in cruelty. But while the excesses of the dominicans, the barbarities of the inquisition, and the mutual destruction too often effected between opposing sects of protestants, make us ashamed of many nominal Christians, we still remember the purity and benevolence of the religion whose laws are violated whenever its disciples indulge such passions and cruelties.

I have seen one woman burnt with her deceased husband. This practice, which is constantly diminishing, seems to have arisen from several causes. The most natural one is that of attachment to the husband, and of grief at the loss which may easily seem at first to be inconsolable. Another reason is the assurance, given by their religion, that the wife, who proves her fidelity by this extreme suffering, shall live with her husband in paradise forever. It is also an idea, handed down by tradition, that as the ashes of the parties are mingled, when their bodies are burned together, so their souls shall be united in affection and happiness for eternity.

Wives in India, and under the laws and religion of the Gentoos, are considered as entirely at the command of the hushands, and as included in them, in the same manner that the term mankind includes all women as well as all men. On this principle, the wife is to die when the husband does. Some have supposed that the jealousy of the husband extends beyond the grave, and that the wife is to be burnt to gratify this passion. But such a reason is not consistent with the general character of the Hindoos, and is too vile to be admitted without far stronger evidence than has been offered to support it.

When the husband dies, it is common to inquire of the oldest wife, if she wishes to burn herself with his body. If she refuses, the next is asked; and so through the whole number. Whatever might once be thought of a refusal, it is not now considered as a crime, although to make the sacrifice is an honour, and a great distinction. The laws both of the Christians and the Mahometans have tended powerfully to diminish the custom, and a preminm must be paid in order to gain permission to be burnt. This premium is high, and often cannot be paid. When a widow is about to offer herself with the body of her deceased husband, the funeral pile is prepared; the wood is split very fine, and I believe is wet with spirits of some kind to make it burn easily and rapidly; a bed of this is raised six feet square, and two feet thick; the corpse is brought and laid upon it; a priest leads the widow, who steps upon the pile, and lays herself down by her husband, putting her arms about his neck; and his arms are laid so as to embrace her. Two bamboo poles are then fastened into the ground, and are bent over the bodies, crossing each other, the ends being held by two priests. The pile is kindled in several places at once, the fire burns rapidly, and the poles are pressed down upon the bodies till the widow is suffocated and ceases to move. During this ceremony, the priests chant hymns and prayers; and sometimes the voice of the victim is heard for a moment mingling its tones of faith and triumph with the notes of the priests. The bodies are burnt to ashes, and these are preserved; a preservation however which must be temporary, and which is every year of less and less importance.

The cast of bramins once consisted of the most harmless beings in the world. According to their ancient rules, they take the life

of no creature; they eat no animal food; they are very superstitious; they worship idols, and particularly some kinds of cattle; a white cow is perfectly sacred in their eyes. A bramin will brush the earth before he sits down, and pray that as he has been merciful to the ant, the Deity may be merciful to him.

The Hindoos have always been divided into four casts, which never intermarry. The *soodra* is the lowest cast, and includes menial servants. The next is the *byse*, consisting of the merchants of all ranks. The third is the *ketri*, or the military tribe. The kings and rulers belong to this cast. The last and highest is the cast of the *bramins*. The sooddras are from the feet; the byses from the belly; the ketris from the heart; and the bramins from the head of Brama. Notwithstanding the ancient purity and benevolence of the bramins, they are now often immoral, ignorant, and cruel. Many of them do honour to their cast, but like all other classes of privileged men, there are many also extremely corrupt. The learning of India is confined to them, and they have the same divisions and theories, on subjects of literature and science, which prevail among Europeans. I have been told by learned men that the Greeks borrowed much of their philosophy from the Bramins. Although I dislike to quote from any book much, yet this is a subject with which I have no acquaintance, and must therefore use the language of others. In the article brachmans, the Endinburg Encyclopedia says, "It is now pretty well ascertained. that the arithmetical characters now employed in Europe are of Indian, and not of Arabian origin as was long supposed." "We find regular systems of logic and metaphysics with all the niceties, distinctions, and clas ifications, which are to be found among the Grecian dialecticians; and it is doubtful whether Aristotle, the father of logic, did not derive both his materials and arrangement from India. A Mahometan historian, as quoted by Sir William Jones, records a curious anecdote corroborative of this conjecture. He mentions that Callisthenes procured a regular treatise on logic in the Panjab, and transmitted it to Aristotle; and perhaps curiosity may yet be gratified by discovering, that the Grecian philosopher did not invent, but translate and compile a system of dialectics. One thing is certain, that there is scarcely a notion, which has been advanced by metaphysicians, in ancient or modern times, but may be found asserted and illustrated in some of the

braminical writings. We meet with materialists, atomists, pantheists, and intellectualists, if we may so denominate the followers of the subtle and ingenious system of Berkeley. There can be little doubt that Pythagoras borrowed most of his mystical phylosophy, his notions respecting the transmigration of the soul, and the unlawfulness of eating animal food, from the ancient Bramins; for we find all these things particularly explained and enforced by the modern Bramins. They still abstain from all kinds of animal food, except that in some provinces they eat a little fish, but so disguised with rice and condiments, as scarcely to be discerned. The most sacred of all their animals is the cow, and to touch its flesh in the way of food is regarded as the highest pollution, and involves a forfeiture of cast, even in the case of those who have been involutarily guilty of this offence. Hence the tyrant Tippoo forcibly converted a great many of his Hindoo subjects to the Mussulman religion by sprinkling them with cow broth. By these means they were forever rendered unclean in the eyes of their countrymen and were glad to seek an asylum from reproach by embracing Mehometanism."

The casts regard their laws so much that it is difficult to get them to do any thing out of their order. No man will do any kind of labour, which does not belong to his cast. A military man considers himself as disgraced by any other employment. When the sepoys, who are of the military cast, were with us on the coast of New Guinea, I could not get a musket from them, although on any other occasion they would have trembled at my frown, and would have done any thing sooner than disobey a regular order. I have seen one seized, and flogged at the gang-way for stealing a ball of twine from the sail maker, and when he was asked what he had to say in his own defence, he said with a boast that he was of the thief-cast.

Those, who go amongst them to convert them to Christianity, err when they begin with the outcasts. This is sure to disgust all the natives, who have not forfeited their casts, and whose principles and hopes are identified with a religion which makes them sacred. If the higher casts could be affected, the lower ones would follow. But all plans for this object must be extremely slow in their operation.

The river Hoogly is of the first importance to this country, although its navigation is considerably difficult and dangerous. A pilot must be obtained soon after you pass Point Palmiras. Many vessels are built for this service, and are called pilot schooners and snows, although they are often rigged as ships and brigs. They are of two hundred tons, and upwards. They are excellent vessels, and well found with cables and anchors. The branches of the Hoogly are numerous. One crosses into the Ganges eastward, and one runs westward many leagues below Calcutta, called the old Ganges. The mouth of it is one of the mouths of the Ganges, which are numerous. It is filled with reefs of sand, with banks and shoals, and cannot be entered without a pilot. At the junction also of the Hoogly and the Ganges there are dangerous banks, and ships are lost upon them. Formerly there was no quay at Calcutta for the use of ships in loading or unloading their cargoes; but now one is built, and a great extension of it is designed. Ships of all nations lie in the harbour.

Calcutta stands upon low, marshy, and unhealthy land. Its latitude is 22° 23′ north, and its longitude 88° 28′ east. It was extremely fatal to European constitutions; but now the tanks or ponds in and near the city are filled up; many woods are cleared away; and many of the causes of disease are removed. Still however a rosy face marks a stranger among the sallow and bilious countenances of the inhabitants.

The market of Calcutta is good. The vegetables are exceedingly cheap. Cowries are the only kind of coin used in the market, and they are very convenient.

The cattle of this country are all with humps upon their backs, are small, but the beef of a good flavor.

There is here a kind of hemp called *jute*, eight or ten feet long after it is dressed. It is excellent in all respects, but will not bear tar, and therefore is not suitable for the use of ships.

Benevolent institutions are frequent in Calcutta, and are well patronized. The college of Fort William, founded by Marquis Wellesly, since the date of this chapter and my first visit, has been too much neglected, and an erroneous theory has prevailed in England in regard to the best mode of educating young men destined for India. The Asiatic Society, founded by Sir William Jones, is said to be extremely flourishing.

The Governor General resides in Calcutta, who is over all the English possessions, in India. The system of jurisprudence as it is administered by the courts, is excellent in Calcutta. It protects as perfectly the natives as the Europeans, and knows no partiality or corruption.

The famous "black hole" of Calcutta which was held sacred for a long time, and was so in 1794, is now converted into a ware house, or what is called in the east, a *go-down*. The history which hasgiven celebrity to this, which was once a place of confinement, is short. In 1756, Surajah Dowlah, the adopted son of the old Soubah of Bengal, formed a design to drive the English from the country. He summoned his forces and attacked Calcutta, of which Mr. Drake was then governor. This governor was alarmed, pretended to be a quaker, and fled for refuge, with some of the principal persons of the city, to some ships which were lying in the river, and made their escape. Mr. Holwell then took the command of the fort, in which the English force was stationed. He had but 250 effective men. After a brave resistance, which was unavailing, Mr. Holwell hung out a flag of truce. A negotiation with Surajah Dowlah was terminated by a promise from this Soubah that no injury should be done to Holwell and his party, if they would surrender themselves. This promise was treacherous and Holwell with 146 persons was driven into the dungeon, called the Black Hole, a cubical apartment 18 feet on each side. The night was hot even for the climate, and there were but two windows, with iron bars, and both on the same side of the cell, for the admission of air. Heat, thirst, and suffocation subjected them to the most excruciating misery. Their perpetual cry was water and air. A message was sent to the Soubah for relief, but he was asleep, and no one dared to wake him. The prisoners sucked their clothes to obtain the water furnished by their own perspiration. In three hours one third of the whole number perished. At length the Soubah waked, and after inquiry, as he thought that Holwell could tell where a treasure in money was concealed, he let them out of their confinement. Of the 146 twenty-three survived, and were released, but with a putrid fever. The Soubah laid Calcutta in ruins. But the following year, the town was retaken by the English, vengeance was inflicted, and the Soubah was put to death. His successor paid a large sum to the English Com-

pany for this outrage, and as a pledge of future tranquillity. A monument is erected near the spot to perpetuate the infamy of this transaction, the treachery and cowardice of Drake, and the fortitude and bravery of Holwell and his associates.

Serampore is the only possession of the Danes in Bengal. It is a small town on the Hoogly, about three leagues above Calcutta, and on the opposite side of the river. One ship of the Danish East India Company annually visits it, and takes a cargo. The trade is of very little consequence to any other persons. It is a place of resort for all those in this part of the world, who are not Danes, and who are afraid of the laws of other European powers in India. The means of living are cheap, and the society not very good.

Chandernagore was formerly a possession of the French in Bengal, but since 1793 has belonged to the English. It is nearly twelve miles from Calcutta, on the west side of the Ganges, and built a mile along the bank of the river. The fort, which was once strong, is now in ruins. Large and heavy buildings, which demand a firm foundation, must be placed upon piles, because water is so soon found in digging into the earth. The town was held as a pledge by the English, which they were to give up, when the French government became settled, and should cease to interfere with the rights of other nations.

Chinsurah or Hoogly, is on the west side of the Ganges about seventeen miles north from Calcutta. The Dutch obtained it from the Moors, and erected a good fort. The town is built irregularly; the houses are of brick, covered with chinnam, and look very well. They have terraces on the top which furnish a pleasant place of resort in the evening for the inhabitants in parties of friends. The huts of the natives are of mud and straw, and have little light. The markets are good. The English have taken this place from the Dutch since I was there.

The Bay of Bengal is bounded on the south west, west, and north west, by the island of Ceylon, the coast of Coromandel, of Golconda, of the Northern Circars, and of Orissa; on the north by the mouths of the Ganges; and on the north east, east, and south east, by Mogor, Arnacan, coast of Ava, Pegu, Martaban, Tasserim, and a part of the island of Sumatra, leaving the south open to the main ocean. It is sixteen degrees from north to south, ly-

ing between 6° and 22° north latitude. It is about the same distance from east to west. The eastern side of it has a chain of islands stretching from 7° to 16° north latitude, reaching nearly to Pegu. The most southern are called the Nicobar, the next Car-Nicobar, then the Andaman, after which is a number of small islands all the way to the main land north and east. The navigation of the bay is pleasant during the north east monsoon, but during the south west, it is sometimes very tempestuous, and is considered by seamen as one of the most difficult and hazardous.

The wealth of the English in India is immense. The trade of the country is regulated nearly as they please. Bombay and Calcutta are famous for the fine ships which they build. At Calcutta there are many European ship builders who send out as good vessels as any in the world. It is the exclusive privilege of the East India Company to send vessels this side of the Cape of Good Hope. The cargoes of the country ships, as they are called, are far more valuable than we are taught to suppose. I have known ships to take each from Canton four or five lacs of dollars, i. e. 400,000 or 500,000, in a season, and there were thirty or forty such in a year. It is a common idea, that all the dollars which are carried to China remain there. This was the fact when I first went there; but the English Company have since established a much better system. They offer to merchants and ship masters, who have money to take away from Canton, to give them drafts for it on England, Bengal, Bombay, or Madras. This is practised and all parties are benefitted. The company obtains the dollars, and the country merchant has what is better for him in the transportation and use.

I left Calcutta with a friend, Jeremiah Stimson, who owned the ship Three Brothers, and was about to sail for Philadelphia. He was so kind as to offer me a passage with him gratis, an offer which I accepted, leaving the country with but one gold moore. My high hopes were thus disappointed, and my mind wounded and mortified. Stimson was friendly and generous towards me, and labored to cheer my spirits, but my accumulated losses, and especially the loss of Mr. Van Braam's property, preyed upon me constantly. My motives were perfectly pure and honest, I knew, in making the purchase of the Hector in the Isle of France; but on reflection, the attempt to manage so large an enterprise with so

small a capital was unwise, and now caused me much self reproach Those, who knew all the circumstances, said, that if we had arrived at Calcutta six months sooner, or six later than we did, we should have made a fortune. But hazards of this kind always exist, and we went beyond our depth, and suffered the unhappy consequences. Others if they choose may gain some warning from this; but the tale is too old to permit me to moralize upon it. I took great pains to inform Van Braam of every thing respecting this business; and he at last let me know, through the medium of friends, that the whole affair was settled at the insurance office.

On our homeward passage, we stopped at the Cape of Good Hope. Mr. Stimson had raised a man to the command of his ship, who had made considerable money in his employment. This captain was desirous of having a survey made of the Three Brothers, as he thought the ship was not sea worthy. In this case the ship would have been condemned, the owner must have made great repairs on her, and in all events must have suffered considerably. I reminded the capain of his ingratitude in this desire to have a formal survey in the Cape of Good Hope by strangers, and told him that we were capable of judging of the real state of the ship for ourselves. Most of us were seamen, and for my own part I was born in a shipyard, had been a master builder of a number of vessels, and was competent to make the survey alone. I mentioned the repairs which I had made upon the Danish ship in Canton, and the satisfaction my work had given. I also mentioned, for the purpose of saving unnecessary expense and pain for my friend Stimson, and to convince the captain of my qualifications to judge in this case, that I was called at Bombay to survey a ship in dock of a thousand tons, which had been condemned by a jury of twelve men. I did not know at the time that the ship had been condemned. The gentlemen, who were in the secret, followed me round and through her. I directed the carpenters to open the work at the places which were most likely to be decayed, such as under the lower port sills, the water ways, the false stem, the hooden ends, the main transom, the feet of the counter timbers where the decks come, the lower deck round the hatch-ways, and different places between wind and water. I used pod augers, and not the screw, because the latter always tear the wood, whether it be sound or not. After seeing this, and hearing my remarks, the jury altered their ver-

dict, as it had been given the preceding day, and declared that she could be repaired for one fourth of her value. By such representations, and with much difficulty, we persuaded our captain to permit us to examine the Three Brothers, and not to call in strangers. I found the breast hooks rotten, the stem drawn from the works because the bolts had not kept their hold in the breast hooks, and the hooden ends opened more than two inches wide. These are a part of a ship that ought to be particularly guarded in the building, as the bobstays, made fast to the stem, are always straining upon it. I went on shore and examined all the hard timber in town for a breast hook, but none suitable could be found. I was informed that a ship had been cast away near what is called Lion's Rump, and that I could get from the wreck such timber as I should want, if I would go to it in a waggon with a Dutchman. I made the attempt, but found no timber that would answer my purpose. I then took the best which could be had in town, but that was very unsuitable, from which I made two breast hooks as strong as I could. I then drew the stem into its place as nearly as possible, put in bolts as thick as could be useful, horsed whole strands of cable into the hooden ends, made them as hard as hemp could make them, filled in with pieces of wood corner wise over the caulking, making it bear on the stem and the bows, and spiked it fast and strong. After this the ship did not leak. Having finished the repairs of her, we procured all kinds of provision and stock which we wanted. We put to sea and nothing important happened on our passage to America.

The spirit, with which I met my friends in my native country, after so long an absence, was far different from what it would have been, had I not been the sport of so many disappointments. The smile upon my countenance was mingled with mortification, and my observation was alive to every symptom of neglect or affected pity which might appear in the conduct or salutations of my acquaintance on shore. My experience has taught me how different is the reception which a sailor meets after a prosperous voyage from that which he finds when his hands are empty, his dress thread bare, and nothing but his wants abundant. The fulness and richness of his presents produce a smile and a welcome which form a painful contrast to the cold and scanty sympathy his poverty excites. This train of thought however may very easily be followed too far, and

become unjust to the character of human nature. It is unquestionably true, that the poor and disappointed man is often too jealous on this subject, and puts an erroneous and unjust construction upon conduct which is neither mercenary nor heartless. There are many, whose good feelings are not measured by the prospect of remuneration, but flow more warmly as there is less expectation of pecuniary reward. But it must be acknowledged, that I never saw my native country with so little pleasure as on my return to it after a disastrous termination of my enterprises and my hopes. The shore, on which I would have leaped with delight, was covered with gloom and sadness to my downcast eye and wounded mind. Whatever resolution and stubborness may be able to accomplish in outward conduct, the heart must feel its losses and its mortifications, and reveal to conscience the secret of our affectation in the indifference, which we assume for the moment of meeting and salutation.

To complain however was useless. I went to work with what skill and strength I had, and with what spirits I could revive within me. After a time, they returned to their former elasticity; I transacted a good deal of business; I took the head of a ship yard as master builder; and found the benefit of employment in the restoration of my cheerfulness.

My brother and myself built a small ship of two hundred tons and more, with the plan that I should take a voyage in her to the Pacific Ocean. She was launched and fitted; the company for the voyage was formed; and she was manned and armed for the South Pacific, and for the north west coast of America. A suitable cargo for this coast was put on board; eleven six pound guns were mounted; a crew of thirty men was shipped; and every thing was prepared for a double voyage.

From my experience I offer a few remarks on fitting ships for this trade. The vessel ought to be new, good, and strong, or at least nearly new, and always sound. On no account, and under no circumstances, ought an old decayed ship to be employed for this voyage. The common expression, "I believe she will perform the voyage *well enough*," is a disgrace to the judgment and feelings of him who uses it; it shows a feeble, inefficient mind, and a spirit of self-defeating economy. There should never be a doubt as to the fitness of a ship for such a long voyage. She ought not merely to be able to perform it with something like a luck which par-

takes of the miraculous, but should be qualified, in the judgment of an honest and decided man, for the hazard, without an *if* or a *but* remaining. The fair conclusion should be "I know that she will perform the voyage, if any ship can." She should be at least two hundred tons, and never four hundred, as so large a ship is never required. She should be always coppered, and the metal should be fresh. Except when whales, or seals, are the object of the voyage, and the ship is to return immediately to America, she should be armed, and that according to the tenor of the voyage. If she goes to China, with what is necessary for that market, she should have from six to ten guns, some of them long to reach objects at long shots. Every part of the armament should be of a good quality that he who commands may always know on what to depend. The difference is a trifle between the best and that which is mean, a difference which none but a halting mind would regard. The guns ought all to be of one calibre to prevent the mistakes that are usually made without this, in taking cartridges, shots, ladles, sponges, and rammers, in the time of action. Let every article of the rigging be good, and let every ship have a large surplus of all kinds, as well of cavass, blocks, and twine, as of ropes. The provision should be of good quality, and put up in such good order as to be unquestionable. Put the bread in new casks, or in those which have been filled with brandy, and are well dried, any other liquor tending to give the bread a bad taste. They must be air tight, or the bread will surely spoil. Butter, lard, and pickles should be put into double casks, the outside one filled with salt or brine. The beef and pork for such a voyage ought to be packed with peculiar care, and the cheap kind as it comes into the market should not be purchased. I have had beef put up by Samuel Greggs, which I have carried round the world in a three years voyage, half the time between the tropics, and out of nearly an hundred barrels I never opened one in which the beef was not as sweet and good as when it was first put up. I brought some of it home to Boston again, which was cooked, and considered as corned beef. As a contrast to this, I have known beef, which was put up in this place, spoil in six months, and be thrown over board. This is no small or unimportant difference; and it is an article demanding much more attention than it commonly receives. There should be a large stock of beans, peas, dried apples and whortleberries, pickled cabbage, pigs and cattles feet

and ears, tripe, and pickles of various kinds. Take plenty of live stock, and a great abundance of water. To crown the whole, keep the stores in the best order. Let the hold, and all parts of the ship, be thoroughly and constantly aired; keep the hatches off in good weather; employ wind sails freely to force the air below; and remember the necessity of this to preserve the provisions, or a perishable cargo. Have frequent examinations or overhaulings. See if the casks are out of order; inspect the powder; and have it turned over once in every two months. Mark one side of the barrels with an X; stow that side up; and in two months put it down. One half of the powder in the casks will be spoiled without this precaution.

In voyages for seals, you must have men who understand the business, and not raw hands, who will certainly make it a losing enterprize. Out of twenty, which should be the least number for a crew, the captain and six others at least ought to be able to teach the rest their business with skill. Such a set of men will do more and better than twice the number of those who are untaught. Let every man depend on his share of the seals for the voyage. In no other way will the men do well. Including what has been previously received, half the voyage may be computed and paid at Canton, as a fair principle. The shares to prime seamen, or sealers, should be one per cent or a hundredth part of the voyage, where there are thirty men belonging to the ship including the captain and officers. The money is to be divided after the expense of the boats for carrying the skins to Canton from the ship is deducted.—No other expenses are to come from the skins. The perquisite of the captain should be ten per cent. on all that can be realized from the cargo in the return of the ship. The cargo for the north west coast should consist of coarse cutlery, iron hollow ware, tin, iron, hard ware, blue cloth, blankets, bread, molasses, honey, sugar, and different kinds of arms. But no man should attempt to fit a ship for that voyage except one who has been concerned in the trade. At least, a ship should always be fitted under the direction of a man who has had this experience.

These remarks upon the mode of fitting out ships for such long voyages as those to the North West Coast, I hope may be regarded more than I fear they will be. The difference of expense between doing this well, and doing it ill, is small; but the difference of character, implied in the two modes, is immense. One is

humane, honorable, magnanimous, and the source of a pure and manly pleasure; while the other is mean, selfish, inhuman, pusillanimous, and the source of nothing but self reproach, where apathy has not taken entire possession of the heart.

I now come to the close of a chapter, which is also the close of a series of voyages in foreign countries, some fortunate and happy, and others disastrous and afflictive. My recollections of the time, spent with commodore McClure and his officers, are full of interest and pleasure, mingled indeed with regret that such feelings, as I then enjoyed, should not be longer in continuance, and able to bear a greater variety of vicissitudes. At that period, my mind was elastic, and ready to draw agreeable emotion from every companion, every object, and every event. But the trials and depressions, which I have since met and endured, have taken away this elasticity of the faculties and the affections, and have left me with that kind of tranquillity which always succeeds the permanent disappointment of our high hopes, and which is some compensation for their loss. Chastised expectations, a sort of contentment with ordinary comforts, diminished activity, and the small still pleasures of a life of peace, without much responsibility remain.

In the voyage of survey and discovery among the oriental islands, I had an opportunity to learn much of the human character in various circumstances, and under various institutions. Virtue and vice, happiness and misery, are much more equally distributed to nations than those are permitted to suppose who have never been from home, and who believe, like the Chinese, that their residence is in the center of the world, of light, of privilege, and of enjoyment. National prejudices, to a certain extent, may be very useful, and possibly necessary; but they are always attended by considerable evils in the narrow and intolerant spirit which they perpetuate, and in the contentions which they produce. The more enlarged a mind becomes in its views of men and the world, the less it will be disposed to denounce the varieties of opinion and pursuit, and the more it will enjoy the benevolent results to which wisdom and philosophy point. A narrow mind chafes itself by its own prejudices; but a man, who is accustomed to generalise his observations, principles, and feelings, and to subdue his prejudices by a practical philanthropy, acquires an habitual superiority to the inequalities and provocations of society, and has learned the divine art of extracting good from evil.

CHAPTER XV.

Departure from Boston in the ship Perseverance—Passage to St. Paul's Islands—Description of them—Fernando Noronha—Passage to the Falkland Islands—Description of them—Patagonia, the east coast of America, and Straits of Magellan—Port Famine—Passage round Cape Horn.

ON the 10th of November, 1799, we took our departure from Boston light, and made the best of our way towards Cape Horn. After leaving Boston, we had the wind variable (as usual,) till in latitude 30° north, and longitude 42° east, by account, when it veered to the eastward, and kept us from making any more easting till in latitude 25° north, by account. It then hauled to the northeast, and gave us an opportunity to reach the longitude of 26°, by observation. We were then in latitude 5° north, and found we had had more than eight degrees of easterly current since we left Boston. It then changed and set to the west and northward, at the rate of one mile an hour. We had very disagreeable weather after we passed below the latitude of 12° north, with constant rains, a hot sultry air, and calms, till the sails were mildewed whilst hoisted, and every thing on board the ship was covered with a blue mould. In this place we began to feel the south east trade winds, which cleared the air, and the rain ceased. In latitude 3° 30′ north, the southeast trade winds took place and continued steady; but blowing more from the south than from the east, till after crossing the equator.

On the 23d of December, at two P. M. we saw three small islands bearing west by south, two or three leagues distant. We bore away, and at three, P. M. were abreast of them. We hoisted the small boat out, went on shore, and found them to be nothing more than a cluster of craggy rocks, about one fourth of a mile in length from north to south, and nearly as much from east to west. No sort of vegetation existed upon them. These rocks are five in

number; but there are only two of any considerable magnitude. Their greatest extent is from north-north-east to south-south-west; the two largest nearly connect with each other, and form a kind of harbour, or place of shelter for a boat, on the north-west side. Here we made shift to land; but obtained nothing except a number of boobies. When we were on shore it seemed the most dreary spot I ever saw, the sea roaring and surging on all sides. Two smaller rocks were lying off to the south-south-west of the large ones, and one very small to the north east. When on the highest part, which was at least an hundred feet above the surface of the sea, I could not discover any dangers but what showed themselves above water; nor could any be discovered from the ship. We caught plenty of fish in the harbour, or basin, and at six, P. M. returned on board. Sharks were numerous about the ship, and our people, in attempting to take them, lost a number of hooks and lines, and broke several pair of grains. We sounded within two miles of the islands, but found no ground with a line of eighty fathoms. At eight, P. M. we made sail, and had pleasant weather during the night.

These rocks are called in the chart, St. Paul's Islands, and are very erroneously laid down. We observed their latitude to be 0° 55′ north, and longitude 30° 15′ west. They may be seen at the distance of three or four leagues, and always make like three sail when first seen. They are very dangerous if fallen in with in the night. The current near the islands sets north-north-west one mile an hour. The islands, which are above the reach of the surf, are covered with birds' fæces. They were hatching their young when we were there. The month of November would be the season to procure eggs at this place: they could be obtained at that time in abundance. They are not very sweet, all oceanick birds' eggs being fishy.

We continued our course till the 25th, when we saw the island of Fernando Noronha, and passed to the westward of it. This island lies in latitude 3° 56′ south, and longitude 32° 32′ west. From this we had a free wind round Cape St. Augustine. I think that any ship, which can keep to the eastward far enough to see this island, if she is under the necessity of passing to the westward of it, may always make a safe passage to the southward round this cape between the month of September and the month of March.

Fernando Noronha is very remarkable for a peak upon it, which is called the pyramid. It looks at a distance like an immensely

high steeple or tower; and I should suppose was several thousand feet high. We found a westerly current when in sight of this island, setting very strong; and as we experienced the same near St. Paul's Rocks, it must have continued ever since.

It is necessary here to mention, that the longitude laid down by me in this voyage, is from Greenwich, by a series of lunar observations, taken with good instruments, and may be considered in general correct.

We continued our course to the southward with fine breezes and pleasant weather, running along the Brazil coast. The winds were gradually hauling from the south east to the north east as we proceeded, and continued till we were in the latitude of 28° south; after which they became variable. We continued our passage until the 26th of January, 1800, when we anchored in North West Harbour, in one of the Falkland Islands, where we found the Diana of London, commanded by captain John Lock. She was an English whaler, that came last from Botany Bay round Cape Horn. Two sailors deserted from her, and came on board my ship, unknown to me. Their names were George Giles, an extraordinarily faithful and confidential man, and James Blake, a man of an opposite character. I mention these particulars, because it is probable that there will be something more said on this subject hereafter.

The extreme north west point of the Falkland Islands lies in latitude 51° south, and in longitude 62° 15′ west. As we had no observation near the westerly part of the islands, the above longitude cannot be depended upon within 10 or 15 miles. The land trends from the north west extreme nearly south east, by the compas; consisting of several large high islands, which are intersected by islets, rocks, and shoals, as you sail to the eastward. They are so thick together, that it is difficult for a ship to pass through them, and it is my opinion that it would not be safe to attempt it. The tides run so very strong, on the full and change of the moon, that the tide rips could not be distinguished from the shoals; and if there is not a very strong breeze of wind, a ship cannot be commanded when amongst them. We attempted to pass through, when the Grand Jason bore about south, finding a good opening, and seeing from aloft that it looked clear; but after we had got this island to bear south west, or more westerly, we discovered that the whole sound ahead was filled with shoals, lying in a direction north east, and

south west, all along to the eastward of the Grand Jason. We had to wear ship and stand out to the westward, through a different passage from the one we entered, into the open sea again.

The next day we attempted going through a passage still further to the eastward, and passed to the northward and eastward of the shoals, which were seen by us the day before within two or three miles of them; then crossed to the westward of an island called Elephant Island, between it and a small island and reef that lies off its west end. Elephant Island is large and high, lying about east by north from the Grand Jason, and six or seven leagues distant. We crossed over to the west end of a large island called Grand Maloon, and found a fine harbour named West Point Harbour, which is the first as you pass to the eastward, (if you make the westerly part of the group first) among the islands. This harbour is easily known when near it. The land on the west end of this large island, appears like a harbour at some distance, and when near it, coming from the northward, it makes in nearly south, and then turns short round to the eastward, and runs up about two miles into a deep cove. In passing up, there is an opening out to the southward, which is likewise good coming in, or going out.

The Grand Jason lies nearly north west from West Point Harbour, about five or six leagues distant, and will serve as a guide, as it can be seen twelve or fifteen leagues in any direction. It appears like the top of a tureen that goes up to a sharp ridge, with the largest way standing north east and south west. It is very regular, and has an even surface. West Point Harbour is in latitude 51° 27′ south, and longitude 60° 36′ west, by the best observations we could obtain; but subject to a few miles errour. When we left the harbour we sailed out of the passage we came in at, and stood to the south west, between the Grand Maloon and Grand Jason; but nearest the former. We saw no dangers but what showed themselves at a sufficient distance to be avoided; and it is a general rule to be observed, when among these islands, that all shoals or ledges show their situation by the kelp that grows round them. There is a wide long sound to the northward of the Grand Maloon, running to the eastward, called Byron's Sound; and Elephant Island lies in the middle of its westerly entrance; but the clearest passage is to the north. A long chain of islands is to the northward of Elephant Island, which makes the north side of the sound.

I know but little of the land further to the eastward, but have been informed, that it runs much further in that direction than we saw; and that the main body of the land lies to the eastward of our anchoring place, and also that there are many good harbours further to the eastward. Forty or fifty miles south of the Grand Maloon lie what are called the New-Islands, but we only saw them at a distance. They extend much further south, and as I have understood from others, afford many good harbours.

West Point Harbour affords plenty of fresh water. The most convenient place for obtaining it is near the head of the cove on the south side. There is no wood to be got here, except it be some drift wood. There are great numbers of geese at this place, but they are very fishy. Wild hogs may be hunted on the island that forms the west side of the harbour.

The Spaniards have a settlement on the easterly end of the Grand Maloon. They are chiefly convicts from the west coast of S. America, River of Plate, &c. They cultivate the common necessaries of life; but these islands are a very barren group, affording no tree, bush, or shrub, that grows spontaneously. We saw no quadrupeds except one fox, which we shot, and some wild hogs on the small island to the westward of the Grand Maloon; but I have since been informed, that on some of the islands foxes are numerous. There are a few seals, both of the fur and hair kinds; but they have been principally destroyed, and the few that remain, are so shy that it is very difficult to get near enough to kill them. Very large sea elephants are likewise found here. Six or eight barrels of oil are sometimes made from one of them. They resemble the seal, but have no hind flippers like them, and their tail is more like that of a particular kind of fish. The seal and the elephant are similar to a dog in the fore part of the body, only the fore flippers, or paddles are much further from the head, than the fore legs of a dog; and from the middle, the body tapers away in the form of a fish. The elephant, like the seal, is covered with hair.

Several kinds of salt water birds are found here. Some of them are good to eat. One that is called the upland goose is a very sweet tender bird, and nearly as large as our tame geese. It is of a reddish grey, and is always found on the upland, near fresh brooks or ponds. The ducks are similar to the wild ducks of this country, and are good eating. Teal is likewise found here.

All the others are not palatable; being so strong and fishy, that most people would refuse them when they could get salt provisions. What are called low land geese, are the most eaten of any of the fishy kinds, and look like our tame geese. The males are of a variegated colour, white and dark gray, chiefly white; the females are mostly grey, and resemble the brant of this country, when seen flying. They are not quite so large as our geese, and live about the shores, feeding on shell fish and kelp, which gives the flesh a very unpleasant flavour. They are so tame that I have often shot four or five times into a flock before they would rise.

There are three kinds of penguins found here, the king, the macaroni, and jackass. The king penguin is as large as a goose, walks erect, its legs projecting directly out behind; it stands upright, and at a distance resembles a man. The breast is white, head and back nearly black, mandibles tapering and sharp at the points, long strips of red feathers, resembling eyebrows, over each eye, running down two inches on the neck, giving the bird a very handsome appearance. The macaroni penguin is not more than two thirds as large as the former. It is like them except the colour, which differs a little, being more white about its throat; and instead of the red feathers over the eyes, it has a number of long fibres or feathers, resembling the long hairs round the mouth of a cat, giving it a macaroni look, from which it takes its name. These two kinds lay their eggs on the ground in rookeries, as will be described hereafter. The jackass penguin, is so called from the noise it makes, and from its not being so handsome as either of the other kinds. Its note very nearly resembles that animal's bray. It does not differ much in size or colour from the last described, but is smaller if any thing. It goes on upland to make its nest and lay its eggs. It digs holes under tussucks and in any ground clear of stones, commonly choosing the side of a hill, where there are not any tussucks for them to dig under. They go on shore at night, male and female, and after dark set up the most disagreeable noise or braying, that can be imagined. Neither kind has any wings; their little fins or flippers only serve to help them swim.

The next remarkable bird here is the albatross. It is the largest bird that I know of which gets its living out of the sea. There are two or three kinds of them; the largest is of a greyish

colour, and shaped exactly like our sea gulls, having a remarkably large head and beak, and will bite very hard. They have monstrously large feet, one of which would nearly cover the bottom of a water pail, and their wings are fourteen feet from tip to tip. They lay their eggs in rookeries. There is a smaller kind, of a white colour on the breast, and black on the back of its wings and head. They lay their eggs like our field birds, making their nests on the sand promiscuously. There is one other kind between the two described, resembling the former in colour, but smaller in size, which lays its eggs like the first. There are also shags, gulls, cape hens, gannets, and a number of other kinds of birds, all of which lay their eggs and hatch their young in the same manner.

The remarkable manner in which these birds make their nests and hatch their young, in what are called rookeries, is a great curiosity, and may be interesting to many of my readers; I shall therefore attempt to give a description of it. When they commence a rookery, they choose a piece of ground that is level and as clear of stones as possible, in the vicinity of the water, and lay out the land in squares, the lines running through at right angles, as true as they could be drawn by a surveyor, leaving the squares just large enough for nests, with room for alleys between them. They carry away all the stones which they can find or root out of the ground, and lay them outside of the outer walk, which would commonly be ten or twelve feet wide, running round on three sides of it; leaving the fourth side next the water open. The outer walk round the rookery was made as level, regular, and smooth, as the side-walks in any of our cities. They would many times occupy from three to four acres; but some of them are much smaller. After they had got their rookery prepared, each one chose and took possession of one square for a nest. All the different kinds of birds that lay in the rookeries, except the albatross, make their nests as one family, and are governed by one law. They never leave their nests for a moment until their young are sufficiently large to take care of themselves. The male stands beside the nest when the female is on it, and when she was about to get off, he would slip on, as soon as she made room for him; for were they to let their eggs be seen, their next neighbours would steal them. The king penguin was foremost in thefts of this nature, and never neglected an opportunity to rob those near him. It sometimes so hap-

pened that when they hatched out their young, there would be three or four kinds of young birds in one nest.

To stand at a little distance and observe all their movements, was worthy the contemplation of a great mind. The observer would see them going round the outside walk, in pairs, fours, sixes, and different numbers in a company, appearing like officers or soldiers walking on a parade, whilst the *camp* or rookery seemed to be in continual motion, some going through the alleys to their mates, while others were coming out. To view all that was doing, and the regularity in which it was performed, appeared incredible, when we consider that it was effected by no higher a rank of animals than birds. They are very numerous in all such places, as there are none to molest or make them afraid. All these species of birds obtain their living from the sea.

It appeared to me that something handsome might be made of these islands, were due attention to be paid to them. The soil is very good and clear of rocks, and capable of easy tillage. There are plenty of good fish to be caught amongst them, and what is called the right-whale. It is now an excellent place for a ship to refresh at, as she is passing. The climate is very healthy; but the weather is dreary and misty the greatest part of the time.

When any ship is bound from Europe or America towards Cape Horn, or to the Cape of Good Hope, if between September and April, she should cross the equator in west longitude, between 28° and 30°, and fall in near the Brazil coast about cape St. Augustine, when it seldom or never fails to blow a strong breeze from the north-east quarter constantly, with a current setting in the same direction with the wind. It is considered necessary to keep as far to the eastward as to make the island St. Antonio, the westernmost of the Cape de Verd Islands, when the passage will always be sure as to easting. In making a passage between the months of March and September, cross the equator as far to the eastward as 22° and keep to the eastward as much as possible afterwards, as on the coast of Brazil the wind will draw very much from the southward at that season of the year.

As we saw much of the coast of Patagonia, and Terra del Fuego, and have obtained considerable information concerning them, the following remarks may be useful to mariners, and interesting to the readers generally.

The coast of Patagonia, from the latitude of 44° south to the straits of Magellan, is a rough ragged coast, indented with deep bays and coves, and most parts lined with rocks and dangers. The direction of the coast is about south by west; but it is of a very irregular shape, having a gulf, or bay, called St. George's, between the latitude of 44° 40′ and 46° 40′ south, making very deep into the land; from the southerly part of which the country is but very thinly inhabited; the shores are barren, and produce but little vegetation. The straits of Magellan are very difficult to pass, when bound to the westward. They are filled with shoals and dangers, and have such deep water in them in many places, that a ship could not find anchorage. The prevailing westerly winds, which blow a great part of the time between the two high lands, render it very difficult for a ship to make a passage this way. I have not known a ship to pass through them for many years, and all, that ever did, experienced much more difficulty than they would to have made the passage round Cape Horn. It is generally known, that these straits separate the island of Terra del Fuego from the southerly extreme of the continent of America. They make in on the easterly side, in latitude 52° 30′ south, and longitude 68° west, running seven degrees of longitude west, which, with the crooks and windings, must make it near twice that distance through.

There was once a settlement formed in these straits by the Spaniards. They sent three or four hundred people, and left them at a pleasant place, for that climate, which has since been named Port Famine. They were all left to famish and die, not having any supplies sent to them. The place has been since visited by several English commanders, who report, that they found several traces of what those people did in cultivating the land. There were many garden spots, some trees, &c.; but before any thing came to maturity sufficient for their subsistence, the poor creatures starved to death.

For the information of the reader I shall here insert an extract from the Journal of Captain Wallis's voyage round the world, in command of his Britannick Majesty's ship Dolphin, who touched at this port. He says.—"At this place, the Spaniards, in the year 1581, built a town, which they called Phillippeville, and left in it a colony, consisting of 400 persons. When our celebrated naviga-

tor, Cavendish, arrived here in 1587, he found one of these unhappy wretches, the only one that remained, upon the beach: they had all perished for want of subsistence, except twenty-four; twenty-three of these set out for the River Plata, and were never afterwards heard of. This man, whose name was Hernando, was brought to England by Cavendish, who called the place, where he had taken him up, Port Famine. It is a very fine bay, in which there are room and conveniency for many ships to moor in great safety. We moored in nine fathom, having brought Cape St. Anne north east by east, and Sedger river south one half west, which perhaps is the best situation, though the whole bay is good ground. In this place there are very good wooding and watering; we caught many fine fish with a hook and line off the ship's side, and hauled the seine with great success, in a fine sandy bay, a little to the southward of Sedger river: we also shot a great number of birds of various kinds, particularly geese, ducks, teal, snipes, plover, and race-horses, and we found wild celery in great plenty. The latitude of this place is 53° 42′ south, longitude, by observation, 71° 28′ west; the variation is two points easterly. We anchored here the 27th of December 1766, and sailed again the 18th of January, 1767."—*Hawksworth's Coll. vol. I, p.* 411.

The following is from Commodore Byron's Voyage, on the same subject.

"The next day at noon, having had little wind, and calms, we anchored in Port Famine, close to the shore, and found our situation very safe and convenient: we had shelter from all winds except the south east, which seldom blows, and if a ship should be driven ashore in the bottom of the bay, she could receive no damage, for it is all fine soft ground. We found drift wood here sufficient to have furnished a thousand sail, so that we had no need to take the trouble of cutting green. The water of Sedger river is excellent, but the boats cannot get in till about two hours flood, because at low water it is very shallow for about three quarters of a mile. I went up it about four miles in my boat, and the fallen trees then rendered it impossible to go farther: I found it, indeed, not only difficult but dangerous to get up thus far. The stream is very rapid, and many stumps of trees lie hidden under it: one of these made its way through the bottom of my boat, and in an instant she was full of water. We got on shore as well as we could; and afterwards, with

great difficulty, hauled her up upon the side of the river: here we contrived to stop the hole in her bottom, so as that we made a shift to get her down to the river's mouth, where she was soon properly repaired by the carpenter. On each side of this river there are the finest trees I ever saw, and I make no doubt but that they would supply the British navy with the best masts in the world. Some of them are of a great height, and more than eight feet in diameter, which is proportionably more than eight yards in circumference; so that four men, joining hand in hand, could not compass them: among others, we found the pepper tree, or winter's bark, in great plenty. Among these woods, notwithstanding the coldness of the climate, there are innumerable parrots, and other birds of the most beautiful plumage. I shot every day geese and ducks enough to serve my own table and several others, and every body on board might have done the same: we had indeed great plenty of fresh provisions of all kinds; for we caught as much fish every day as served the companies of both ships. As I was much on shore here, I tracked many wild beasts in the sand, but never saw one; we also found many huts, or wigwams, but never met with an Indian. The country between this fort and Cape Forward, which is distant about four leagues, is extremely fine; the soil appears to be very good, and there are no less than three pretty large rivers, besides several brooks.

"While we lay here I went one day to Cape Forward, and when I set out I intended to have gone farther; but the weather became so bad, with heavy rain, that we were glad to stop there, and make a great fire to dry our clothes, which were wet through. From the place where we stopped, the Indians had been gone so lately, that the wood, which lay half burnt, where they had made their fire, was still warm; and soon after our fire was kindled, we perceived that another was kindled directly opposite to it, on the Terra del Fuego shore; probably as a signal, which if we had been *Indians* we should have understood. After we were dried and refreshed at our fire, the rain having abated, I walked across the cape, to see how the strait ran, which I found to be about W. N. W. the hills as far as I could see, were of an immense height, very craggy and covered with snow quite from the summit to the base. I made also another excursion along the shore to the northward, and found the country for many miles exceedingly pleasant, the ground being in

many places covered with flowers, which were not inferior to those that are commonly found in our gardens; either in beauty, or fragrance; and if it were not for the severity of the cold in winter, this country might in my opinion be made by cultivation, one of the finest in the world.

"I had set up a small tent at the bottom of this bay, close to a little rivulet and just at the skirts of a wood, soon after the ship came to an anchor, where the men were employed in washing: they slept on shore; but soon after sunset were awakened out of their first sleep by the roaring of some wild beasts, which the darkness of the night and the solitariness of their situation in this pathless desert, rendered horrid beyond imagination: the tone was hollow and deep, so that the beasts, of whatever kind, were certainly large, and the poor fellows perceived that they drew nearer and nearer, as the sound every minute became more loud. From this time sleep was renounced for the night, a large fire was immediately kindled, and a constant blaze kept up: this prevented the beasts from invading the tent; but they continued to prowl round at a little distance with incessant howlings, till the day broke, and then to the great comfort of the affrighted sailors they disappeared.

"At this place, not far from where the ship laid, there is a hill that has been cleared of wood, and we supposed this to be the spot where the Spaniards formerly had a settlement. One of the men, as he was passing over this hill, perceived that in a particular part, the ground returned the sound of his foot, as if it was hollow: he therefore repassed it several times, and finding the effect still the same, he conceived a strong notion that something was buried there; when he came on board, he related what he had remarked to me, and I went myself to the spot, with a small party, furnished with spades and pickaxes, and saw the spot opened to a considerable depth, but we found nothing, nor did there appear to be any hollow or vault as was expected. As we were returning through the woods, we found two very large skulls, which, by the teeth, appeared to have belonged to some beasts of prey, but of what kind we could not guess.

"Having continued here till Friday the 4th of January, and completed the wood and water of both ships, for which purpose I had entered the strait, I determined to steer back again in search of Falkland Islands."—*Hawksworth's Coll. vol. I, p.* 37.

The land is good in some of its vallies, and no doubt would produce sufficient to support inhabitants, were the settlement taken care of, till they could get underway. The wicked deed of sending people to starve and die, when so many means were so near to prevent it, seems unpardonable.

The island Terra del Fuego takes it name from its formerly having been very noted for volcanoes, and I believe they burn on some part of it at this time. It lies between latitude 52° 20′, and 55° 50′ south, and between longitude 65° and 75° west, and is inhabited by a race of poor half starved miserable beings, who are very little removed from the brute creation. They live on fish and seal's flesh, when they can get them. They eat the seals raw and nearly rotten. Their numbers are but small. The land is very mountainous, and in general is clothed with wood to the summit. Some parts of the island appear pleasant, especially on low, or moderately elevated points, and in valleys, which have been burned, and by some means cleared, and over which the grass has grown. All the south side, to the eastward of Cape Horn, in passing to the westward through Strait le Maire, is interspersed with small islands. I have landed on many of them, and found them sterile, dreary places, affording very little verdure. A certain kind of green tussuck grows on some of these islands, and likewise at the Falkland Islands. It grows up as large as a half barrel tub, and some are four times that size. It has a covering which appears like beautiful green velvet. I do not know of what substance they are under the covering, but they emit a clear transparent white balsam, which comes out on the surface in large bunches, and is considered by some to be of an extraordinarily healing nature.

Staten Land is more sterile than Terra del Fuego, being nothing but a body of craggy sharp pointed mountains; the sea surging against all sides of it with great violence; but there are several very good harbours on its north easterly side. All that can be obtained from this island is wood, water, and some few seals, and good fish may be caught round its shores. The islands round Terra del Fuego afford a few seals of both the fur and hair kinds.

In making the passage round the cape, it is best to keep within three or four leagues of the easterly side of Terra del Fuego, if to the northward, when sailing to the south and eastward, until Strait le Maire is opened. By keeping on that side it cannot be

missed. The land trends so fast to the eastward, that if the strait is not opened soon, it is evident that it has been passed. It is very easily discovered in sailing from the westward, near the land; but if you fall in on the Staten Land side, and do not make the strait open, the land will soon be passed, and the main ocean open to the southward. The strait is about five leagues wide; but as the land is very high on both sides, it does not appear so much until entering it. The distance through this strait is very short, nothing more than passing between two islands. There is a very level point of land that projects out from Terra del Fuego to the north east, and forms the north west entrance of the strait. It is green, low land, running in a gentle slope to the water. If a ship falls in with the north east end of Staten Land, I would recommend to go to the eastward of it, for in going through the strait, there will be a current setting to the northward, the most part of the time, running very strong, with a swell that generally rolls in from the south west through it. It is clear of danger and may be passed in the night with a fair wind. When through, the course must not be more to the westward than south by west, by compass, until to the southward of Cape Horn; on account of the islands that lie on the south east side of Terra del Fuego. These islands are dangerous if kept too close on board in the night, or in bad weather, or fog; as a ship may be swept in amongst them by the very strong tide that sets here. There is very foul ground amongst them, towards the Cape. We had much trouble one night to get clear of these islands and rocks after we had got into the midst of them.

On the 1st of February, having filled up our water, and procured what drift wood we could find about the shores, we took our departure from West Point Harbour, directing our course towards Cape Horn, and on the 8th, passed Strait le Maire, with a north west wind. Our course was south, and south by east, against a violent head sea, which made the ship labour the most of any sea I ever experienced. We continued working off Cape Horn from the 9th of February till the 12th of March, before we considered ourselves fairly round. Sometimes we stood close in with the islands about the cape, and then off to the southward into latitude 60° south. The winds blew for the most part of the time from the westerly quarter, between west north-west and west south-west, strong gales; not allowing us in general to carry more sail than a reefed

foresail and storm staysail, which made us very uncomfortable, as our ship was deep waisted, and kept half filled with water a great part of the time. The sea was tremendous during the gales, rolling in mountains from the westward; but the weather was not worse than I have seen in other high latitudes, in many places. I would here remark, that off all promontories the winds blow with much greater violence than in open sea. The high land always attracts the wind, and between two mountains, or two islands, or passing near any high land, the current of air moves with much greater velocity than it does on level ground, or the open ocean.

In taking a departure from the Falkland Islands, it is best to go out between them as far to the westward as the wind will permit, always bearing in mind to make westing when convenient (if bound round the cape) as you will find it difficult in general. I should always recommend to keep to the westward of these islands if you do not stop at them. The wind blows in these latitudes three quarters of the year from the westward, and by keeping that point best on board, it will be more likely to be fair. When drawing nearly up with Strait le Maire, keep the land of Terra del Fuego best on board, it will be found to trend round to the south and eastward, so that it will be easily known when near it.

As we did not experience any extraordinarily dreadful gales of wind, off the cape ourselves, and as there were several other ships off the cape at that time which did, and as we have at other times found reports differ very much, I make the following remarks, and leave no other way to account for the difference but by allowing that all men do not see and think alike. I have observed the thermometer of some men's minds to be filled with light inflammatory matter which rises easily, and occasions them to see a great deal of the dismal. Others are filled with genuine mercury, which will not rise without a cause. These last seldom see such extraordinary phenomena. For instance, Captains Dampier, Cook, and La Peyrouse, three of the greatest men that ever traversed the globe, never represented any such terrible difficulty in doubling *Cape Horn*, or in navigating other seas, as men of smaller abilities have. One reason, why some see things so magnified, is, their being new to them, and at a great distance from home; but after being more acquainted with dangers, and more accustomed to traversing distant regions,

they would become familiar and not appear so horrid; and would not be troubled with such uncommon difficulty afterwards.

Cape Horn is the most southerly projecting land, and is an island separate from Terra del Fuego, and not very easy to be known. There is a great number of islands before you come up with it, which appear to be the last land to the southward. When up with the cape, although it is an island, it looks like the main land; and the coast trends much faster to the westward in drawing near it, than further to the eastward. I will here add, that it is best for one who is not well acquainted, and has no business with the coast, not to make too free with it. If the wind blows strong from the westward, it is best to stretch to the southward as long as a ship will lie on that tack and make any westing. By these means she will be more likely to obtain a wind, that will enable her to get to the westward of Terra del Fuego.

In the months of February, March, and April, the winds are strong and pretty constantly from the westerly quarter. In the three winter months, which are June, July, and August, it is easier, as I have been informed by others, to make a passage round to the westward, (and of course at any other season of the year,) than in the three months first mentioned. We found a strong current setting to the eastward until we were considerably to the westward round the cape. We saw the land on the west and northward of the cape for some distance, and stood close in with it several times on different parts of the south west side of Terra del Fuego. The coast close on board was found much clearer of dangers than that to the eastward of it. We passed two groups of islands off to the south west of the cape; one of them is called Diego Ramirez, the other has no name that I know of; but the weather was so extremely bad we could see but little of them, and shall only give their latitude and longitude as near as possible. From what we saw, there did not appear to be any dangers at a distance from them.

There are soundings several leagues from the land round the Cape, on the north east side of Terra del Fuego, and through Strait le Maire. Cape Diego is the northeast cape on the westerly side of the strait, and is the low green point which has been before described, in latitude 54 33′ south, and longitude 64° 6′ west. Cape Good Success, which is on the southwesterly side of the strait, is in latitude 55° 1′ south, and longitude 65° 27′ west. Cape Horn,

lies in latitude 55° 58′ south, and longitude 67° 26′ west. Islands Diego Ramirez, in latitude 56° 25′ south, longitude 68° 40′ west. The other group of islands, which has been before mentioned, having no name, lies in latitude 56° 51′ south, longitude 70° 40′ west, by the best calculation we could make; but the longitude of the latter group is very uncertain.

There are innumerable swarms of birds on the islands round Terra del Fuego, of the same species with those which have been described on the Falkland islands. Several kinds of excellent fish may be caught on its coast, and in the harbours. Whales are plenty all round on the east, south, and west parts of its shores. Plenty of fowls, which are good to eat, may be shot, with very little trouble; such as geese of various kinds, seven or eight kinds of ducks and teal, plover, curlews, snipes, partridges, quails, and many others. There are many kinds of birds of a beautiful plumage found here. From my own knowledge, and from what I have been credibly told by those who have visited these parts, I have no doubt but there are several kinds of animals on the main island, such as foxes, hares, and rabbits.

CHAPTER XVI.

Description of the Coast of Chili—Chiloe Islands—Baldivia—Mocha—Conception—Valparaiso—and Quoquimbo.

WHEN as far to the westward as longitude 78° 00′ west, it will do to stand to the northward, by the latitude of Cape Pillar. The winds will not incline so much from the north west, after passing that cape as before; probably owing to the shape of the land, which runs from Cape Pillar to the south east a great distance, and no doubt causes the wind to blow in that direction. By standing to the northward by Cape Pillar, which is the south west cape, and Cape Victory the north west cape of the Straits of Magellan, on to the coasts of Chili, before obtaining a sufficient offing, there would be great danger of being driven on shore, or among the Chili islands, should a ship be caught in a gale of wind, so that she could not carry sail for any considerable length of time.

On the 12th of March, as has been before stated, we considered ourselves far enough to the westward of the cape, to stand to the northward with safety. We then found ourselves in latitude 49° 30′ south, and longitude 86° 20′ west, by account; which, after making all allowances for the easterly current and bad reckoning, led us to suppose we were to the westward of 80°; but on the 18th we obtained several sets of lunar observations, which placed us in longitude 77° 40′ west, and at the same time, by reckoning, it was 86° 50′. The latitude was 41° south. Variation of compass 16° east. I would here remark, that it is very difficult to obtain observations for longitude, in making a passage round Cape Horn, on account of thick weather; and that all ships find a strong current setting constantly to the eastward. We found the winds blow chiefly from the south west, after getting to the northward of latitude 50° south, and as we advanced in this course it gradually hauled to the southward and eastward.

On the 26th, we saw the island of Juan Fernandez, and landed upon it; and on the 31st, arrived and landed at Massa Fuero. A particular description of these islands will be hereafter given. From this we continued our course to the northward, on the coast of Chili. We will here give a description of this coast, beginning at its southern extremity.

All the coast of Chili, from latitude 52° 00′ south, or from Cape Victory down to latitude 41° 40′ south, is one continued chain of islands, inlets, shoals, and dangers; and if driven in amongst them, there would be great danger of losing the ship, and all the crew perishing; as this coast is one of the worst that is known, for a ship to be cast away upon. I became very intimately acquainted with a Spanish commander by the name of Calminaries, who was with Malispeena, when he surveyed this coast. He informed me, that there were many good harbours amongst these islands; but were very difficult of access. Hair seals were to be procured; but it was hazardous for a vessel to go to look for them.

After passing down the coast below the last stated latitude; it is in general clear of dangers. The climate becomes mild, and the weather pleasant. In latitude 40° 5′ south, and longitude 73° 20′ west, lies the town of Baldivia. This is the most southern Spanish settlement of any importance on the main coast of Chili. It is celebrated amongst the Spaniards in that part of the world, on account of the man whose name it bears, and because it is one of the strongest places on that coast. The next place of any consequence is Conception, which lies in latitude 36° 47′ south, and in longitude 73° 6′ west, and has a spacious bay. Valparaiso lies in latitude 33° 1′ south, and longitude 72° 4′ west. Coquimbo is in latitude 30° south, and longitude 71° 16′ west. These four ports are all which the Spaniards have on the coast of Chili, of any consequence. There are other small ones; but none that are large enough to receive ships. The country, from the latitude 42° 00′, to latitude 27° 00′ south, is cultivated, and produces all kinds of provisions in the greatest plenty. They are most easily procured near Conception and Valparaiso.

The Spaniards have settled the island of Chiloe. Its northern extreme lies in latitude 41° 40′ south. It is a great place for catching and curing fish. I have had several hundred weight of them. They exactly resemble the cod, which is caught in the

bay of St. Loire, and are a very delicate table fish. It also abounds with very excellent timber, suitable for ships and other buildings, and common cabinet work. "Chiloe, a considerable island, being one of the goverments of Chili, seated on its coast in the Southern Pacific Ocean in the gulf of Chonos, or the Archipelago of Guaytecas, and separated in its southern part from the continent by a narrow sea, which forms a bay. It is about 140 miles in length, by 30 in breadth. It lies between 41° 40′ and 43° 50′ south latitude. The principal harbour of the island, on the north coast, is Chacao, which is said to be well fortified and capable of good defence; and at Culbuco, which is larger, resides a corregidor, nominated by the President of Chili, and also regidores and alcaldes, chosen annually. Besides the parish church, this place has two convents, and a college of Jesuits. The island is well peopled with Spaniards, mulattoes, and Indian proselytes."—*Rees' Cyclo. vol. VIII. from* CHA *to* CHR.

In latitude 38° 28′ south, and longitude 74° 4′ west, lies the island of Mocha; famous amongst whalemen and sealers, for wild horses and hogs. They are numerous on it, and it is common to go on shore and shoot them for fresh provisions. I have eaten of the horse beef, which was very good. The island formerly had black cattle upon it; but either the ships' people which stopped there, or the Spaniards, have destroyed them. It lies about fifteen miles from the main land, has a tolerable harbour, or anchoring place, on its northerly part; is moderately elevated land; good soil, and would be valuable if settled and well cultivated. The longest way is from north to south, not more than eight or nine miles, and two-thirds of that distance in width. There is an island called St. Maria, in latitude 37° 00′ south, and longitude 73° 34′ west, which will be described hereafter.

In navigating this coast at any time between the months of October and April, the weather is pleasant, and the wind three fourths of the time from the south east, in moderate, steady breezes. I think I never witnessed such serene, pure air, as on this coast in summer; but in winter the winds are from the northward one half the time, from latitude 33° 00′, to 40° 00′ south, and blow at times very strong, when torrents of rain fall. Off from this coast lie Juan Fernandez, the famous place of Alexander Selkirk's exile, and Mas-

sa Fuero. To the north of them, lie St. Ambrose and St. Felix. These places will be hereafter described.

The country in the kingdom of Chili is remarkable for its mountains. A chain of them, of stupendous height, extends from near latitude 50° 00′ south, down to the equator, with very few passes across them. Those which are farthest to the south are called the Andes, and this name is sometimes given to the whole chain, both those that run through Chili, as well as those that run through Peru. But the most common names given them at present are, those in Chili are called the Andes, and those in Peru the Cordelieras. They lie nearly parrallel to the shore, from fifty to an hundred and fifty miles inland. I have seen them most part of the distance, from latitude 40° 00′ south, to near the equator; having sailed along all that coast, frequently within five leagues of the land, and having an excellent opportunity of observing them. They sometimes are not visible in clear weather, when five or six leagues off shore. This is probably owing to their not being so high, or lying further back from the sea at some places than at others. They are sometimes to be seen partly covered with snow. Volcanos exist in the range, and particularly near the sea coast. There can be no doubt but they are the highest mountains in the world. The appearance of them is magnificent beyond description, when viewed from a ship's deck, eight or ten miles off shore; particularly when the sun is near setting, and the atmosphere clear; it then shines on their westerly side next the sea; in some places beautifully shaded, where one mountain stands a little in front of another, making the most interesting and splendid appearance that can be conceived of.

The next remarkable objects of this country are the mines of gold and silver, which have spread its fame over the four quarters of the world. In the kingdoms, as they are called, of Chili and Peru, there are great numbers of them; though but few that are profitable. I have seen a great quantity of copper at the port of Coquimbo, which was brought from these mines. It is valued much higher than the copper of Europe, being, as I understood, mixed with gold.

I was informed by the Spaniards when at Conception, that there were rich mines to the southward, in Chili, which they do not work, because the natives are so formidable in their vicinity.

and are their enemies. I had it from undoubted authority, that there are natives in the southern interior of the kingdom of Chili, whom the Spaniards have never conquered, and to whom they are obliged to pay tribute, to keep peace with them; and that they had followed them over some parts of the Andes, where it was so cold that some of their men and horses were frozen to death, in crossing the mountain. After crossing it, they discovered one of the richest countries they had ever found in South America, for gold and silver; but the metals were not attainable, owing to the difficulty of crossing the mountains. The latitude of this rich country must be as high as 40°, or upwards, south. I will here remark, that I have spent nearly six months at one time in the port and city of Conception, always having the privilege of associating with the first class of people when I chose it. This gave me an excellent opportunity to get the most correct information of this country, which I improved to the best of my abilities, both at that time and at several other visits which I afterwards made, of from one to three months each.

The north head or westerly entrance of Conception bay is in latitude 36° 30′ south, and in longitude 73° 25′ west, from the best calculations we had an opportunity to make, subject however to an error of a mile or two, as we had no observation near it. In sailing into the bay or harbour, keep to the southward, when running for the port. This precaution is necessary also in making any harbour on the coast of Chili, especially in the summer season, as the prevailing winds are from the south east. In running along the coast there will be seen two remarkable hills, which lie to the south of the entrance of the bay, about four or five leagues distant. They are called the Maiden's Paps, or Dugs of Conception; resembling a woman's breasts, by which they have obtained their name. A bay makes in to the northward of the Paps, and a river to the southward; but after passing the small bay to the north of them, the coast trends about north, till coming up with the north head or westerly entrance into Conception, off which lie two small rocks, one white and the other black. The white one is the largest. The other lies to the north of it. When the head is passed, bring it to bear east, and then make an island, called Quiriquina, lying east from the head, in the middle of the passage into the bay. This island will not be opened distinctly till the head has

been considerably passed; it will then be safe to haul in for its north end, and sail pretty near to it round to the eastward, and the bay will be open to the southward. The main land must not be kept too near on board when abreast the island, on account of some rocks that lie off the shore. After passing this island to the south a short distance, it will be best to keep the east side of the bay best on board, on account of some dangerous reefs, that lie on the west side above the island. When near the head of the bay, in six or seven fathoms water, it will be safe to stand westward, keeping the south shore on board; the reef will be left to the northward, and anchor in the same depth of water off the port of Talcaquana. This stands on the south west side of the bay, where will be found soft clear ground, sheltered from all winds except the north, and that much broken by the island before mentioned, which lies about three leagues distant, and forms one side of the bay. Its breadth is about two leagues from east to west. There are very regular soundings all the way from the island to the port, or anchoring place, decreasing from twenty fathoms near the island, to the depth laid down to anchor in. There is a passage to the westward of the island, but I should not recommend a ship to go that way, if it can be avoided. It is an easy place to go into, and is a good harbour, affording every kind of refreshment. The inhabitants are a kind and friendly people. The landing is very convenient, on a smooth gravelly beach, directly in front of the town, for landing and taking off a cargo, or stores. This place is healthy and handsomely situated. Its situation is low, being a skirt of land that lies between the mountains and the water. The land to the north and south of it is high. The houses are principally built of clay, which is baked in the sun, similar to the method that has been described in page 161, and covered on the roof with crooked tiles, made and baked in the shape of half a split reed, being twelve or fourteen inches long, and six inches wide. These crooked tiles are laid one end upon another, from the lower edge of the roof up to the ridge pole, in straight rows, so as to form troughs near enough together for the same shaped tiles to cover the edges of two; the tiles are then placed on them the other side up, one lying upon another as before. This of course turns all the water into the hollows, and it runs off the building in spouts. It is my opinion that it is the best

and cheapest way that can be adopted to cover the roof of a house. The first cost of the tiles would not be any more, and perhaps not so much, as a roof of boards and shingles would be; and when they are well laid,and mortar at the same time put over the joints of the tiles, there would be no danger of their leaking. It is not necessary to have any more wood to form the roof than strong rafters, or pieces up and down, placed six feet distant from each other, and battens laid across them near enough together for the ends of the tiles to rest upon. They must be as near together as the length of the tiles. A roof made in this manner would not be very heavy, the tiles are not more than three quarters of an inch thick. If people should get into the way of making this kind of tiles, they could make them cheap, and regular as to size and shape.

The port of Talcaquana is nine miles from the city of Conception, in a north west direction, through a fine level plain. After leaving the port, there is a small hill to cross. The road then, for about three miles, runs parallel with and near the shore, where there is a beautiful beach on one of the branches of the harbour. It crosses near the head of several small creeks, between them and fresh ponds, which are drained into them. It is defended by two batteries, one lying on the easterly side of the port, on low ground. The guns are not more than fifteen or twenty feet above the level of the sea. The other is to the north west, on the side of a hill, between one and two hundred feet above the level of the water, and has seven or eight heavy guns in it, twenty-four or thirty-two pounders They have a very commanding situation. That to the eastward has about the same number of guns; but is much better built. The two forts can cross each other's fires, when playing on a ship in the road. Their situation could not be better chosen to defend the place.

I shall here insert an affair, which I think will be amusing to the reader, that happened about the time I arrived here in February, 1805, carrying into port the Spanish ship Tryal, the particulars of which will be described hereafter. On our landing, we found all in confusion, the Spaniards having taken us for two English ships coming to revenge the injury which an English ship had sustained at that place about a week previous to our arrival. The circumstances were these: Two English whale ships came in to this place for refreshments, and to repair some damages; not

knowing of the difficulties which existed at that time between the two countries, in consequence of the English having attacked four Spanish frigates that were going to Spain from the River of Plate with money on board, taking three of them, and sinking the other This had occasioned the Spaniards to stop all English ships. These two English whale ships were the Betsey, commanded by captain Richards, and the Thomas, commanded by captain Moody, who had his wife with him. They came in and anchored within a quarter of a mile of the forts. The Spaniards sent a guard boat on board, with the captain of the port, to offer any assistance they might stand in need of, and to invite them on shore. The two captains accepted their invitation, and ordered their first officers not to let any Spaniards come on board in their absence, (having some suspicions that the Spaniards were not sincere.) They went on shore with the captain of the port, and were very politely received on the beach by a number of officers, who, after escorting them to the captain of the port's house, and placing sentinels at each door, informed them of the existing difficulty, and that they should take possession of their ships. The English captains told them the ships would not be given up in their absence. Three or four large boats, filled with troops, attempted to go on board, and being refused, the Spaniards fired on them. The ships returned the fire. The two batteries then opened their fire upon them, and the Thomas soon gave up. The chief officer of the Betsey, whose name was Hudson, (a man of extraordinary bravery,) cut his cable, and his ship swung the wrong way, with her head in shore, passing within several Spanish ships, which, with every vessel in the harbour, that could bring a gun to bear, together with three hundred soldiers in boats and on ships' decks, and the two batteries, all kept up a constant fire upon him. The wind was light, nearly a calm. The shot flew so thick that it was difficult for him to make sail, some part of the rigging being cut away every minute. He kept men at the guns, and when the ship swung her broad side so as to bear upon any of the Spanish ships, he kept up a fire at them. In this situation this brave fellow continued to lie for three quarters of an hour, before he got his topsails sheeted home. The action continued in this manner for near an hour and a half. He succeeded in getting the ship to sea, however, in defiance of all the force that could be brought against him. The ship was very much cut

to pieces, in sails, rigging, and hull; and a considerable number of men were killed and wounded on board.

Hudson kept flying from one part of the deck to the other during the whole time of action; encouraging and threatening the men as occasion required. He kept a musket in his hand most part of the time, firing when he could find time. Some of the men came aft and begged him to give up the ship; telling him that they should all be killed—that the carpenter had all one side of him shot away—that one man was cut in halves with a double headed shot, as he was going aloft to loose the fore topsail, and the body had fallen on deck in two separate parts—that such a man was killed at his duty on the fore-castle, and one more had been killed in the main top—that Sam, Jim, Jack, and Tom, were wounded—and that they would do nothing more towards getting the ship out of the harbour. His reply to them was, "Then you shall be sure to die, for if they do not kill you I will, if you persist in any such resolution." Saying at the same time, "Out she goes, or down she goes." Meaning that the ship should sink if she did not go out of the harbour. By this resolute and determined conduct, he kept the men to their duty, and succeeded in accomplishing one of the most daring enterprises, perhaps, ever attempted.

I had the above particulars from the two English captains, with whom I became acquainted after I arrived, and from many different persons who were at the place at the time; and also from some of the men who were on board the Betsey, whom I saw after I left this port. A Spanish, officer who commanded one of the batteries, told me, that they fired one hundred and thirty 32 pound shot from their battery at the Betsey, and the other battery as many, or more; besides what the ships and soldiers had done.

There is a great trade carried on between this port and Lima. Many ships are employed in carrying wheat from here. This country abounds with it for many degrees north and south. They also carry boards, spars, and timber; some wine, raisins, and other dried fruits; considerable of the herb of Paraguay, the production of the plains of that name, and is that which the inhabitants call *matte*. It is the tea of the country, and very much drank by all classes of people on the coast, and in all the country of Chili and Peru. The country here, like the other ports of Chili, is well cultivated, and abounds with the best of provisions. They make

great quantities of very good wine; and have all the quadrupeds that are common to this country, and so plenty, that the people purchase them from one another at the following very low rate: for a good bullock, four dollars; a good horse, twenty, and common ones from four to eight dollars; sheep for half a dollar; and other flesh meat in the same proportion. Foreigners are charged more for what they purchase.

The feathered race of animals far exceed any thing of the kind I ever saw, particularly for those good to eat. The Spaniards here are not allowed to use fire arms in common, and as they have no Indians who hunt them, they are very plenty and tame. I have often gone out by permission on horse back, and shot a horse load in three hours; killing seven different kinds of ducks and teal, with various other sorts of fowls. The shores, water, and pastures in this vicinity, are covered with them. They have the finest fish, and in the greatest variety, of any place I ever visited. There are gold and silver mines near Conception; but not plenty enough to make much account of. The riches of this country consist in what is produced from the land, not from what is dug out of it. This city was founded two or three leagues further to the northward than it now stands, on the easterly side of the bay, and was called Pinko. It was removed to where it now is because of earthquakes; the old town or city being now quite deserted on that account.

The ladies of this place vie with any I ever saw in point of beauty. They are modest, mild, and very agreeable. Their dress is a little singular, as they wear the old fashioned hoop round the waist, of an extraordinary size; but to a gentleman who has been accustomed to travel, it would not be worthy of much notice. They are rather partial to the Americans and to Englishmen. I never can think it a crime to reciprocate their sentiments. The Spanish gentlemen are the noblest spirited men I ever was acquainted with. The idea that is entertained of their being a very jealous people, is not true. I never saw gentlemen more free from it.

In the city and port of Conception and its vicinity, there are about fifteen or twenty thousand inhabitants of all descriptions.

I shall here introduce the subject of Valparaiso, with Capt. Vancouver's remarks, which we found generally correct. He says —"ships destined to the port of Valparaiso, should endeavour during the summer months, to make the coast well to the southward of

the bay, in order that a fair wind may be insured for entering it. The southerly winds, which in general extend sixty or seventy leagues from the coast, mostly prevail until the month of May; and from the middle of that month during all the months of June, July, August and September, I was given to understand the prevailing winds were from the north. These winds are commonly attended with great quantities of rain, and very foggy weather; but they do not often blow with much violence, as soon as the wind returns to the southward the dry season commences, and so it continues, with little variation, during the remainder of the year. These winds, however, frequently blow very strong, so as to break vessels adrift, though well secured by anchors on the shore near to the town of Valparaiso. Within four or five leagues of the point of Angels, which is the western point of the bay, is a low rocky point, near to which is a detached high barren rock. These points lie from each other north 51° east to the northward of the above low rocky point, are some scattered rocks, that lie about two miles from the point, and about a fourth of that distance from the shore, and to the northward of these rocks, is a sandy bay, on the north east side of which is a house. In this bay, I was led to believe that anchorage might be had, though the situation is certainly very much exposed.

"The point of Angels, (off which are also some rocks, lying very near to it,) may be approached by sailing at the distance of half a league from the shore, and as soon as the point is passed, the town of Valparaiso is instantly discovered. About seven miles to the northeast of this point, is a cluster of rocks, lying at some distance from the shore, on which the sea breaks violently; but we had no opportunity for ascertaining their situation with any degree of precision. The bay is about four miles wide, and about a mile deep, apparently free from any sort of danger; but as it is greatly exposed to the northerly winds, the trading vessels constantly moor with two good anchors and cables in that direction, and with other cables fast to anchors on shore, in five or six fathoms water, soft sandy bottom, near the custom house; by which means it is expected that the officers of the revenue may be enabled to prevent any contraband trade, by vigilantly attending to their duty in the day time, and rowing guard during the night. The depth of the water gradually increases with the distance from the shore, to thirty

six fathoms, and the bottom becomes more tenacious. In the depth of sixteen fathoms, in which we took our station, it is very stiff clay. Here we moored a cable each way to the northward, and to the southward; the point of Angels bearing by compass north 35° west. The fort in the town, north 86° west. The redoubt on the hill, south 5° east. The church of Almandrel, south 65° east. The east point of the bay, north 57° east, and the nearest shore south 7° west, a cable's length distant.

"On the top of a hill, on the east side of the bay is an open, or barbed battery, lately erected with stone and brick, and capable of mounting ten guns; this battery commands all that side of the bay, the beach, and the village of Almandrel. On the summit of another hill, is a stone redoubt, of a circular form, with embrasures. These command the beach and village of Almandrel to the eastward; the bay to the northward, and the town and harbour of Valparaiso, to the north westward. Although this fortification was in a most neglected and ruinous condition, we were given to understand, that the principal magazine was inclosed within its walls. The largest and most considerable fortification, is in the middle of the town, within which is the residence of the governor. It is situated on a small eminence, one side of which is open to the sea, and is separated from it by a very narrow pass. The height of the town wall, which is strong and well built with masonry, is about fifteen feet to the embrasures, of which there are six that point to the sea; two face the street to the eastward; and two look into the market place, to the westward. The upper part of the hill is surrounded by another strong wall, about ten feet in height; and half way up the hill a third wall crosses it, which shews three embrasures to the sea; immediately over the fort and governor's house. At the place where this wall terminates, which is near the summit of the eminence, the side of the hill falls perpendicularly down into a deep gully; by which the fort is encompassed, and which might be the means of rendering this fortification unassailable; and a place that might long be maintained, were it not for other hills within musket shot, which command every part of it. The space enclosed by the town wall, is about four hundred yards in length, and in some places about one hundred in breadth. Here are the barracks for the troops, and at the upper end is a building in which a court is held for the regulation of the police

of the town. A door in that side of the wall, which points to the market place, is the only entrance; and leads by a winding staircase to the different parts of the fortification. There is another fortification about half a mile from the fort, situated on the west side of the bay, at the foot of a high hill, and but little elevated above the level of the sea. This shews a face of five embrasures to the east, and in that direction commands the west side of the bay; three embrasures, to the northward, are so disposed as to be able to open upon any vessel, the instant she passes round the point of Angels; whilst two others, to the southward, command the ships lying in the harbour, or the bay. We computed that these several places contained about seventy pieces of cannon, many of which were without proper carriages, and some were lying dismounted under the walls of the town battery, in the town.

"From the western fort, some rocks extend into the bay, and the bottom is too foul for vessels of any force to anchor nearer to this fortification, than about four hundred yards; but they may approach and anchor in a very eligible situation, within about two hundred and fifty yards of the garrison, or principal fortress: and in neither of these places, in their present situation, would be able to resist a well directed fire from two or three frigates."—*Vancouver's Voyage round the World.*

If intending to sail into Valparaiso, always make the land to the southward of the harbour, for in the winter, the south winds are much more prevalent than any other. It is best to make the land ten leagues to the southward of the harbour. The land there trends nearly north and south; but is indented with small coves and bays. If a ship falls in with the land, and the latitude is not exactly known, (if to the southward) it is not easy to miss the port. There is a kind of cove or bay, with a sand beach, about four or five miles to the southward of the rocky point, which captain Vancouver speaks of, lying to the south west of the point of Angels, with a ragged rock off it; but the coast does not trend much to the eastward until the ragged rock, above mentioned, is passed. We did not find the coast make so much to the eastward there, as captain Vancouver describes; neither do I think it so far from the ragged rock to the point of Angels, as he states it to be.

The reasons, why I differ from captain Vancouver, respecting the winds in the months of June, July, August, and September,

(which are the winter months here,) and also in the courses and distances, are probably on account of my having entered, or been in the port of Valparaiso in nearly every month in the year; when he never was there but on one short visit of a month or two; and of course had not so good an opportunity of forming a correct judgment upon this subject, as I had.

It is not proper to sail out of Valparaiso with any but a fair wind; for should it blow from the westerly quarter, it will be difficult to keep clear of the land to the northward of the bay, as it makes out considerably to the westward, and the current is generally setting to the northward.

The harbour is very safe in summer; but in winter it sometimes blows from the northward strong gales; in which case the sea comes in so as to make it difficult riding. I do not believe the north winds ever affect vessels very much, as the land is so high to the southward, and so near to them, that it has a tendency to break its force. It is not considered a good winter harbour by the Spaniards. The productions of the soil here are like those of Conception, and it yields very plentifully. There are more fruit and vegetables in this market than at that place, such as peaches, apricots, oranges, lemons, melons, onions, and pumpkins. It is the port town of the capital of Chili, which is called St. James, or St. Jago. It has more trade than any port on this coast. The number of ships that lade here in the course of the season, with provisions of different kinds for Lima, and other ports, is considerable. There is considerable commercial intercourse by land between the River of Plate and this port. They march slaves over land, from Buenos Ayres, (to avoid carrying them round Cape Horn) and ship them again for the coast of Peru; as will be seen hereafter in the affair of the Tryal. There is one pass only that crosses the Andes, to go and come by. They transport from one coast to the other, many articles of merchandize across this pass. The herb of Paraguay is brought on the backs of horses, or mules, this way; and considerable quantities of gold and silver are carried in the same manner to be shipped for Spain. This kingdom is not so rich in mines as Peru; but there is a great number of them in the country. They have a mint at St. Jago, where they coin, as I was informed by good authority, two or three millions of dollars in gold and silver in a year. I have likewise been told, that there

was more bullion carried out of this kingdom, than was coined in it. The air here is similar to that of Conception, neither hot nor very cold. I never saw ice in Chili, in latitude as low as 37° south, more than once or twice, and then not more than the thickness of window glass. Farenheit's thermometer is never higher than eighty-eight or eighty-nine degrees; commonly standing at about eighty at Valparaiso and Conception in summer. The distance from Valparaiso to St. Jago is about sixty miles. I have passed both winter and summer at Valparaiso and Conception, and made the coast of Chili and Peru my home for five years. This has given me an opportunity to obtain a correct knowledge of them, and enables me to render a just account of their manners and customs.

In the harbour of Valparaiso there are great numbers of the hump-backed and right-whale. Spermaceti whales are caught off this coast; but it is said they never come on soundings, the truth of which I have reason to doubt, however, as I have known them taken near this coast; and the squid, which they feed upon, is frequently found in this harbour. I often caught squid here, which were three or four feet long. This species of fish is said to be the only food the spermaceti whales ever eat.

I had frequent opportunities of being acquainted with many captains who are employed in the whale fishery on this coast. These men are possessed of a great share of courage and intrepidity in the pursuit of their business; but are in the habit of boasting of their superiority, when in company, and of exaggerating their exploits. While lying in the harbour of Valparaiso, captain George Howe was on board my ship, who had been frequently in company when the subject of killing whales was discussed, and one calm and very pleasant day, we discovered a large whale asleep within twenty rods of some of the ships. We thought this a good opportunity to try our skill in killing whales. We fitted out a whale-boat belonging to captain Howe, which was properly manned, and my boatswain, who had been in the business before, was to steer and direct the expedition. We prepared and rigged a lance, which was made for the purpose of killing sea elephants, having an iron shank about two feet long, with a pole to it, six or eight feet in length, and a small line attached to it, with the other end fastened to the stem of the boat, to prevent it being lost. Thus equipped we

rowed up softly, within twenty feet of the whale, when I threw the lance into her, a little abaft the fore fin, which entered more than the length of the iron part. The whale, on feeling the hurt, raised its tail fifteen feet in the air, and brought it down with such force, within six feet of the boat, that it was half filled with water; and produced a most violent agitation in that element for a great distance around us. It may be considered a fortunate circumstance that we escaped injury; for had it hit the boat it would have been staved to atoms, and probably some of us been killed. Her head lay towards the shore, and she started in that direction, brought her head out of water, making the most terrible bellowing that can be imagined; turned herself round and went out of the bay, spouting blood till out of sight. Thus ended our first and last enterprise in killing whales. The experiment convinced us that it was a difficult and dangerous business, and ought never to be attempted by any, except those who have been bred up to and perfectly skilled in the art. The method we adopted was correct, excepting the first instrument thrown, which should have been a harpoon; which is an iron made with barbs to it, to prevent it from drawing out. To this should be a line or warp attached, three or four hundred fathoms in length; by which means we could have held on to the whale, and pulled the boat up so as to throw the lance with the most sure effect. The shank of a lance made use of by whalemen is four feet in length, with a pole fixed to it like the one we used. I have since had frequent opportunities of seeing whales killed by those who understood it, and was perfectly satisfied that it required courage, judgment, and activity.

Having mentioned the name of captain George Howe, who was my associate in the above described frolic, I shall for the satisfaction of his friends, give some account of him; some of the particulars of which are probably known to no one but myself. He was born in Stonington, state of Connecticut, and sailed out of the port of New London, in command of the schooner Oneco, on a sealing voyage. He arrived at Massa Fuero in 1800, and was compelled by misfortunes to go into Valparaiso and sell his vessel. Being disappointed in not receiving payment according to contract, he was obliged to go to St. Jago, the capital, before he could obtain justice. He got his money and returned to Valparaiso, and deposited upwards of twenty-two hundred dollars in the hands of a

Spaniard, at whose house he resided, and was taken sick soon after. When I was at Valparaiso, in 1805, I made inquiry and found the house in which he lay sick. I was not a little surprised at finding him, and at the strange conduct of the people belonging to the house, as I had dined there several times since my arrival, yet they had neglected telling me of his being at the same time in the house; especially as it was well known to them we were friends, and had been particularly intimate, when in this port on a preceding voyage. I found him in a back room, no better than a hovel, in a most deplorable situation. He was lying on a miserable bed, or couch, in a very languishing state; his flesh wasted, till he was almost a skeleton; and no one near to afford him assistance, or friend to offer him a word of comfort. There was a well of water in the room adjoining, not more than twelve feet from his bed, from which was drawn all the water used by the family, with a door opening into his room, which was most of the time kept open. He had laid in this situation for five or six months. My feelings on the occasion can be better imagined than described. We had spent many happy hours together; and I could not help contrasting those times with what I now saw. I endeavoured to raise his spirits, and told him that I would take him on board my ship, and bring him home. I procured a barber and had him shaved, his clothes shifted, and dressed him in a decent manner, putting on his handsome Spanish cloak, and led him into the parlour, with an intention of giving him an airing; but the poor man was so reduced, that he fainted and was obliged to be placed on a sofa, and soon after carried back to his room, from which he never again was removed till a corpse. I visited him daily while I lay in this port, and each day sent him a kettle of soup; but I found he was too weak to be removed on board the ship. He died in about ten days after I left Valparaiso. Thus ended captain George Howe. He was a man of a noble mind; sincere in his friendships; honest and honourable in his dealings; and a remarkably pleasant companion: but his misfortunes broke his spirits.

The following particulars concerning captain Howe, which took place after I left him, I had from captain Bacon, whom I took with me when I left Lima, and who was with him most of the time after I sailed till he died. He informed me, that a short time before captain Howe died, the bishop, who was then at the port, had

baptized him, and that he had received the sacrament; thus he died a Roman Catholic. This is made an important point with the priests of that religion. Just as he was dying, the man who kept the house, and with whom he had deposited his money, undertook to make a settlement with him. He brought forward his books, and made Howe acknowledge the different charges which he had prepared, when he was so far gone as to be just able to articulate, yes—without probably knowing what he said; thus defrauding him of his money, besides bringing him in debt. This transaction very much displeased the Spaniards here; and a remarkable accident happening to him about eight days after captain Howe died, caused them to make many remarks upon his conduct, and say, that it was a visitation of the judgment of God. There was a very high bank that was directly back of his house, which in consequence of a great rain, gave way, and fell on the very part where Howe had lain, and buried it under more than a hundred tons of earth.

The inhabitants here are similar to those of Conception. The ladies in general, however, dress rather more after the European or American fashion. I should calculate the inhabitants of Valparaiso and its vicinity to amount to fifteen or twenty thousand.

There is considerable of a military force kept on this coast, which is stationed at all places of any importance. It is well known that all this country is governed, as to its religious affairs, by Roman Catholics, and I found the inhabitants contented and apparently happy under those laws. Knowing but little concerning that part of the government, I can only say, that Conception is the see of a bishop, and has one residing in that city. I think Valparaiso is not, as the bishop who governs there resides at St. Jago.

The inhabitants of the coast of Chili are but a very small part of them Europeans, who are principally Spaniards. They hold themselves much higher in their own estimation than the Chilian born. As the Spaniards have mixed their blood with the aborigines so much, that there are but few born in the country, I believe, but what partake in a greater or less degree of it, on which account the European Spaniards undervalue them. The native Indians of South America are better featured than those of the northern part of the continent. They are treated in the south in the same manner as they have been in the north. The Spaniards have made

war upon, harassed, and distressed them, till they have pretty much thinned them off near the sea coast. Some are made slaves by being taken prisoners in time of war, or by purchasing them from their enemies. I have been struck with horror to hear a Spanish priest call them brutes; telling me at the same time they were not Christians, and no better than cattle; when that same arrogant man's countrymen had robbed and despoiled the unfortunate Indian of all that was dear to him. Thus, "thinks I to myself," goes the world:—one man robs another of his country, his wealth, and his liberty; and then says he is a brute, and not a Christian. In such cases as these, I will say with the meritorious physician, to whom Bonaparte made the proposition to poison his soldiers at Jaffa, or Joppa: "If those be the requisites necessary to form a great man, I thank my God I do not possess them."

As I have remarked in another place, the dress of the ladies was not so graceful and becoming at Conception as at Valparaiso; at least, the extremely large hoops which are in general use at the former place did not strike me so pleasantly. I have been favoured with the sight of the hoop they wear underneath the outside petticoat. It is more than three feet in diameter, and is fastened higher than the hips, by some kind of linen or cotton cloth sewed around the hoop, leaving just room enough for the body. A string is reeved in the inner edge of the cloth, which draws it round the body above the hips, in the manner of a purse. This keeps the hoop in its place, and the body in the centre. As their petticoats are rather short, it gives them at first a very singular appearance; but any fashion in time becomes familiar, and its peculiarities are forgotten. The behaviour of the ladies was so delicate and pleasing, that a man must have more stoicism about him than I had, not to feel for them a strong partiality. Their dress was handsome, with gold and silver ornaments; such as gold hair combs, ear rings, bracelets for the wrists, chains round the wrist, and sometimes round the waist, and gold and silver shoe buckles. Many of these ornaments were inlaid with precious stones. Their head dress was the hair simply done up with four or five gold combs, tastefully disposed, which gave it a very charming appearance.

In horsemanship these people excel any men I have ever seen. Whether mounted on a well-broken, or untutored horse, they ride in the best manner, and shew great skill in the management of their

steeds. It is seldom that the most vicious animal unhorses his rider. They, like the mamelukes, tutor their horses to start with astonishing quickness, and to stop suddenly. I have seen them ride with the geatest speed, till within six feet of the side of a house, and there stop as suddenly as if the animal had fallen dead on the spot. Sometimes I have seen them attempt to stop the horse in full career, when he would throw all his feet forward and slide perhaps more than four yards. Frequently the hinder feet would slip from under him, and seat him on his backside, in the position we sometimes see a dog.

The ladies also are fond of this exercise, and most of them ride extremely well. The better sort rode sidewise, like the women of this country. Their manner of mounting a horse was singular, and sufficiently ludicrous in the eyes of a stranger. At first I was unable to comprehend how the feat was performed. I soon, however, had an opportunity of receiving a lesson at a house where several ladies were assembled for the purpose of amusing themselves with a ride. When the horses were brought and all things ready, they prepared to mount. As a sailor is generally foremost when a lady is in the way, I offered my assistance, and the offer being accepted, one of them said, "Help me first." "O, yes," said I, with all the gallantry I possessed. She went to the side of a horse, held by a servant, and leaning her breast against his side, threw her arms over the saddle across his back, and stood in that posture, saying, "Help me." I stood awkwardly enough, not seeing any part, that delicacy would allow me to take hold of, in order to aid her ascent. The servant perceiving my embarrassment, left his post, and taking one of her ancles in each hand, she gave a jump, and he assisted her *ascending node* with all his strength, till she was high enough to be seated. She then turned herself in the air, aided by the man, who, crossing his wrists, brought her into her seat, with the utmost grace and dexterity. In this manner the first ladies in the land are assisted in mounting a horse. I profitted by the lesson, and was soon able to help a Spanish lady into her saddle, with as much grace, I suppose, as an ancient chevalier. Women of the inferior class sometimes ride with both feet on one side of the horse, and sometimes with both feet on the other side, and I have often seen them with a foot on either side; as to such affairs they seemed not to be very ceremonious. The furniture of

their horses was different from what we had before seen; the reins of the bridle were worked in a manner resembling the lash of our whips, in a braid of four square made of some kind of skin; these were fastened to bits made according to our fashion, the reins long enough to come over the horse's neck, where they are united. The single part was extended six or seven feet, with a leathern tassel at the end, which was used as a whip. The saddle was first made something in the form of our saddle trees, then covered with a coarse skin, fitted to sit easy on the horse's back; these were covered with sheep skins, with the wool on, from four to six inches thick, painted with various colours and handsomely bound upon the saddle. This saddle looked well, and was easy to the horse and the rider. The most inconvenient part of the apparatus to an Englishman, was the stirrups. These were flat at the bottom, about a foot long, and six inches wide, the upper part making an arch highest in the middle, closed on the sides and fore part at the top, leaving an opening in the back part, large enough to admit the foot. They were fastened to the saddle with straps like ours, had a clumsy appearance, and in case of a fall might endanger the rider by confining his foot. Some ladies had saddles made in Europe, but for the most part they used those made in the country, which differed from the gentlemen's saddle chiefly by raising the tree on the off side, which made the top something in the form of a hollow bottomed chair. Both ladies and gentlemen are fond of equestrian amusements. Those of the higher ranks are rather indolent, having slaves and servants who perform the greater part of the labour.

The ladies in some parts of the country have a cotton cloth, wove with stripes, very handsome, of different colours, about six or seven feet long and two thirds that width, which they form into something resembling a hammock on ship-board. This they suspend by small lines made fast to it through holes made for the purpose, two or three feet from the floors of their houses. On this they swing, sometimes sitting and sometimes lying, as best suits them. The dress of the gentlemen is very similar to the dress of the people of this country, only they have no outside coats in the manner of our countrymen. Some of them wear a cloak, made according to our fashion; they have also an outside garment called a poncho, which is much used. It is made of cloth similar to that of

the ladies hammocks, of variegated colours, woven very thick, of a fine thread and curiously wrought. In weaving this cloth they use twelve or more treadles in the loom. It is usually from five to six feet square, handsomely fringed round the edges, having a slit in the middle of it just big enough to admit a man's head. This aperture was bordered with beautiful needle work. They put it over them, with their heads through the hole, and the garment hangs over them like a blanket. They are so thick and of so fine a texture, that they turn off water as well as leather, and are the most convenient garments to ride in, that could be contrived; the wearer having his legs and arms always at liberty, and his body completely defended from the rain.

In addition to what we have already said respecting the construction of their houses, we shall insert a few remarks, worthy of notice. They are mostly made of clay, and such houses have either tile or brick floors. The tile or brick being always laid on the ground, make these dwellings very unhealthy, more especially for women, on account of their dampness. The first class of people commonly build their houses of wood, with good wooden floorings, and are much more healthy. On one side of the sitting room the floor is raised about a foot, a little inclined from the wall, and about eight feet wide. This is covered with a carpet and mats, and next the wall are a number of small benches, like our ladies' crickets or stools, elegantly covered with cushions of crimson silk velvet or satin. This elevated place was the usual seat of the ladies. Their mode of sitting is cross-legged, in the Turkish fashion, or like a tailor on his shop-board, and near together. When a gentleman reclined on it, he drew one of these cushions under his arm for support. I was frequently in their parties, and found this a most agreeable resting place, especially when the ladies sat near me. Their prattle was innocent and lively; and they had a disposition to render the visits of their guests entertaining Most of them sang well, accompanying the voice with the guitar, their favourite instrument. A customary compliment is for a gentleman to hand one of these instruments to a lady, who is ever ready to gratify him with her performance.

The employment of the men, other than amusements, is in laying out and planing their buildings, their vineyards, and their gardens, and transacting their mercantile affairs. A large proportion of them

are employed in offices of goverment, either in a military or civil capacity. A great many are employed riding about the country transporting money, bullion, and all kinds of merchandize, most commonly conducted by convoys of horses and mules. These convoys sometimes consist of two or three hundred, laden with some kind of traffic. Many of these cross the Andes to and from the River of Plate. Some of the men are employed as mariners in the ships that are owned in the country. A few vessels are built on the coast, which give employment to numbers, in preparing cargoes, sawing boards and plank, and felling timber. They are very poorly provided with all kinds of good mechanics; medical men are likewise scarce. The ladies' employment is nothing more than sewing, or making their own clothes, some trifling embroidering and lace work, and in superintending their household affairs; they commonly, however, live pretty free from labour. I have been at almost all the ports on the coast of Chili repeatedly, and seldom but when I carried in more or less Spaniards who had been prisoners of war, or otherwise distressed. I have taken them off the Gallipagos Islands, after they have run away from English ships, and gone on shore to prevent being carried to England. I have also prevailed on several English captains to deliver some of their prisoners to me, whom I afterwards delivered to their friends in safety. On the other hand I have taken out of the different Spanish prisons on the coast of Chili and Peru, more than one hundred and fifty Englishmen at several times, and put them on board other ships, or kept them on board my own, until I arrived at some friendly port, or returned to America. My principal motive in such cases was always to relieve the unfortunate, and "grant the prisoner sweet release." Both the English and Spaniards, in the Pacific Ocean, have in general treated their prisoners with cruelty; but the conduct of the Spaniards has been most severe. I will relate a singular incident that happened in the year 1805. There was a captain Thomas Folger, a native of Nantucket, who commanded an English ship called the Vulture of London, on a whaling voyage. She mounted twelve or sixteen guns, and fell in with a Spanish ship, bound from the port of Conception to Lima, of equal force. The ships met not many leagues distant from the Spaniard's destined port, and a very severe action for small ships took place. Folger at last came off conquerer, captured his enemy, and gained himself

much credit and honour; first, by fighting like a brave fellow, and then by treating the prisoners with humanity. He manned her and ordered her for St. Helena, putting six men on board, and leaving two Englishmen, who were on board when the Spaniard struck. One of them had been my gunner, and left Boston with me in 1803. He deserted from my ship in Conception, in February, six months previously to his capture. The Spanish boatswain and two Spanish sailors, were likewise left on board. In two or three days after the ship was despatched, the Spaniards rose on the English, and put them all to death but two, one of whom had his hand half cut off. Some weeks after, the Englishman, or American, who had not been injured, whose name was Halsey, and the wounded Englishman, rose on the Spaniards and killed them. I saw Halsey and the Englishman afterwards, who related the above transaction, and the horrid barbarity which attended it. The three Spaniards took an opportunity, when part of the crew were asleep at night, and killed as many as they could before the rest awoke; and then despatched the others as fast as they came on deck; having first determined to save Halsey alive, as he understood navigation, of which the Spaniards were ignorant. Having their plan thus arranged, they began their wicked work, and killed all the Englishmen on deck but the one who was wounded; he made a shift to go aloft as high as the foretop, and beg for his life. They then went below to the cabin, in which my unfortunate gunner lay, and told him to get out of his birth. He knowing what had happened, begged they would not kill him, and putting his hands over the side of his cabin, asked them to put irons on him, or do any thing but take his life. They then tied his hands and made him get out, when they struck him with a carpenter's axe and nearly cut him in two with the first stroke. This man was with captain Edward Edwards in the Pandora, when she was lost attempting a passage through Endeavour Straits. They spared the one in the foretop, as has been before stated. My gunner's name was Charles Spence; he had fought to save the lives of the Spaniards on board the ship Tryal, not six months before this unfortunate event. Then again came on the catastrophe of the three Spaniards, who had planned to hoist out the boat as soon as they should see land, to be ready to leave the ship should any vessel be discovered. Halsey had concerted with the Englishman a plan to go aloft, when it was expected they

should draw near the coast, and whether he saw it or not, to call out, land. This being put in practice, two of the Spaniards went up to the fore top-mast head to view it. Halsey came down on deck, while the Spaniard, who was the former boatswain, was fixing tinder and fireworks in the caboose house, to be put in the boat. He took the cook's axe from beside the house, and as the boatswain turned to come out, gave him a blow on the back of the neck, which cut his head nearly off. The other two Spaniards came down, the first was killed, and the other wounded, who jumped overboard, swam to the rings of the rudder, and held fast till the wounded Englishman broke his hold by stabbing him with an iron ramrod. The two survivors kept the ship a number of days. They lost her in going into the harbour on the island of Mocha, by accidentally running her on shore.

The bay of Coquimbo lies in latitude 30° south, and longitude 71° 16′ west, as it is laid down in the Naval Gazetteer, which I found to be nearly correct. It is one of the finest harbours that nature ever formed. In going into it, make the land to the south of the harbour, and follow its course north, till you come near the north point of the bay, when the land trends off to the north eastward, turns round to the east, and then to the southward, and runs in to the south westward. When near the south point of the bay, a number of rocks and rocky islets will be seen lying off the point, which must be left on the right hand in going in; although I have been told that there was a good entrance between the rocks, and the south point; but it appeared to me too narrow for safety. I should by all means go in to the northward of the rocks, which passage is clear with sufficient room, if necessary to beat to windward, as it commonly will be, before getting up to the anchoring place, which is in the south west part of the bay, near some old warehouses. A ship may anchor in what depth of water they please abreast of these old houses, having nothing to fear from rocks or shoals. I never saw or heard that there were any in the bay. When at anchor you have the advantage of one of the best harbours, and, nearly all the year round, the best of weather; but with these advantages it is not a desirable place for a ship to visit, especially in time of war. Water cannot be had near the anchoring place, nor firewood at any time; and the inhabitants are so terrified at the idea of an enemy, that

they prohibit all intercourse with strangers, during the existence of hostilities. This cautious and repulsive policy is owing probably to some *dog's tricks* which were successfully played on them, by some English privateersmen. The Spaniards here are generally well disposed towards Americans. The town of Coquimbo is three leagues north easterly from the port, and affords all kinds of provisions, which are to be found at Conception and Valparaiso.

The Bird Islands lie about six or seven leagues from the main land; and, I believe, have no dangers near them. The most southerly one lies in latitude 29° 36′ south; and about west-north-west, seven or eight miles distant, lies the other. There are but two, both of a moderate height, but so high as to be seen four or five leagues; they do not afford any thing but birds, eggs, seal, and fish. I think there might be four or five thousand seals taken off those islands, in the course of two or three months; they are of both kinds, fur and hair. It is probable also that there would be some further chance of success to the northward; for in sailing in that direction, will be seen several more islands about the same distance from the coast as the Bird Islands; and all appear to have seals about them. My business, however, was of such a nature at that time, that I could not stop to take them. They are mostly of the hair kind.

The harbour of Coquimbo is a good place for a ship to lie at whilst the people are procuring seals off the islands in the Pacific Ocean; and it is a good place, in the proper season, for a ship to fill up with right-whale oil, as the whales come into this bay in great numbers.

The lofty Andes in the interior rise mountain over mountain as far as the eye can reach, with awful sublimity. The line, where vegetation ceases, seems but a short distance from their bases on account of the stupendous heights above. All the country below the latitude of Coquimbo has a sandy, barren, burnt appearance. In time of peace, and when the government happens to be composed of friendly, accommodating men, a traffick might be carried on to advantage. Gold and silver are very plenty in this place, brought from mines in the interior, and from those near the town. The place is much inferior to Valparaiso or Conception in point of inhabitants, trade, and produce.

"Coquimbo is one of the thirteen provinces of Chili, in South America. This is a rich, verdant, fruitful valley, not far from the coast of the South Sea, producing corn sufficient for considerable exportation to Lima, and abounding with various mines. One mine of copper is situated about five leagues north from the town of Coquimbo, on Mount Corro Verde, or Green Hill; it rises as a land mark to the port. The climate is singularly agreeable, being almost uniformly mild and serene."—*Rees' Cyclo.*

From Malham's Naval Gazetteer, vol. 1, page 234, we extract the following.—"Coquimbo is a town of Chili, in South America, at the mouth of a river of the same name, near ninety leagues north from St. Jago, and has a good harbour."—"Get to windward, as the south and south west winds always prevail on the coast for nine or ten months. In the season which they call winter, they hang about north and north west, for two or three months. The Bird's Islands are north west from the bay of Coquimbo seven or eight leagues, and Guesco bay seven leagues farther."

"To go into Coquimbo, observe that the Herradura, or Horse Shoe Point, is to the windward of it, and forms the mouth of a small creek, of two cable's length over, where boats go in to procure fresh water. There are three or four rocks to the leeward side, of which the outermost is the largest, and two miles at north west by north from the main, or Point Tortuga, which is the south limit of Coquimbo port. There is a channel between this point and a small island to the south of the great rock, of seventeen fathoms, but very narrow; it is wholly unnecessary to go through here, as the port is two leagues and a half over at the entrance, and therefore affords abundant room to go in, after passing to the westward round the great rock, and so turning into the harbour, in which there is no danger. Keep the point of Tortuga as close aboard on the starboard as possible, as being to windward, otherwise it will not be easy to recover the road which is under the lee of the cape. The two islands or rocks just mentioned are under this point to the westward, which induces seamen sometimes to go through between them and the main, to keep to windward so as easily to make into the Road of Tortugas. The rocks are so clean and steep, the ships run within a boat's length of them, if possible, the easier to gain the road, where they ride in from six to ten fathoms near the Tortugas rock, which is about two fathoms long and one fathom

above water. From twenty to thirty ships may ride in this part of the bay, which is the best part of the road, and sheltered from all winds; and in every other part of it there is plenty of water and a good bottom, but a little more open to the rolling of the sea, so that ships do not ride so easily or so safely."

"In coming out of the bay, if, as it may sometimes happen, a ship is becalmed, avoid anchoring near the great rock above mentioned; for there is not only a depth of from forty to fifty fathoms, but the bottom is foul and rocky and will cut the cables, in which case it will be impossible to weigh the anchor by the buoy ropes. Though the town is opposite to the road, the surge is so great that there is no landing within two leagues of it; at which distance to the south-south-east boats go in easily, from whence seamen must walk over land to the town. The want of wood and water is also a more important inconvenience; as neither of them is to be had here. The port of Coquimbo has sometimes the name of Serena."

As I have said something respecting some *dog's tricks*, which the English privateers played upon them, I will here further explain myself. In the year 1805, a captain Cornelius Sole of Providence, a highly meritorious man, commanding the brig Tabor, was in these seas. He had been several times into Coquimbo for refreshments, and was always hospitably treated. He had been acquainted and intimate with the governor, and the first people of the place, who were in the habit of coming down from the town and visiting captain Sole on board his vessel, when she was in port. It happened that in his absence an English privateer brig, called the Antelope, of London, arrived there; and the governor and other gentlemen seeing from the town the vessel come into the harbour, they all repaired to the port thinking to meet their friend Sole; hailed the brig, and desired a boat might be sent for them; which was done, and the governor and all the party were on board, before they discovered their mistake. As soon as they were in the power of their enemy, demands were made for their ransom, which was agreed to, on the condition that some of them be allowed to go on shore to collect it. This liberty being granted, they selected from amongst themselves such men as they liked, and of course the governor was one. After they were gone, the privateer's men discovered his rank, which before they had not suspected. That

they had lost such a good opportunity to make a great booty, greatly enraged them; for undoubtedly they would have received an extravagant sum for the ransom of such a personage. To wreak their vengeance they went on shore at the port, and did all the mischief they could to the few old buildings, before mentioned; and amongst other wanton acts of folly and villiany, tore to pieces a small mean building, which the Spaniards had converted into a church. They tore down and broke the images of the saints, fired pistol balls through the top of it, and made all the spoliation they conveniently could, and then went off. This act exasperated the Spaniards so much, that they would not allow any foreigner to obtain supplies. I was there soon after this transaction, and saw the havock that was made, and tried all in my power to get refreshments, but could not obtain the least favour of any kind.

The Antelope left Coquimbo, and after sailing down the coast, took her station off the port of Lima, which she blockaded for nine or ten days, when the ship Henry, from Cadiz, mounting about the same number of guns as the Antelope, (say eighteen,) came down the coast, bound in to Lima. The Henry was formerly of London, commanded by a captain Watson, and had been taken by the Spaniards several years previous. The Antelope saw her before night, and stood off shore on a wind with an intent to tack ship, as soon as she could fetch her. The Henry continued her course for the port, and when the Antelope concluded she had obtained a sufficient offing, she tacked ship, head on shore, and though she sailed much faster than the Henry, she did not come up with her till after dark, when they were within three or four miles of Calio. She run under the Henry's lee so near, that she got becalmed with the ship's sails, and the Henry fell on board. The brig thinking she was equal to the ship, hung on for a long time, keeping up a constant fire, but with less effect than the Spaniard. When the Englishman found he could not stay there any longer, and keep himself comfortable, he made the attempt to sheer off; but the Spaniard had grapnelled him, and would not dismiss him so readily. And there was nothing to be done but to fight it out. The Spaniard had the advantage, by being to windward, and much higher out of water. The Antelope fought till the captain was killed, the chief officer dangerously wounded, and thirty or forty men killed and wounded, when she struck her colours. The next morning the

wounded were landed at Calio, put into carts and carried to the hospital. The Spaniards in the port attended as spectators, and, as several Englishmen and Americans who were present informed me, abused them, and when the wounded would cry out from the jolting of the cart, seemed to exult in their misery. The women were so exasperated that they threw stones at them, and called out to them, "Curse you English hereticks, what do you make all that noise for, do you remember Coquimbo." I saw the prisoners in Lima. They had little pity shown them, on account of the sacrilegious conduct, and foul deeds at Coquimbo.

The amusements of the people of the kingdoms of Chili and Peru, as before stated in part, are chiefly music and dancing. The instruments most in use are guitars, which nearly all the ladies play, accompanying them with their voices, which are very melodious. They likewise have harps, spinnets, harpsichords, and piano-fortes, which are very common, and on which they perform extremely well. The gentlemen play on flutes and clarionets. They dance with the most majesty and grace of any people I ever knew. Their dances are minuets, long dances, cotillions, and a very singular kind of dance, called fan-dango, which is common in old Spain. This graceful dance is usually performed by two persons, commonly a lady and gentleman, sometimes by two ladies. Gentlemen and ladies meet in parties at a friend's house at times, and the gentlemen form a party round a large table for cards. The game they generally play is similar to our game of loo. It is called banco; a game that is common in other nations. The ladies never join the party at table, but sit on their platform by themselves, playing on their guitars, and singing to amuse those engaged in play; and any gentleman who prefers their company to cards, has liberty to take a seat with them. Parties formed to ride, both male and female, are very fond of concluding their diversion by going on board ships, or indeed of any excursion by water. The ladies are also very fond of receiving and paying afternoon visits.

When we left this place in February 1806, we steered off to St. Ambrose and St. Felix; and found the coast from Valparaiso down to Coquimbo nearly straight, rather in a curve as you sail to leeward, making out to the westward a little from a north course, till you get near the latter place, where it trends faster to the eastward.

CHAPTER XVII.

Description of Massa Fuero—Juan Fernandez—and Island of St. Maria.

MASSA FUERO lies in latitude 33° 48′ south, and in longitude 80° 34′ west, is nearly circular, and about twenty five miles in circumference. It is clear of any kind of danger, keeping two miles from the land all around it; but on the south east side lies a shoal that breaks half a mile distant in bad weather. On the west side is a rock about one, or one and a half mile from the shore, which does not often show itself. There is likewise a reef off the north west point, one half, or three quarters of a mile, which cannot be with safety approached when the wind blows on shore. These are all the dangers which surround the island. It has every where so bold a shore, that anchorage cannot be obtained till within half a mile of it, round most parts of the island; and the ground is foul, so that there is great danger of loosing the anchors, and in some cases the ship likewise. It is difficult to come near enough to anchor without getting on shore, if the vessel strikes a drift when not prepared to make sail or to tow off, as circumstances may require. When within half a mile of land there will be found from twenty to fifty fathoms water. I should advise any vessel, exceeding one hundred tons burthen, never to attempt to anchor, except from some unavoidable necessity. It is hazardous to get under the lee of the land, very near it; more especially when the wind blows strong; for the land is so high that a vessel will be becalmed two, three, and four leagues from it and if too far off, will go to leeward a long way without getting the regular wind again; and if too near, there is often an eddy current setting directly towards the land. In such case the ship, if not brought to anchor, will be swept on shore and lost, together, most probably, with the cargo, if not the lives of all on board. A worse place for a vessel

to be stranded upon, cannot be found. The land is very high indeed, and can be seen at twenty or twenty-five leagues distance, in clear weather. It is very much excavated with deep gullies and caverns, so that a man, who is not accustomed to climb rocks and precipices, may content himself without attempting to pass any of it, as he will find insurmountable obstructions in his passage. All the fresh provisions it affords are goats, plenty of good fish, and seals, of which we sometimes ate a part. Water can be got in many places; but the best or easiest to be found is on the south east side, at the place called the landing. It may be known by a rock which lies on the southerly part of the island, and looks like a sail when seen at a distance. It will be necessary, if to the westward, to steer to the north and eastward, two miles off shore, until the rock is shut in behind the land; then if a boat rows directly on shore, she will find a small gravelly cove, with some little places of sand; in that cove is the best water, and the easiest prucured of any place round the island. It comes down a gully, and cannot be seen until you land. The cove is small, and the gravelly beach does not extend more than one or two hundred yards. It will easily be known by a high ridge of stones or gravel, hove up on the shore. The water must be rafted off in casks, as boats cannot land to take it in. In the rainy season, all the gullies to the north east of that afford water; but it is more troublesome to take it from them, on account of the many large rocks which lie about the shores and off in the surf. This difficulty extends all round the island. Wood can be procured in abundance, but with some labour. It is best to go on the mountains to cut it and tumble it down. In that case it can be cut into small pieces without much trouble, as it commonly breaks and splits in the fall. That, picked up on the beach, will be found hard, and almost impossible to be cut or split. Should a ship be distressed for wood or water, she can always get a plentiful stock of both; as likewise of good fish, which are caught with hook and line not far without the breakers. In the months of June, July, and August, there are many hard gales of wind, much rain, and thick weather.

The island of Massa Fuero has been much injured by volcanos, but, where there is any soil, it is pretty well clothed with wood. The land is as fertile as any which I remember to have seen. Whilst there were from ten to twenty ships sealing there, from the

year 1800 to 1804, they cultivated almost all kinds of vegetables. Quadrupeds, such as hogs, sheep. and goats, and most kinds of domestic fowls were also bred here. All the wild birds we saw were a kind of hawk, which we called rooks, and two or three kinds of sparrows. To this place resort those celebrated birds, called *mother Cary's chickens*, for the purpose of laying and hatching their eggs on the shore; and also the kind of bird called noddy. They both make holes under the rocks, to secure themselves from falling a prey to the rooks, which would otherwise devour them.

When the Americans came to this place, about the year 1797, and began to make a business of killing seals, there is no doubt but there were two or three millions of them on the island. I have made an estimate of more than three millions that have been carried to Canton from thence, in the space of seven years. I have carried more than one hundred thousand myself, and have been at the place when there were the people of fourteen ships, or vessels, on the island at one time, killing seals. The method practised to take them was, to get between them and the water, and make a lane of men, two abreast, forming three or four couples, and then drive the seal through this lane; each man furnished with a club, between five and six feet long; and as they passed, he knocked down such of them as he chose; which are commonly the half grown, or what are called young seals. This is easily done, as a very small blow on the nose effects it. When stunned, knives are taken to cut or rip them down on the breast, from the under jaw to the tail, giving a stab in the breast that will kill them. After this, all hands go to skinning. I have seen men, one of whom would skin sixty in an hour. They take off all the fat, and some of the lean with the skin, as the more weight there is to the skin the easier it will beam. This is performed in the same manner in which curriers flesh their skins; after which it is stretched and pegged on the ground to dry. It is necessary to keep it two days in pegs, in fair weather, to make it keep its shape. After this they are taken out of pegs, and stacked in the manner of salted dried cod fish. They will sweat whilst in the pile, so as to render it necessary to open them and give them air two or three times. After which they may be stacked on shore, or put into a ship's hold, and will keep for years and take no hurt, if kept dry. After being conveyed on board the ship, they are carred to Canton for a market, where they are sold.

They have been sold there as high as three or four dollars a skin, and as low as thirty-five cents; but the most common price which they have brought has been about one dollar. Three fourths of the payment for them is generally made in teas.

Seals in the southern latitudes go on shore in the months of November or December, for the purpose of bringing forth their young. They meet together at that time, male and female, and remain near the shore, or on it, from that time till August or September, when they go off to sea, all together. When they come on shore, they creep up sometimes one or two hundred rods from the water. They bring forth their young, and nurse them, in the same manner as the canine species do; and for several weeks after, are as helpless, and something similar to a young pup. The young ones are perfectly ignorant of swimming until five or six weeks old, when the dam drags them to the water by the neck, and learns them to swim. The food which the fur seals feed upon, is the squid, the same as the spermaceti whales eat. The hair seals feed upon all kinds of small fish. They copulate on shore. The females go eleven months with young, according to the best calculation we were able to make. They seldom have more than one, and never more than two pups. Their young never come on shore during the first year, after they are carried off to sea.

There are no serpents or reptiles on Massa Fuero, and the only quadrupeds found there are goats and cats. The latter were brought there in the year 1797. This island has not been without some inhabitants from that time till the year 1807, though the only object which induced people to reside on the island has been to obtain seals; but the latter part of the time there have been but few obtained. This island is remarkably healthy; being always favoured with a fine air. The wind blows from the south east nearly all the time, except the three winter months. Crawfish may be caught off the rocks, in several places round the island; and likewise a number of other kinds of good fish. Goats were so plenty here in 1800, that I have known my sailors surround a flock and take twenty or thirty of them at a time. They are very good meat; equal to the best of mutton. Their flesh is remarkably sweet, which is probably owing to the grass, and all kinds of vegetables here, being of the finest flavour, and very nourishing; which is the case in all the kingdom of Chili. The best description of

this island is given by captain Cartrete in his voyage round the world, in the Swallow. The first ship that came to this place, for the purpose of procuring seals for the Chinese market, was the Eliza, captain Stewart, which I took the command of on her arrival at Canton, in the year 1793; which has been before stated.

Juan Furnandez lies in latitude 33° 40′ south, and thirty four, or thirty-five leagues eastward of Massa Fuero. It may be easily known at a distance, as it appears uneven. Several hills and peaks are discovered, and it is not so high land as Massa Fuero, which makes in one fair body, with an even surface, when first seen. When it is made on the south side, Goat Island will be seen, which lies to the west of the main island, at a distance of about one or two miles. The harbour, or bay, is on the north side. This is the celebrated place of the exile of Robinson Crusoe, or more properly, of Alexander Selkirk, who was left here by captain Straddling, from on board the ship Cinque Ports. For the satisfaction of those who do not know the truth of the story of Robinson Crusoe, I will subjoin a brief recital.

Some where about the year 1705, the English ship called the Cinque Ports, touched at the island Juan Fernandez, the situation of which is described above. During their stay at the island, on account of some difference between captain Straddling, the commander of the ship, and Mr. Alexander Selkirk, one of the mates, the captain put the latter on shore, with only his chest, clothes, bedding, mathematical instruments, books, and stationary; a gun, one pound of powder and balls, or shot adequate to it: and went off and left him there. He resided on the island about four years, when the Duke and Duchess, two English privateer ships from Bristol, commanded by captain Woods Rogers, touched there. They observed smoke on the island; but when they first went on shore, they could not find the inhabitant that had occasioned it. They searched for the person, but could not discover who it was for a long time, as Selkirk had secreted himself, being apprehensive they might be Spaniards, of whom he stood in great fear. At last he satisfied himself concerning the new comers, came forward to them, and gave them an account of himself. Captain Rogers took him on board. On his return to England, Mr. Selkirk went to a person of some literature, who had a taste for such kind of narratives, and shewed him his journal, which he had kept during the

whole of his stay at Juan Fernandez. He asked him if there could any thing be made from it for publication, which would be advantageous to him, as he was in extremely necessitous circumstances, and had been reduced so low by his extraordinary exile, that he did not feel able to endure the labour necessary to obtain a livelihood. The *amanuensis* privately took minutes from Selkirk's journal, and returned the book; telling him, that he could not make any thing of it. Shortly after, this same person had the injustice to avail himself of the hard earned labours of Selkirk, by the publication of his journal, under the title of the "History of Robinson Crusoe:" the poor man being thus robbed of the only advantage he hoped to reap from his sufferings, and at a period of his life when he was so much in need. When we reflect on a transaction like this, we involuntarily exclaim, how can man be thus destitute of feeling for his brother!

I had the misfortune to visit the same Juan Furnandez, for the second time, in the year 1805. My first visit, was in the year 1800, when I only landed on the west side of the island, opposite to the bay, or settlement; for the reader should know that the island has been settled for a number of years, and is now made a place to which convicts are transported from Chili and Peru, and who are guarded by a few troops. It had formerly some settlers, who cultivated small farms. It was on my second visit to this place, that I met with misfortunes. Early in the morning, I left my ship from four to six miles off the north west end of the island, and steered for Goat Island. It was my intention, if I was not able to effect a landing there, to pass down the north side of the island to leeward, (the wind being west) as my object was to catch seals; if no seals could be found, to land at the settlement, on the north east side. I gave notice of my intentions accordingly; and ordered the ship to keep near enough to see the boat, and observe my signals. But these orders were neglected. After I left the ship, the wind continued to the westward, and freshened. As I could not land on Goat Island, owing to the surf being so high, I made signal to the ship to follow to leeward; but, from some cause, it did not. I continued my course, watching the shores for seals, and sometimes lying by, to see if the ship would follow. The wind increased every moment till it blew very fresh. At about five o'clock, I reached the bay. It was only sufficiently sheltered for large boats to land, or take off any kind of cargo.

I was met on the pier by the governor. He was an Irishman, by the name of Thomas Higgins, and was nephew to the great and worthy Ambrozio Higgins, who was president of Chili, and afterwards viceroy of Lima, in which office he died. Don Thomas asked me who I was, and what I came there for. I handed him my ship's papers; he read them, and then informed me I could not have any thing from the land. I told him that I had been a long time at sea, the last port which I had left being on the south coast of New Holland; and that I had a number of men sick on board my ship, with what I supposed was the sea scurvy. This statement was bona fide true. I informed him that all I wanted was some vegetables and fruit, with which the place abounded, so that I could be well supplied, without putting them to any inconvenience. He observed to me, that the governor who was last there, whose name was St. Maria, and who owned the island which bore his name, had been removed from that post on account of his lenity to the Americans, and was, in consequence, then under an arrest at the city of Conception. He did not intend that the same fault should be found with him, and accordingly assured me, in the fullest terms, that I could not have any thing. I then expressed my regret, that his orders should be so strict, as not to allow him the liberty of affording some little refreshments for my sick people. I told him that I had the pleasure of being acquainted with captain St. Maria, and that I presumed he could find some opening in his instructions, through which a basket of fruit might be drawn for my necessities. As I found he needed much persuasion, although it seemed to produce but little effect, I went on to remind him, that I had rendered services to the Spanish people at different times, sufficient to deserve so small a favour as I had solicited; and asked him if he had not heard of several Spanish prisoners on board English ships, whose release I took pains to procure; and who, but for my interference and exertions, would have been sent to England. I informed him that I had received the thanks of two or three governors on the coast of Chili for similar deeds, of which I presumed he must have heard. He shrugged his shoulders, and said he did not remember much about it. I then begged of him the favour to allow me to stay on shore till the next morning, as my ship was so far to windward that I could not reach her that night, and as it then blew almost a gale of wind from the north west; a wind which in that

part of the world, is very boisterous. He told me I must not stay on the island, and had no business to separate from my ship; that I must go off. I told him it was as much as my life was worth to leave the land and look for my ship at that time. He said he could not help it, and I must go. I then observed to him, that I never had begged my life, but thought what I had already said amounted to the same; and asked him to allow me to take a stone or two from the little pier, which he refused me. I took out a handful of dollars, and desired him to take as many as he chose for a stone. As he knew that there was not any place on the island at which a boat could land in such a night; and that with the assistance of a stone or two, I might possibly weather the gale, he allowed me (with a *lenity* which, I hope, did not deprive *him* of his post!) to take two stones without pay. These stones, without doubt, were the means of saving our lives.

We then shoved off, and pulled out from the land; and just as the sun set by clock, it being thick and overcast so that we could not see it at the time, we discovered the ship, appearing, in the horizon, about as big as a man's thumb, directly to windward. We pulled at the oars, but could not make much headway, as the wind blew so strong, and there was so much sea. I had the advantage of a good whale boat, and an excellent crew. We rowed till about ten o'clock, when, with a musket which was not so wet but it could flash powder, I made false fires for two or three hours, till at length it became too wet to be used at all. The wind came on to blow so fresh, and there was such a cross sea, that we shipped water very fast. Sometimes it would be half way up to the boat's thwarts before it could be bailed out. We had, by hard exertion, got so much offing as to insure us sea room till morning, if we did not row any longer; and moreover it became so rough, that we had to be very accurate in calculation to prevent the boat filling with water.

At this time I consulted my people, (which was not very usual with me,) who, with the exception only of an outlawed Botany Bay convict, did not seem to have very good courage. He said it was not a worse night than he had experienced in crossing Banks' Straits in the king's boat, which they stole when they ran away from the Derwent River, (Van Dieman's Land.) Well, thought I, if a convict, or any one else, has survived equal distress, we shall yet surmount our difficulties. I then ordered the people to take all

their oars and lash them together, and make a span, or bridle, with a piece of rope fast to each end of them, leaving it slack, so that one of the stones which we had so much trouble to obtain from Don Thomas Higgins, might be made fast to the middle. Then, by making the boat's painter fast in another span, to each end of the oars, putting them and the stones overboard, they would sink partly under water, which would not only break the sea, but keep the boat's head to windward. This was done, and had the desired effect. The boat made much better weather after, although the wind and sea increased. Thus we continued through the night, suffering hardships in the extreme. For myself, my sufferings were greatly increased by the thinness of my dress. Before I left the ship I shifted my thick clothes and put on nankin pantaloons, which were very tight upon me; and my waistcoat and sleeved jacket were of thin white cotton cloth, and likewise very tight. After we got our drag overboard, it became necessary for all to sit, or lie low in the boat. I stretched myself down in the bottom of her, and lay more than six hours with the water washing over me all the time, which, with the tightness of my clothes, gave me a cramp, with which I suffered very much.

At length day-light appeared; but no ship, nor land were then in sight. The sea and atmosphere looked as horrid as can be imagined. As we had no quadrant or compass in the boat, and neither provisions nor water, the prospect before us was far from agreeable. We lay with our oars as before, till ten o'clock in the forenoon, when the atmosphere became more clear, and the land appeared at about five leagues distance. At noon the weather was perfectly clear, but no ship could be seen. We began to pull for the shore, and had not proceeded far before we saw the ship coming down before the wind. At half past two o'clock they took us on board, when I was as unable to stand as if I had no legs. On inquiry, we found the ship had been brought to close reefed main topsail and courses, during the gale; and had been compelled to hand the fore and mizen topsails. After taking some refreshment, shifting my clothes, and enjoying a few hours rest, I recovered my strength. We then bore away for the island of St. Maria, and soon rendered the Spaniards a good deed, in return for what we had received, as the reader will hereafter learn.

The island of Juan Fernandez is now considerably well cultivated in all those parts that are capable of receiving it. It is very much torn to pieces by volcanos, and exhibits many burnt, barren, rocky mountains. It affords all the kinds of fruit and vegetables, which are produced on any part of the coast of Chili. Its live stock consists of black cattle, horses, sheep, goats, and all kinds of domestic fowls. The number of inhabitants is, I imagine, rather short of three thousand. The bay, or harbour, in which Selkirk made his residence, is no more than a little cove, one hundred rods across, and directly open to a north east wind. That is the only place which is of easy access. The island is not so large as Massa Fuero. There are not now any seals on any part of it.

The island of St. Maria is in latitude 37° 2′ south, the longitude by the mean of a number of sets of lunar distances, taken at the anchoring place, was 72° 36′ west. This is the true longitude of the island. I find it necessary here to state, with a humble apology to the reader for the error, that there was not any place near this coast, where I took a series of observations for the longitude, sufficiently correct to establish the point, except at St. Maria and Massa Fuero. In consequence of which the difference between Baldavia, Mocha, and Conception, must be deduced from that given of St. Maria. The longitude of these places was taken from Malespena's charts, and that of St. Maria was stated in page 276, to be 73° 34′, which I then calculated to be right; but on further examination I found he had settled his longitude from Cadiz, and had not allowed the same difference of longitude that I had, between that place and London.

To sail into the bay of St. Maria, it is best to fall into the south of the island, as directed in making other ports on this coast. The winds, from September till May, blow from the southerly quarter seven eighths of the time, and the remainder of the year, they prevail more from that quarter than any other. When the weather is clear, the main land will be seen to the eastward, when coming in from sea, before raising the island, as it is much lower than the main. In drawing in with the land, a little rocky head will be observed, but not very high, in latitude 37° 6′ south, which is the south east head of St. Maria. Bring that head to bear north, before you run for the anchoring place, on account of some sunken ledges, which lie to the south

and westward of it; and in drawing near, keep to the eastward of it, and not come nearer than one mile. When it bears west, the ship will be past a small reef that lies out south east from the head; and there will then be seven or eight fathoms water. She may then haul to the westward into the bay, till the water shoals to five fathoms, sandy bottom. A ship may anchor here; but will be in danger of having her cables cut very badly, owing to the sharpness of the sand at the bottom, which cuts like an edged tool. The ledges that lie to the south west of St. Maria head are not more than two or three miles from the land. In sailing into the bay, a high head of land may be seen, bearing nearly south west from the south east head of the island, about six leagues distant. By this it may be known that a ship is in the fair way. The most of the space between the two heads is clear, though it is most prudent not to keep very near the southernmost head.

The island forms a kind of half moon, with its points extending to the eastward; but the northerly point stretches much more in that direction than the southerly one. The whole of the bay is a clear, sandy bottom; and there are very regular soundings, so that a ship may tack or beat into it in the night as well as in the day time, without the least danger, by attending to the lead. Off the north east point is a very bad reef, that always breaks. If a ship falls into the northward of the island, she may go in that way as safe as the other, by giving the reef off the point a good birth. There is a kind of bay on the north side of the island, which ships sometimes anchor in. It will do very well in the summer; but is not safe by any means in the winter, as the northerly winds blow directly on shore. The inner bay is a tolerably good harbour; but the strong south east winds, which blow most part of the time, come in with such a long rake from a deep bay in that direction, as to render it heavy riding. It is very convenient to procure water in this bay. The watering place is about the middle of it, and may very easily be found by the make of the land. All the way from the south east head to it, is a high steep bank, at the end of which is the watering place. From that to the north east point is a low sandy beach. There is a very remarkable rock off to the westward of St. Maria, which always makes like a sail. It lies about a league from the main island. It is not safe to go between that and the island, or to come too near to it on the westerly side, on account

of some sunken rocks lying round it. The island is moderately elevated land, except the north east part, which is a low sandy beach, with hillocks of sand.

This island has been well stocked with black cattle, with most kinds of quadrupeds, and has had a family living on it for many years. There are now some of the vestiges of fruit, and of gardens, such as apple trees, two or three kinds of other trees, and several kinds of garden herbs, such as balm, sage, saffron, and all kinds of mint, together with rose bushes, current bushes, gooseberry bushes; and there were some cabbages and pumpkins; but they have been destroyed by the hogs, which remained the longest on the island of any of the stock; but they were so much hunted by the different people who visited this place, that they were all killed off. There were appearances of corn hills, which convinced me that Indian corn or maize had been a prod ce of the island. There are great quantities of this article raised in the kingdom of Chili, and it is made an important article of food among the common class of people. The land is level and clear of stones. This is also the case with most of the tillage land on all parts of the coast of Chili. The soil is very rich, and would produce all kinds of vegetables, if cultivated. Captain St. Maria, who has been named at Juan Fernandez, and who was the preceding governor there to Don Thomas Higgins, was the owner of this island; but his family or connexions were compelled to move off from it, on account of the English, who made it a place of rendezvous in time of war.

It is about three or four leagues in circumference. The shores round it are in some places a sandy beach, and in others, are iron bound and rocky, with very steep banks, one or two hundred feet high, and as much up and down as the side of a house. The south head is a great place of resort for shags, and is as white as a snow bank with their ordure in a clear day when the sun shines so as to dry it. They go off to sea in the middle of the day to catch fish; and at night come on shore to roost. I have seen more of them here in one flock than would load a large ship. They sometimes come into the bay, flying and diving after the shoals of fish, in such numbers as to make it as dark as on a thick cloudy day. The north east point is a very convenient place, in the proper season, to procure gulls' eggs. They are sweet, and very good eating; and the point was covered with them. The method we adopted

to get fresh eggs, was to go at night and pick up all that were to be found; by doing this we were certain that what we found the next day would be good. There are other kinds of birds here during the season for them; such as ducks and teal, eagles, hawks, turkey-buzzards, and curlews of two or three kinds; and several kinds of sand birds. Good fish may be caught with seines in the bay. Whales are plenty here some part of the season; so much so, that ships might load here with right-whale oil very conveniently.

It is a great place of rendezvous for the English and American ships, as they can get water and wood with little trouble; and on such long voyages it is very convenient to exchange civilities with each other. One ship may be in want of something that another can spare. It is a very pleasant place for the crews to amuse themselves with shooting, fishing, getting birds' eggs, and playing ball. This place has sometimes been made a residence for people who have got out of Spanish prisons; and likewise for those who come from Massa Fuero, with a view to procure themselves a passage in ships that may be bound home, or in some other direction where they may wish to go. I have seen very convenient houses that were built here by the above description of people, in which they have lived several months together very comfortably. It is not uncommon to see ten or fifteen American and English ships at one time at anchor in this road stead. They come in from off whaleing ground, from sealing islands; or any pursuit that may call them into these seas; and here they can enjoy themselves very well. They can get water, and wood, and refreshments, without any expence, and with but very little trouble. The air in the vicinity of it is remarkably pure, and the prospect is delightful. The view from the most elevated parts of it, in such an extraordinarily serene atmosphere as is enjoyed the greatest part of the time, is very pleasant. The hills, dales, and the cultivated parts of the country may be seen for nearly all the easterly half of the compass along the coast of Chili, whilst on the westerly half are views of the ocean, with ships frequently in sight, coming in, going out, cruising for whales, or sailing up and down the coast.

There are some reptiles here, such as snakes, lizards, and a large kind of spider, which has a very disagreeable appearance; but I know nothing of any of their poisonous qualities. I have seen the glow-worm here, and in Conception. It is an extraordinary insect.

I have picked them up in a dark night out of the mud, being discovered by their effulgence, which was brighter than any thing I recollect to have seen, except it was something of the nature of fire. They are about an inch long, the fore body something in the form of a lobster, with four or six legs, which were very short. The after body, which was the part that reflected such splendor, was also shaped something like that of the lobster, except the under part, which was like a caterpillar. I have carried them into houses, washed them clean, and put them in a dark place, to see with what beauty they would appear; but as soon as they were dry, or dead, the brightness was no more to be discovered.

There is a beautiful river that makes in to the main land, in an east-south-east direction from St. Maria. It is very fertile on its banks. I have seen the water covered with apples, several miles off shore, after a hard rain and heavy blow, which were brought out with the freshet. There is a little town just to the northward, or on the north side of this river, called Arruco, where boats frequently go from the ships that lie in St. Maria, and have obtained refreshments, when the commander happened to be an accommodating man.

The distance from St. Maria to the nearest main land is about three leagues.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Particulars of the Capture of the Spanish Ship Tryal, at the island of St. Maria; with the Documents relating to that affair.

IN introducing the account of the capture of the Spanish ship Tryal, I shall first give an extract from the journal of the ship Perseverance, taken on board that ship at the time, by the officer who had the care of the log book.

"Wednesday, February 20th, commenced with light airs from the north east, and thick foggy weather. At six A. M. observed a sail opening round the south head of St. Maria, coming into the bay. It proved to be a ship. The captain took the whale boat and crew, and went on board her. As the wind was very light, so that a vessel would not have much more than steerage way at the time; observed that the ship acted very awkwardly. At ten A. M. the boat returned. Mr. Luther informed that Captain Delano had remained on board her, and that she was a Spaniard from Buenos Ayres, four months and twenty six days out of port, with slaves on board; and tha the ship was in great want of water, had buried many white men and slaves on her passage, and that captain Delano had sent for a large boat load of water, some fresh fish, sugar, bread, pumpkins, and bottled cider, all of which articles were immediately sent. At twelve o'clock (Meridian) calm. At two P. M. the large boat returned from the Spaniards, had left our water casks on board her. At four P. M. a breeze sprung up from the southern quarter, which brought the Spanish ship into the roads. She anchored about two cables length to the south east of our ship. Immediately after she anchored, our captain with his boat was shoving off from along side the Spanish ship; when to his great surprise the Spanish captain leaped into the boat, and called out in Spanish, that the slaves on board had risen and murdered

many of the people; and that he did not then command her; on which manœuvre, several of the Spaniards who remained on board jumped overboard, and swam for our boat, and were picked up by our people. The Spaniards, who remained on board, hurried up the rigging, as high aloft as they could possibly get, and called out repeatedly for help—that they should be murdered by the slaves. Our captain came immediately on board, and brought the Spanish captain and the men who were picked up in the water; but before the boat arrived, we observed that the slaves had cut the Spanish ship adrift. On learning this, our captain hailed, and ordered the ports to be got up, and the guns cleared; but unfortunately, we could not bring but one of our guns to bear on the ship. We fired five or six shot with it, but could not bring her too. We soon observed her making sail, and standing directly out of the bay. We dispatched two boats well manned, and well armed after her, who, after much trouble, boarded the ship and retook her. But unfortunately in the business, Mr. Rufus Low, our chief officer, who commanded the party, was desperately wounded in the breast, by being stabbed with a pike, by one of the slaves. We likewise had one man badly wounded and two or three slightly. To continue the misfortune, the chief officer of the Spanish ship, who was compelled by the slaves to steer her out of the bay, received two very bad wounds, one in the side, and one through the thigh, both from musket balls. One Spaniard, a gentleman passenger on board, was likewise killed by a musket ball. We have not rightly ascertained what number of slaves were killed; but we believe seven, and a great number wounded. Our people brought the ship in, and came to nearly where she first anchored, at about two o'clock in the morning of the 21st. At six A. M. the two captains went on board the Spanish ship; took with them irons from our ship, and doubled ironed all the remaining men of the slaves who were living. Left Mr. Brown, our second officer, in charge of the ship, the gunner with him as mate, and eight other hands; together with the survivors of the Spanish crew. The captain, and chief officer, were removed to our ship, the latter for the benefit of having his wounds better attended to with us, than he could have had them on board his own ship. At nine A. M. the two captains returned,

having put every thing aright, as they supposed, on board the Spanish ship.

The Spanish captain then informed us that he was compelled by the slaves to say, that he was from Buenos Ayres, bound to Lima; that he was not from Buenos Ayres, but sailed on the 20th of December last from Valparaiso for Lima, with upwards of seventy slaves on board; that on the 26th of December, the slaves rose upon the ship, and took possession of her, and put to death eighteen white men, and threw overboard at different periods after, seven more; that the slaves had commanded him to go to Senegal; that he had kept to sea until his water was expended, and had made this port to get it; and also with a view to save his own and the remainder of his people's lives if possible, by running away from his ship with his boat."

I shall here add some remarks of my own, to what is stated above from the ship's journal, with a view of giving the reader a correct understanding of the peculiar situation under which we were placed at the time this affair happened. We were in a worse situation to effect any important enterprize than I had been in during the voyage. We had been from home a year and a half, and had not made enough to amount to twenty dollars for each of my people, who were all on shares, and our future prospects were not very flattering. To make our situation worse, I had found after leaving New Holland, on mustering my people, that I had seventeen men, most of whom had been convicts at Botany bay. They had secreted themselves on board without my knowledge. This was a larger number than had been inveigled away from me at the same place, by people who had been convicts, and were then employed at places that we visited. The men whom we lost were all of them extraordinarily good men. This exchange materially altered the quality of the crew. Three of the Botany-bay-men were outlawed convicts; they had been shot at many times, and several times wounded. After making this bad exchange, my crew were refractory; the convicts were ever unfaithful, and took all the advantage that opportunity gave them. But sometimes exercising very strict discipline, and giving them good wholesome floggings; and at other times treating them with the best I had, or could get, according as their deeds deserved, I managed them without much difficulty during the passage across the South Pacific Ocean; and all the

time I had been on the coast of Chili. I had lately been at the islands of St. Ambrose and St. Felix, and left there fifteen of my best men, with the view of procuring seals; and left that place in company with my consort the Pilgrim. We appointed Massa Fuero as our place of rendezvous, and if we did not meet there, again to rendezvous at St. Maria. I proceeded to the first place appointed; the Pilgrim had not arrived. I then determined to take a look at Juan Fernandez, and see if we could find any seals, as some persons had informed me they were to be found on some part of the island. I accordingly visited that place, as has been stated; from thence I proceeded to St. Maria; and arrived the 13th of February at that place, where we commonly find visitors. We found the ship Mars of Nantucket, commanded by captain Jonathan Barney. The day we arrived, three of my Botany bay men run from the boat when on shore. The next day, (the 14th) I was informed by Captain Barney, that some of my convict men had planned to run away with one of my boats, and go over to the main. This information he obtained through the medium of his people. I examined into the affair, and was satisfied as to the truth of it; set five more of the above description of men on shore, making eight in all I had gotten clear of in two days. Captain Barney sailed about the 17th, and left me quite alone. I continued in that unpleasant situation till the 20th, never at any time after my arrival at this place, daring to let my whale boat be in the water fifteen minutes unless I was in her myself, from a fear that some of my people would run away with her. I always hoisted her in on deck the moment I came along side, by which means I had the advantage of them; for should they run away with any other boat belonging to the ship, I could overtake them with the whale boat, which they very well knew. They were also well satisfied of the reasons why that boat was always kept on board, except when in my immediate use. During this time, I had no fear from them, except of their running away. Under these disadvantages the Spanish ship Tryal made her appearance on the morning of the 20th, as has been stated; and I had in the course of the day the satisfaction of seeing the great utility of good discipline. In every part of the business of the Tryal, not one disaffected word was spoken by the men, but all flew to obey the commands they received; and to their credit it should be recorded, that no men ever behaved

better than they, under such circumstances. When it is considered that we had but two boats, one a whale boat, and the other built by ourselves, while on the coast of New Holland, which was very little larger than the whale boat; both of them were clinker built, one of cedar, and the other not much stouter; with only twenty men to board and carry a ship, containing so many slaves, made desperate by their situation; for they were certain, if taken, to suffer death; and when arriving along side of the slip, they might have staved the bottom of the boats, by heaving into them a ballast stone or log of wood of twenty pounds: when all these things are taken into view, the reader may conceive of the hazardous nature of the enterprise, and the skill and the intrepidity which were requisite to carry it into execution.

On the afternoon of the 19th, before night, I sent the boatswain with the large boat and seine to try if he could catch some fish; he returned at night with but few, observing that the morning would be better, if he went early. I then wished him to go as early as he thought proper, and he accordingly went at four o'clock. At sunrise, or about that time, the officer who commanded the deck, came down to me while I was in my cot, with information that a sail was just opening round the south point, or head of the island. I immediately rose, went on deck, and observed that she was too near the land, on account of a reef that lay off the head; and at the same time remarked to my people, that she must be a stranger, and I did not well understand what she was about. Some of them observed that they did not know who she was, or what she was doing; but that they were accustomed to see vessels shew their colours, when coming into a port. I ordered the whale boat to be hoisted out and manned, which was accordingly done. Presuming the vessel was from sea, and had been many days out, without perhaps fresh provisions, we put the fish which had been caught the night before into the boat, to be presented if necessary. Every thing being soon ready, as I thought the strange ship was in danger, we made all the haste in our power to get on board, that we might prevent her getting on the reefs; but before we came near her, the wind headed her off, and she was doing well. I went along side, and saw the decks were filled with slaves. As soon as I got on deck, the captain, mate, people and slaves, crowded aroumd me to relate their stories, and to make known their griev-

ances; which could not but impress me with feelings of pity for their sufferings. They told me they had no water, as is related in their different accounts and depositions. After promising to relieve all the wants they had mentioned, I ordered the fish to be put on board, and sent the whale boat to our ship, with orders that the large boat, as soon as she returned from fishing, should take a set of gang casks to the watering place, fill them, and bring it for their relief as soon as possible. I also ordered the small boat to take what fish the large one had caught, and what soft bread they had baked, some pumpkins, some sugar, and bottled cider, and return to me without delay. The boat left me on board the Spanish ship, went to our own, and executed the orders; and returned to me again about eleven o'clock. At noon the large boat came with the water, which I was obliged to serve out to them myself, to keep them from drinking so much as to do themselves injury. I gave them at first one gill each, an hour after, half a pint, and the third hour, a pint. Afterward, I permited them to drink as they pleased. They all looked up to me as a benefactor; and as I was deceived in them, I did them every possible kindness. Had it been otherwise there is no doubt I should have fallen a victim to their power. It was to my great advantage, that, on this occasion, the temperament of my mind was unusually pleasant. The apparent sufferings of those about me had softened my feelings into sympathy; or, doubtless my interference with some of their transactions would have cost me my life. The Spanish captain had evidently lost much of his authority over the slaves, whom he appeared to fear, and whom he was unwilling in any case to oppose. An instance of this occured in the conduct of the four cabin boys, spoken of by the captain. They were eating with the slave boys on the main deck, when, (as I was afterwards informed) the Spanish boys, feeling some hopes of release, and not having prudence sufficient to keep silent, some words dropped respecting their expectations, which were understood by the slave boys. One of them gave a stroke with a knife on the head of one of the Spanish boys, which penetrated to the bone, in a cut four inches in length. I saw this and inquired what it meant. The captain replied, that it was merely the sport of the boys, who had fallen out. I told him it appeared to me to be rather serious sport, as the wound had caused the boy to lose about a quart of blood. Several similar instances of

unruly conduct, which, agreeably to my manner of thinking, demanded immediate resistance and punishment, were thus easily winked at, and passed over. I felt willing however to make some allowance even for conduct so gross, when I considered them to have been broken down with fatigue and long suffering.

The act of the negro, who kept constantly at the elbows of Don Bonito and myself, I should, at any other time, have immediately resented; and although it excited my wonder, that his commander should allow this extraordinary liberty, I did not remonstrate against it, until it became troublesome to myself. I wished to have some private conversation with the captain alone, and the negro as usual following us into the cabin, I requested the captain to send him on deck, as the business about which we were to talk could not be conveniently communicated in presence of a third person. I spoke in Spanish, and the negro understood me. The captain assured me, that his remaining with us would be of no disservice; that he had made him his confidant and companion since he had lost so many of his officers and men. He had introduced him to me before, as captain of the slaves, and told me he kept them in good order. I was alone with them, or rather on board by myself, for three or four hours, during the absence of my boat, at which time the ship drifted out with the current three leagues from my own, when the breeze sprung up from the south east. It was nearly four o'clock in the afternoon. We ran the ship as near to the Perseverance as we could without either ship's swinging afoul the other. After the Spanish ship was anchored, I invited the captain to go on board my ship and take tea or coffee with me. His answer was short and seemingly reserved; and his air very different from that with which he had received my assistance. As I was at a loss to account for this change in his demeanour, and knew he had seen nothing in my conduct to justify it, and as I felt certain that he treated me with intentional neglect; in return I became less sociable, and said little to him. After I had ordered my boat to be hauled up and manned, and as I was going to the side of the vessel, in order to get into her, Don Bonito came to me, gave my hand a hearty squeeze, and, as I thought, seemed to feel the weight of the cool treatment with which I had retaliated. I had committed a mistake in attributing his apparent coldness to neglect; and as soon as the discovery was made, I was happy to rectify it, by a

prompt renewal of friendly intercourse. He continued to hold my hand fast till I stepped off the gunwale down the side, when he let it go, and stood making me compliments. When I had seated myself in the boat, and ordered her to be shoved off, the people having their oars up on end, she fell off at a sufficient distance to leave room for the oars to drop. After they were down, the Spanish captain, to my great astonishment, leaped from the gunwale of the ship into the middle of our boat. As soon as he had recovered a little, he called out in so alarming a manner, that I could not understand him; and the Spanish sailors were then seen jumping overboard and making for our boat. These proceedings excited the wonder of us all. The officer whom I had with me anxiously inquired into their meaning. I smiled and told him, that I neither knew, nor cared; but it seemed the captain was trying to impress his people with a belief that we intended to run away with him. At this moment one of my Portuguese sailors in the boat, spoke to me, and gave me to understand what Don Bonito said. I desired the captain to come aft and sit down by my side, and in a calm deliberate manner relate the whole affair In the mean time the boat was employed in picking up the men who had jumped from the ship. They had picked up three, (leaving one in the water till after the boat had put the Spanish captain and myself on board my ship,) when my officer observed the cable was cut, and the ship was swinging. I hailed the Perseverance, ordering the ports got up, and the guns run out as soon as possible. We pulled as fast as we could on board; and then despatched the boat for the man who was left in the water, whom we succeeded to save alive.

We soon had our guns ready; but the Spanish ship had dropped so far astern of the Perseverance, that we could bring but one gun to bear on her, which was the after one. This was fired six times, without any other effect than cutting away the fore top-mast stay, and some other small ropes which were no hindrance to her going away. She was soon out of reach of our shot, steering out of the bay. We then had some other calculations to make. Our ship was moored with two bower anchors, which were all the cables or anchors of that description we had. To slip and leave them would be to break our policy of insurance by a deviation, against which I would here caution the masters of all vessels. It should always

be borne in mind, that to do any thing which will destroy the guaranty of their policies, how great soever may be the inducement, and how generous soever the motive, is not justifiable; for should any accident subsequently occur, whereby a loss might accrue to the underwriters, they will be found ready enough, and sometimes too ready, to avail themselves of the opportunity to be released from responsibility; and the damage must necessarily be sustained by the owners. This is perfectly right. The law has wisely restrained the powers of the insured, that the insurer should not be subject to imposition, or abuse. All bad consequences may be avoided by one who has a knowledge of his duty, and is disposed faithfully to obey its dictates.

At length, without much loss of time, I came to a determination to pursue, and take the ship with my two boats. On inquiring of the captain what fire arms they had on board the Tryal, he answered, they had none which they could use; that he had put the few they had out of order, so that they could make no defence with them; and furthermore, that they did not understand their use, if they were in order. He observed at the same time, that if I attempted to take her with boats we should all be killed; for the negros were such bravos and so desperate, that there would be no such thing as conquering them. I saw the man in the situation that I have seen others, frightened at his own shadow. This was probably owing to his having been effectually conquered and his spirits broken.

After the boats were armed, I ordered the men to get into them; and they obeyed with cheerfulness. I was going myself, but Don Bonito took hold of my hand and forbade me, saying, you have saved my life, and now you are going to throw away your own. Some of my confidential officers asked me if it would be prudent for me to go, and leave the Perseverance in such an unguarded state; and also, if any thing should happen to me, what would be the consequence to the voyage. Every man on board, they observed, would willingly go, if it were my pleasure. I gave their remonstrances a moment's consideration, and felt their weight. I then ordered into the boats my chief officer, Mr. Low, who commanded the party; and under him, Mr. Brown, my second officer; my brother William, Mr. George Russell, son to major Benjamin Russell of Boston, and Mr. Nathaniel Luther, midshipmen; William

Clark, boatswain; Charles Spence, gunner; and thirteen seamen. By way of encouragement, I told them that Don Bonito considered the ship and what was in her as lost; that the value was more than one hundred thousand dollars; that if we would take her, it should be all our own; and that if we should afterwards be disposed to give him up one half, it would be considered as a present. I likewise reminded them of the suffering condition of the poor Spaniards remaining on board, whom I then saw with my spy-glass as high aloft as they could get on the top-gallant-masts, and knowing that death must be their fate if they came down. I told them, never to see my face again, if they did not take her; and these were all of them pretty powerful stimulants. I wished God to prosper them in the discharge of their arduous duty, and they shoved off. They pulled after and came up with the Tryal, took their station upon each quarter, and commenced a brisk fire of musketry, directing it as much at the man at the helm as they could, as that was likewise a place of resort for the negroes. At length they drove the chief mate from it, who had been compelled to steer the ship. He ran up the mizen rigging as high as the cross jack yard, and called out in Spanish, "Don't board." This induced our people to believe that he favoured the cause of the negroes; they fired at him, and two balls took effect; one of them went through his side, but did not go deep enough to be mortal; and the other went through one of his thighs. This brought him down on deck again. They found the ship made such head way, that the boats could hardly keep up with her, as the breeze was growing stronger. They then called to the Spaniards, who were still as high aloft as they could get, to come down on the yards, and cut away the robings and earings of the topsails, and let them fall from the yards, so that they might not hold any wind. They accordingly did so. About the same time, the Spaniard who was steering the ship, was killed; (he is sometimes called *passenger*, and sometimes *clerk*, in the different depositions,) so that both these circumstances combined, rendered her unmanageable by such people as were left on board. She came round to the wind, and both boats boarded, one on each bow, when she was carried by hard fighting. The negroes defended themselves with desperate courage; and after our people had boarded them, they found they had barricadoed the deck by making a breast work of the water casks which we

had left on board, and sacks of matta, abreast the mainmast, from one side of the ship to the other, to the height of six feet; behind which they defended themselves with all the means in their power to the last; and our people had to force their way over this breast work before they could compel them to surrender. The other parts of the transaction have some of them been, and the remainder will be hereafter stated.

On going on board the next morning with hand-cuffs, leg-irons, and shackled bolts, to secure the hands and feet of the negroes, the sight which presented itself to our view was truly horrid. They had got all the men who were living made fast, hands and feet, to the ring bolts in the deck; some of them had part of their bowels hanging out, and some with half their backs and thighs shaved off. This was done with our boarding lances, which were always kept exceedingly sharp, and as bright as a gentleman's sword. Whilst putting them in irons, I had to exercise as much authority over the Spanish captain and his crew, as I had to use over my own men on any other occasion, to prevent them from cutting to pieces and killing these poor unfortunate beings. I observed one of the Spanish sailors had found a razor in the pocket of an old jacket of his, which one of the slaves had on; he opened it, and made a cut upon the negro's head. He seemed to aim at his throat, and it bled shockingly. Seeing several more about to engage in the same kind of barbarity, I commanded them not to hurt another one of them, on pain of being brought to the gang-way and flogged. The captain also, I noticed, had a dirk, which he had secreted at the time the negroes were massacreing the Spaniards. I did not observe, however, that he intended to use it, until one of my people gave me a twitch by the elbow, to draw my attention to what was passing, when I saw him in the act of stabbing one of the slaves. I immediately caught hold of him, took away his dirk, and threatened him with the consequences of my displeasure, if he attempted to hurt one of them. Thus I was obliged to be continually vigilant, to prevent them from using violence towards these wretched creatures.

After we had put every thing in order on board the Spanish ship, and swept for and obtained her anchors, which the negroes had cut her from, we sailed on the 23d, both ships in company, for Conception, where we anchored on the 26th. After the common forms were passed, we delivered the ship, and all that was on board her,

to the captain, whom we had befriended. We delivered him also a bag of doubloons, containing, I presume, nearly a thousand; several bags of dollars, containing a like number; and several baskets of watches, some gold, and some silver: all of which had been brought on board the Perseverance for safe keeping. We detained no part of this treasure to reward us for the services we had rendered:—all that we received was faithfully returned.

After our arrival at Conception, I was mortified and very much hurt at the treatment which I received from Don Bonito Sereno; but had this been the only time that I ever was treated with ingratitude, injustice, or want of compassion, I would not complain. I will only name one act of his towards me at this place. He went to the prison and took the depositions of five of my Botany bay convicts, who had left us at St. Maria, and were now in prison here. This was done by him with a view to injure my character, so that he might not be obliged to make us any compensation for what we had done for him. I never made any demand of, nor claimed in any way whatever, more than that they should give me justice; and did not ask to be my own judge, but to refer it to government. Amongst those who swore against me were the three outlawed convicts, who have been before mentioned. I had been the means, undoubtedly, of saving every one of their lives, and had supplied them with clothes. They swore every thing against me they could to effect my ruin. Amongst other atrocities, they swore I was a pirate, and made several statements that would operate equally to my disadvantage had they been believed; all of which were brought before the viceroy of Lima against me. When we met at that place, the viceroy was too great and too good a man to be misled by these false representations. He told Don Bonito, that my conduct towards him proved the injustice of these depositions, taking his own official declaration at Conception for the proof of it; that he had been informed by Don Jose Calminaries, who was commandant of the marine, and was at that time, and after the affair of the Tryal, on the coast of Chili; that Calminaries had informed him how both Don Bonito and myself had conducted, and he was satisfied that no man had behaved better, under all circumstances, than the American captain had done to Don Bonito, and that he never had seen or heard of any man treating another with so much dishonesty and ingratitude as he had treated the American.

The viceroy had previously issued an order, on his own authority, to Don Bonito, to deliver to me eight thousand dollars as part payment for services rendered him. This order was not given till his Excellency had consulted all the tribunals holding jurisdiction over similar cases, except the twelve royal judges. These judges exercise a supreme authority over all the courts in Peru, and reserve to themselves the right of giving a final decision in all questions of law. Whenever either party is dissatisfied with the decision of the inferior courts in this kingdom, they have a right of appeal to the twelve judges. Don Bonito had attempted an appeal from the viceroy's order to the royal judges. The viceroy sent for me, and acquainted me of Don Bonito's attempt; at the same time recommending to me to accede to it, as the royal judges well understood the nature of the business, and would do much better for me than his order would. He observed at the same time, that they were men of too great characters to be biassed or swayed from doing justice by any party; they holding their appointments immediately from his majesty. He said, if I requested it, Don Bonito should be holden to his order. I then represented, that I had been in Lima nearly two months, waiting for different tribunals, to satisfy his Excellency what was safe for him, and best to be done for me, short of a course of law, which I was neither able nor willing to enter into; that I had then nearly thirty men on different islands, and on board my tender, which was then somewhere amongst the islands on the coast of Chili; that they had no method that I knew of to help themselves, or receive succour, except from me; and that if I was to defer the time any longer it amounted to a certainty, that they must suffer. I therefore must pray that his Excellency's order might be put in force.

Don Bonito, who was owner of the ship and part of the cargo, had been quibbling and using all his endeavours to delay the time of payment, provided the appeal was not allowed, when his Excellency told him to get out of his sight, that he would pay the money himself, and put him (Don Bonito) into a dungeon, where he should not see sun, moon, or stars; and was about giving the order, when a very respectable company of merchants waited on him and pleaded for Don Bonito; praying that his Excellency would favour him on account of his family, who were very rich and respectable. The viceroy remarked that Don Bonito's charac-

ter had been such as to disgrace any family, that had any pretensions to respectability; but that he should grant their prayer, provided there was no more reason for complaint. The last transaction brought me the money in two hours; by which time I was extremely distressed, enough, I believe, to have punished me for a great many of my bad deeds.

When I take a retrospective view of my life, I cannot find in my soul, that I ever have done any thing to deserve such misery and ingratitude as I have suffered at different periods, and in general, from the very persons to whom I have rendered the greatest services.

The following Documents were officially translated, and are inserted without alteration, from the original papers. This I thought to be the most correct course, as it would give the reader a better view of the subject than any other method that could be adopted. My deposition and that of Mr. Luther, were communicated through a bad linguist, who could not speak the English language so well as I could the Spanish, Mr. Luther not having any knowledge of the Spanish language. The Spanish captain's deposition, together with Mr. Luther's and my own, were translated into English again, as now inserted; having thus undergone two translations. These circumstances, will, we hope, be a sufficient apology for any thing which may appear to the reader not to be perfectly consistent, one declaration with another; and for any impropriety of expression.

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS.

STAMP.

A FAITHFUL TRANSLATION OF THE DEPOSITIONS OF DON BENITO CERENO, OF DON AMASA DELANO, AND OF DON NATHANIEL LUTHER, TOGETHER WITH THE DOCUMENTS OF THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE PROCESS, UNDER THE KING'S SEAL.

I DON JOSE DE ABOS, and Padilla, his Majesty's Notary for the Royal Revenue, and Register of this Province, and Notary Public of the Holy Crusade of this Bishoprick, &c.

Do certify and declare, as much as requisite in law, that, in the criminal cause, which by an order of the Royal Justice, Doctor DON JUAN MARTINEZ DE ROZAS, deputy assessor general of this province, conducted against the Senegal Negroes, that the ship Tryal was carrying from the port of Valparaiso, to that of Callao of Lima, in the month of December last. There is at the beginning of the prosecution, a decree in continuation of the declaration of her captain, Don Benito Cereno, and on the back of the twenty-sixth leaf, that of the captain of the American ship, the Perseverance, Amasa Delano; and that of the supercargo of this ship, Nathaniel Luther, midshipman, of the United States, on the thirtieth leaf; as also the Sentence of the aforesaid cause, on the back of the 72d leaf; and the confirmation of the Royal Audience, of this District, on the 78th and 79th leaves; and an official order of the Tribunal with which the cause and every thing else therein continued, is remitted back; which proceedings with a representation made by the said American captain, Amasa Delano, to this Intendency, against the Spanish captain of the ship Tryal, Don Benito Cereno, and answers thereto—are in the following manner—

Decree of the Commencement of the Process.

In the port of Talcahuane, the twenty-fourth of the month of February, one thousand eight hundred and five, Doctor Don Juan Martinez de Rozas, Counsellor of the Royal Audience of this Kingdom, Deputy Assessor, and learned in the law, of this Intendency,

having the deputation thereof on account of the absence of his Lordship, the Governor Intendent—Said, that whereas the ship Tryal, has just cast anchor in the road of this port, and her captain, Don Benito Cereno, has made the declaration of the twentieth of December, he sailed from the port of Valparaiso, bound to that of Callao; having his ship loaded with produce and merchandize of the country, with sixty-three negroes of all sexes and ages, and besides nine sucking infants; that the twenty-sixth, in the night, revolted, killed eighteen of his men, and made themselves master of the ship—that afterwards they killed seven men more, and obliged him to carry them to the coast of Africa, at Senegal, of which they were natives; that Tuesday the nineteenth, he put into the island of Santa Maria, for the purpose of taking in water, and he found in its harbour the American ship, the Perseverance, commanded by captain Amasa Delano, who being informed of the revolt of the negroes on board the ship Tryal, killed five or six of them in the engagement, and finally overcame them; that the ship being recovered, he supplied him with hands, and brought him to this port.—Wherefore, for examining the truth of these facts, and inflict on the guilty of such heinous crimes, the penalties provided by law. He therefore orders that this decree commencing the process, should be extended, that agreeably to its tenor, the witnesses, that should be able to give an account of them, be examined—thus ordered by his honour, which I attest.—Doctor ROZAS.

Before me, Jose de Abos, and Padilla, his Majesty's Notary of Royal Revenue and Registers.

Declaration of first Witness, Don Benito Cereno.

The same day and month and year, his Honour ordered the captain of the ship Tryal, Don Benito Cereno, to appear, of whom he received before me, the oath, which he took by God, our Lord, and a Sign of the Cross, under which he promised to tell the truth of whatever he should know and should be asked—and being interrogated agreeably to the tenor of the act, commencing the process, he said, that the twentieth of December last, he set sail with his ship from the port of Valparaiso, bound to that of Callao; loaded with the produce of the country, and seventy-two negroes of both sexes, and of all ages, belonging to Don Alexandro Aranda,

inhabitant of the city of Mendosa; that the crew of the ship consisted of thirty-six men, besides the persons who went passengers; that the negroes were of the following ages,—twenty from twelve to sixteen years, one from about eighteen to nineteen years, named Jose, and this was the man that waited upon his master Don Alexandro, who speaks well the Spanish, having had him four or five years; a mulatto, named Francisco, native of the province of Buenos Ayres, aged about thirty-five years; a smart negro, named Joaquin, who had been for many years among the Spaniards, aged twenty six years, and a caulker by trade; twelve full grown negroes, aged from twenty-five to fifty years, all raw and born on the coast of Senegal—whose names are as follow,—the first was named Babo, and he was killed,—the second who is his son, is named Muri,—the third, Matiluqui,—the fourth, Yola,—the fifth, Yau,—the sixth Atufal, who was killed,—the seventh, Diamelo, also killed,—the eighth, Lecbe, likewise killed,—the ninth, Natu, in the same manner killed, and that he does not recollect the names of the others; but that he will take due account of them all, and remit to the court; and twenty-eight women of all ages;—that all the negroes slept upon deck, as is customary in this navigation; and none wore fetters, because the owner, Aranda told him that they were all tractable; that the twenty-seventh of December, at three o'clock in the morning, all the Spaniards being asleep except the two officers on the watch, who were the boatswain Juan Robles, and the carpenter Juan Balltista Gayete, and the helmsman and his boy; the negroes revolted suddenly, wounded dangerously the boatswain and the carpenter, and successively killed eighteen men of those who were sleeping upon deck,—some with sticks and daggers, and others by throwing them alive overboard, after tying them; that of the Spaniards who were upon deck, they left about seven, as he thinks, alive and tied, to manœuvre the ship; and three or four more who hid themselves, remained also alive, although in the act of revolt, they made themselves masters of the hatchway, six or seven wounded, went through it to the cock-pit without any hindrance on their part; that in the act of revolt, the mate and another person, whose name he does not recollect, attempted to come up through the hatchway, but having been wounded at the onset, they were obliged to return to the cabin; that the deponent resolved at break of day to come up the companion-way,

where the negro Babo was, being the ring leader, and another who assisted him, and having spoken to them, exhorted them to cease committing such atrocities—asking them at the same time what they wanted and intended to do—offering himself to obey their commands; that notwithstanding this, they threw, in his presence, three men, alive and tied, overboard; that they told the deponent to come up, and that they would not kill him—which having done, they asked him whether there were in these seas any negro countries, where they might be carried, and he answered them, no; that they afterwards told him to carry them to *Senegal*, or to the neighbouring islands of St. Nicolas—and he answered them, that this was imposible, on account of the great distance, the bad condition of the vessel, the want of provisions, sails and water; that they replied to him, he must carry them in any way; that they would do and conform themselves to every thing the deponent should require as to eating and drinking, that after a long conference, being absolutely compelled to please them, for they threatened him to kill them all, if they were not at all events carried to Senegal. He told them that what was most wanting for the voyage was water; that they would go near the coast to take it, and thence they would proceed on their course—that the negroes agreed to it; and the deponent steered towards the intermediate ports, hoping to meet some Spanish or foreign vessel that would save them; that within ten or eleven days they saw the land, and continued their course by it in the vicinity of Nasca; that the deponent observed that the negroes were now restless, and mutinous, because he did not effect the taking in of water, they having required with threats that it should be done, without fail the following day; he told them they saw plainly that the coast was steep, and the rivers designated in the maps were not to be found, with other reasons suitable to the circumstances; that the best way would be to go to the island of Santa Maria, where they might water and victual easily, it being a desert island, as the foreigners did; that the deponent did not go to Pisco, that was near, nor make any other port of the coast, because the negroes had intimated to him several times, that they would kill them all the very moment they should perceive any city, town, or settlement, on the shores to which they should be carried; that having determined to go to the island of Santa Maria, as the deponent had planned, for the purpose of trying whether in the

passage or in the island itself, they could find any vessel that should favour them, or whether he could escape from it in a boat to the neighbouring coast of Arruco. To adopt the necessary means he immediately changed his course, steering for the island; that the negroes held daily conferences, in which they discussed what was necessary for their design of returning to Senegal, whether they were to kill all the Spaniards, and particularly the deponent; that eight days after parting from the coast of Nasca, the deponent being on the watch a little after day-break, and soon after the negroes had their meeting, the negro Mure came to the place where the deponent was, and told him, that his comrades had determined to kill his master, Don Alexandro Aranda, because they said they could not otherwise obtain their liberty, and that he should call the mate, who was sleeping, before they executed it, for fear, as he understood, that he should not be killed with the rest; that the deponent prayed and told him all that was necessary in such a circumstance to dissuade him from his design, but all was useless, for the negro Mure answered him, that the thing could not be prevented, and that they should all run the risk of being killed if they should attempt to dissuade or obstruct them in the act; that in this conflict the deponent called the mate, and immediately the negro Mure ordered the negro Matinqui, and another named Lecbe, who died in the island of Santa Maria, to go and commit this murder; that the two negroes went down to the birth of Don Alexandro, and stabbed him in his bed; that yet half alive and agonizing, they dragged him on deck and threw him overboard; that the clerk, Don Lorenzo Bargas, was sleeping in the opposite birth, and awaking at the cries of Aranda, surprised by them, and at the sight of the negroes, who had bloody daggers in their hands, he threw himself into the sea through a window which was near him, and was miserably drowned, without being in the power of the deponent to assist, or take him up, though he immediately put out his boat; that a short time after killing Aranda, they got upon deck his german-cousin, Don Francisco Masa, and his other clerk, called Don Hermenegildo, a native of Spain, and a relation of the said Aranda, besides the boatswain, Juan Robles, the boatswain's mate, Manuel Viseaya, and two or three others of the sailors, all of whom were wounded, and having stabbed them again, they threw them alive into the sea, although they made

no resistance, nor begged for any thing else but mercy; that the boatswain, Juan Robles, who knew how to swim, kept himself the longest above water, making acts of contrition, and in the last words he uttered, charged this deponent to cause mass to be said for his soul, to our Lady of Succour; that having finished this slaughter, the negro Mure told him that they had now done all, and that he might pursue his destination, warning him that they would kill all the Spaniards, if they saw them speak, or plot any thing against them—a threat which they repeated almost every day; that before this occurrence last mentioned, they had tied the cook to throw him overboard for I know not what thing they heard him speak, and finally they spared his life at the request of the deponent; that a few days after, the deponent endeavoured not to omit any means to preserve their lives—spoke to them peace and tranquillity, and agreed to draw up a paper, signed by the deponent, and the sailors who could write, as also by the negroes, Babo and Atufal, who could do it in their language, though they were new, in which he obliged himself to carry them to Senegal, and they not to kill any more, and to return to them the ship with the cargo, with which they were for that satisfied and quieted; that omitting other events which daily happened, and which can only serve to recal their past misfortunes and conflicts, after forty-two days navigation, reckoned from the time they sailed from Nasca, during which they navigated under a scanty allowance of water, they at last arrived at the island of Santa Maria, on Tuesday the nineteenth instant, at about five o'clock in the afternoon, at which hour they cast anchor very near the American ship Perseverance, which lay in the same port, commanded by the *generous captain Amasa Delano*, but at seven o'clock in the morning they had already descried the port, and the negroes became uneasy as soon as they saw the ship, and the deponent, to appease and quiet them, proposed to them to say and do all that he will declare to have said to the American captain, with which they were tranquilized, warning him that if he varied in the least, or uttered any word that should give the least intimation of the past occurrences, they would instantly kill him and all his companions; that about eight o'clock in the morning, captain Amasa Delano came in his boat, on board the Tryal, and all gladly received him; that the deponent, acting then the part of an owner and a free captain

of the ship, told them that he came from Buenos Ayres, bound to Lima, with that parcel of negroes; that at the cape many had died, that also, all the sea officers and the greatest part of the crew had died, there remained to him no other sailors than these few who were in sight, and that for want of them the sails had been torn to pieces; that the heavy storms off the cape had obliged them to throw overboard the greatest part of the cargo, and the water pipes; that consequently he had no more water; that he had thought of putting into the port of Conception, but that the north wind had prevented him, as also the want of water, for he had only enough for that day, concluded by asking of him supplies;—that the *generous captain Amasa Delano* immediately offered them sails, pipes, and whatever he wanted, to pursue his voyage to Lima, without entering any other port, leaving it to his pleasure to refund him for these supplies at Callao, or pay him for them if he thought best; that he immediately ordered his boat for the purpose of bringing him water, sugar, and bread, as they did; that Amasa Delano remained on board the Tryal all the day, till he left the ship anchored at five o'clock in the afternoon, deponent speaking to him always of his pretended misfortunes, under the forementioned principles, without having had it in his power to tell a single word, nor giving him the least hint, that he might know the truth, and state of things; because the negro Mure, who is a man of capacity and talents, performing the office of an officious servant, with all the appearance of submission of the humble slave, did not leave the deponent one moment, in order to observe his actions and words; for he understands well the Spanish, and besides there were thereabout some others who were constantly on the watch and understood it also; that a moment in which Amasa Delano left the deponent, Mure asked him, how do we come on? and the deponent answered them, well; gives us all the supplies we want; but he asked him afterwards how many men he had, and the deponent told him that he had thirty men; but that twenty of them were on the island, and there were in the vessel only those whom he saw there in the two boats; and then the negro told him, well, you will be the captain of this ship to night and his also, for three negroes are sufficient to take it; that as soon as they had cast anchor, at five of the clock, as has been stated, the American captain took leave, to return to his vessel, and the deponent accompanied

him as far as the gunwale, where he staid under pretence of taking leave, until he should have got into his boat; but on shoving off, the deponent jumped from the gunwale into the boat and fell into it, without knowing how, and without sustaining, fortunately, any harm; but he immediately hallooed to the Spaniards in the ship, "Overboard, those that can swim, the rest to the rigging." That he instantly told the captain, by means of the Portuguese interpreter, that they were revolted negroes, who had killed all his people; that the said captain soon understood the affair, and recovered from his surprise, which the leap of the deponent occasioned, and told him, "Be not afraid, be not afraid, set down and be easy," and ordered his sailors to row towards his ship, and before coming up to her, he hailed, to get a cannon ready and run it out of the port hole, which they did very quick, and fired with it a few shots at the negroes; that in the mean while the boat was sent to pick up two men who had thrown themselves overboard, which they effected; that the negroes cut the cables, and endeavoured to sail away; that Amasa Delano, seeing them sailing away, and the cannon could not subdue them, ordered his people to get muskets, pikes, and sabres ready, and all his men offered themselves willingly to board them with the boats; that captain Amasa Delano wanted to go in person, and was going to embark the first, but the deponent prevented him, and after many entreaties he finally remained, saying, though that circumstance would procure him much honour, he would stay to please him, and keep him company in his affliction, and would send a brother of his, on whom he said he placed as much reliance as on himself; his brother, the mates, and eighteen men, whom he had in his vessel, embarked in the two boats, and made their way towards the Tryal, which was already under sail; that they rowed considerably in pursuing the ship, and kept up a musketry fire; but that they could not overtake them, until they hallooed to the sailors on the rigging, to unbend or take away the sails, which they accordingly did, letting them fall on the deck; that they were then able to lay themselves alongside, keeping up constantly a musketry fire, whilst some got up the sides on deck, with pikes and sabres, and the others remained in the stern of the boat, keeping up also a fire, until they got up finally by the same side, and engaged the negroes, who defended themselves to the last with their weapons, rushing upon the points

of the pikes with an extraordinary fury; that the Americans killed five or six negroes, and these were Babo, Atufal, Dick, Natu, Qiamolo, and does not recollect any other; that they wounded several others, and at last conquered and made them prisoners; that at ten o'clock at night, the first mate with three men, came to inform the captain that the ship had been taken, and came also for the purpose of being cured of a dangerous wound, made by a point of a dagger, which he had received in his breast; that two other Americans had been slightly wounded; the captain left nine men to take care of the ship as far as this port; he accompanied her with his own until both ships, the Tryal and Perseverance, cast anchor between nine and eleven o'clock in the forenoon of this day; that the deponent has not seen the twenty negroes, from twelve to sixteen years of age, have any share in the execution of the murders; nor does he believe they have had, on account of their age, although all were knowing to the insurrection; that the negro Jose, eighteen years old, and in the service of Don Alexandro, was the one who communicated the information to the negro Mure and his comrades, of the state of things before the revolt; and this is known, because in the preceding nights he used to come to sleep from below, where they were, and had secret conversations with Mure, in which he was seen several times by the mate; and one night he drove him away twice; that this same negro Jose, was the one who advised the other negroes to kill his master, Don Alexandro; and that this is known, because the negroes have said it; that on the first revolt, the negro Jose was upon deck with the other revolted negroes, but it is not known whether he materially participated in the murders; that the mulatto Francisco was of the band of revolters, and one of their number; that the negro Joaquin was also one of the worst of them, for that on the day the ship was taken, he assisted in the defence of her with a hatchet in one hand and a dagger in the other, as the sailors told him; that in sight of the deponent, he stabbed Don Francisco Masa, when he was carrying him to throw him overboard alive, he being the one who held him fast; that the twelve or thirteen negroes, from twenty-five to fifty years of age, were with the former, the principal revolters, and committed the murders and atrocities before related; that five or six of them were killed, as has been said, in the attack on the ship, and the following remained alive and are prisoners,—

to wit—Mure, who acted as captain and commander of them, and on all the insurrections and posterior events, Matinqui, Alathano, Yau, Luis, Mapenda, Yola, Yambaio, being eight in number, and with Jose, Joaquin, and Francisco, who are also alive, making the number of eleven of the remaining insurgents; that the negresses of age, were knowing to the revolt, and influenced the death of their master; who also used their influence to kill the deponent; that in the act of murder, and before that of the engagement of the ship, they began to sing, and were singing a very melancholy song during the action, to excite the courage of the negroes; that the statement he has just given of the negroes who are alive, has been made by the officers of the ship; that of the thirty-six men of the crew and passengers, which the deponent had knowledge of, twelve only including the mate remained alive, besides four cabin boys, who were not included in that number; that they broke an arm of one of those cabin boys, named Francisco Raneds, and gave him three or four stabs, which are already healed; that in the engagement of the ship, the second clerk, Don Josi Morairi, was killed by a musket ball fired at him through accident, for having incautiously presented himself on the gunwale; that at the time of the attack of the ship, Don Joaquin Arambaolaza was on one of the yards flying from the negroes, and at the approach of the boats, he hallooed by order of the negroes, not to board, on which account the Americans thought he was also one of the revolters, and fired two balls at him, one passed through one of his thighs, and the other in the chest of his body, of which he is now confined, though the American captain, who has him on board, says he will recover; that in order to be able to proceed from the coast of Nasca, to the island of Santa Maria, he saw himself obliged to lighten the ship, by throwing more than one third of the cargo overboard, for he could not have made that voyage otherwise; that what he has said is the most substantial of what occurs to him on this unfortunate event, and the truth, under the oath that he has taken;—which declaration he affirmed and ratified, after hearing it read to him. He said that he was twenty-nine years of age;—and signed with his honour—which I certify.

BENITO CERENO.

DOCTOR ROZAS.

Before me.—PADILLA.

RATIFICATION.

In the port of Talcahuano, the first day of the month of March, in the year one thousand eight hundred and five,—the same Honourable Judge of this cause caused to appear in his presence the captain of the ship Tryal, Don Benito Cereno, of whom he received an oath, before me, which he took conformably to law, under which he promised to tell the truth of what he should know, and of what he should be asked, and having read to him the foregoing declaration, and being asked if it is the same he has given and whether he has to add or to take off any thing,—he said, that it is the same he has given, that he affirms and ratifies it; and has only to add, that the new negroes were thirteen, and the females comprehended twenty-seven, without including the infants, and that one of them died from hunger or thirst, and two young negroes of those from twelve to sixteen, together with an infant. And he signed it with his honour—which I certify.

BENITO CERENO.

DOCTOR ROZAS.

Before me.—PADILLA.

Declaration of DON AMASA DELANO.

The same day, month and year, his Honour, ordered the captain of the American ship Perseverance to appear, whose oath his Honour received, which he took by placing his right hand on the Evangelists, under which he promised to tell the truth of what he should know and be asked—and being interrogated according to the decree, beginning this process, through the medium of the interpreter Carlos Elli, who likewise swore to exercise well and lawfully his office, that the nineteenth or twentieth of the month, as he believes, agreeably to the calculation he keeps from the eastward, being at the island of Santa Maria, at anchor, he descried at seven o'clock in the morning, a ship coming round the point;

that he asked his crew what ship that was; they replied that they did not know her; that taking his spy-glass he perceived she bore no colours; that he took his barge, and his net for fishing, and went on board of her, that when he got on deck he embraced the Spanish captain, who told him that he had been four months and twenty six days from Buenoes Ayres; that many of his people had died of the scurvy, and that he was in great want of supplies—particularly pipes for water, duck for sails, and refreshment for his crew; that the deponent offered to give and supply him with every thing he asked and wanted; that the Spanish captain did nothing else, because the ringleader of the negroes was constantly at their elbows, observing what was said. That immediately he sent his barge to his own ship to bring, (as they accordingly did) water, peas, bread, sugar, and fish. That he also sent for his long boat to bring a load of water, and having brought it, he returned to his own ship; that in parting he asked the Spanish captain to come on board his ship to take coffee, tea, and other refreshments; but he answered him with coldness and indifference; that he could not go then, but that he would in two or three days. That at the same time he visited him, the ship Tryal cast anchor in the port, about four o'clock in the afternoon,—that he told his people belonging to his boat to embark in order to return to his ship, that the deponent also left the deck to get into his barge,—that on getting into the barge, the Spanish captain took him by the hand and immediately gave a jump on board his boat,—that he then told him that the negroes of the Tryal had taken her, and had murdered twenty-five men, which the deponent was informed of through the medium of an interpreter, who was with him, and a Portuguese; that two or three other Spaniards threw themselves into the water, who were picked up by his boats; that he immediately went to his ship, and before reaching her, called to the mate to prepare and load the guns; that having got on board, he fired at them with his cannon, and this same deponent pointed six shots at the time the negroes of the Tryal were cutting away the cables and setting sail; that the Spanish captain told him that the ship was already going away, and that she could not be taken; that the deponent replied that he would take her; then the Spanish captain told him that if he took her, one half of her value would be his, and the other half would remain to the real owners; that thereupon he ordered the people

belonging to his crew, to embark in the two boats, armed with knives, pistols, sabres, and pikes, to pursue her, and board her; that the two boats were firing at her near an hour with musketry, and at the end boarded and captured her; and that before sending his boats, he told his crew, in order to encourage them, that the Spanish captain offered to give them the half of the value of the Tryal if they took her. That having taken the ship, they came to anchor at about two o'clock in the morning very near the deponent's, leaving in her about twenty of his men; that his first mate received a very dangerous wound in his breast made with a pike, of which he lies very ill; that three other sailors were also wounded with clubs, though not dangerously; that five or six of the negroes were killed in boarding; that at six o'clock in the morning, he went with the Spanish captain on board the Tryal, to carry manacles and fetters from his ship, ordering them to be put on the negroes who remained alive, he dressed the wounded, and accompained the Tryal to the anchoring ground; and in it he delivered her up manned from his crew; for until that moment he remained in possession of her; that what he has said is what he knows, and the truth, under the oath he has taken, which he affirmed and ratified after the said declaration had been read to him,—saying he was forty-two years of age,—the interpreter did not sign it because he said he did not know how—the captain signed it with his honour—which I certify.

AMASA DELANO.

DOCTOR ROZAS.

Before me.—PADILLA.

RATIFICATION.

The said day, month and year, his Honour ordered the captain of the American ship, Don Amasa Delano to appear, of whom his Honour received an oath, which he took by placing his hand on the Evangelists, under which he promised to tell the truth of what he should know, and be asked, and having read to him the foregoing declaration, through the medium of the interpreter, Ambrosio Fernandez, who likewise took an oath to exercise well

and faithfully his office,—he said that he affirms and ratifies the same ; that he has nothing to add or diminish, and he signed it, with his Honour, and likewise the Interpreter.

AMASA DELANO.

AMBROSIO FERNANDEZ.

DOCTOR ROZAS.

Before me.—PADILLA.

Declaration of DON NATHANIEL LUTHER, *Midshipman.*

The same day, month and year, his Honour ordered Don Nathaniel Luther, first midshipman of the American ship Perseverance, and acting as clerk to the captain, to appear, of whom he received an oath, and which he took by placing his right hand on the Evangelists, under which he promised to tell the truth of what he should know and be asked, and being interrogated agreeably to the decree commencing this process, through the medium of the Interpreter Carlos Elli, he said that the deponent himself was one that boarded, and helped to take the ship Tryal in the boats ; that he knows that his captain, Amasa Delano, has deposed on every thing that happened in this affair ; that in order to avoid delay he requests that his declaration should be read to him, and he will tell whether it is comformable to the happening of the events ; that if any thing should be omitted he will observe it, and add to it, doing the same if he erred in any part thereof ; and his Honour having acquiesced in this proposal, the Declaration made this day by captain Amasa Delano, was read to him through the medium of the Interpreter, and said, that the deponent went with his captain, Amasa Delano, to the ship Tryal, as soon as she appeared at the point of the island, which was about seven o'clock in the morning, and remained with him on board of her, until she cast anchor ; that the deponent was one of those who boarded the ship Tryal in the boats, and by this he knows that the narration which the captain has made in the deposition which has been read to him, is certain and exact in all its parts ; and he has only three things to

add; the first, that whilst his captain remained on board the Tryal, a negro stood constantly at his elbow, and by the side of the deponent, the second, that the deponent was in the boat, when the Spanish captain jumped into it, and when the Portuguese declared that the negroes had revolted; the third, that the number of killed was six, five negroes and a Spanish sailor; that what he has said is the truth, under the oath which he has taken; which he affirmed and ratified, after his Declaration had been read to him; he said he was twenty one years of age, and signed it with his Honour, but the Interpreter did not sign it, because he said he did not know how—which I certify,

NATHANIEL LUTHER.

DOCTOR ROZAS.

Before me.—PADILLA.

RATIFICATION.

The aforesaid day, month and year, his Honour, ordered Don Nathaniel Luther, first midshipman of the American ship Perseverance, and acting as clerk to the captain, to whom he administred an oath, which he took by placing his hand on the Evangelists, under the sanctity of which he promised to tell the truth of what he should know and be asked; and the foregoing Declaration having been read to him, which he thoroughly understood, through the medium of the Interpreter, Ambrosio Fernandez, to whom an oath was likewise administred, to exercise well and faithfully his office, he says that he affirms and ratifies the same, that he has nothing to add or diminish, and he signed it with his Honour, and the Interpreter, which I certify.

NATHANIEL LUTHER.

AMBROSIO FERNANDEZ.

DOCTOR ROZAS.

Before me.—PADILLA.

SENTENCE.

In this city of Conception, the second day of the month of March, of one thousand eight hundred and five, his Honour Doctor Don Juan Martinez de Rozas, Deputy Assessor and learned in the law, of this intendency, having the execution thereof on account of the absence of his Honour, the principal having seen the proceedings, which he has conducted officially against the negroes of the ship Tryal, in consequence of the insurrection and atrocities which they have committed on board of her.—He declared, that the insurrection and revolt of said negroes, being sufficiently substantiated, with premeditated intent, the twenty seventh of December last, at three o'clock in the morning; that taking by surprise the sleeping crew, they killed eighteen men, some with sticks, and daggers, and others by throwing them alive overboard; that a few days afterward with the same deliberate intent, they stabbed their master Don Alexandro Aranda, and threw Don Franciso Masa, his german cousin, Hermenegildo, his relation, and the other wounded persons who were confined in the births, overboard alive; that in the island of Santa Maria, they defended themselves with arms, against the Americans, who attempted to subdue them, causing the death of Don Jose Moraira the second clerk, as they had done that of the first, Don Lorenzo Bargas; the whole being considered, and the consequent guilts resulting from those henious and atrocious actions as an example to others, he ought and did condemn the negroes, Mure, Matinqui, Alazase, Yola, Joaquin, Luis, Yau, Mapenda, and Yambaio, to the common penalty of death, which shall be executed, by taking them out and dragging them from the prison, at the tail of a beast of burden, as far as the gibbet, where they shall be hung until they are dead, and to the forfeiture of all their property, if they should have any, to be applied to the Royal Treasury; that the heads of the five first be cut off after they are dead, and be fixed on a pole, in the square of the port of Talcahuano, and the corpses of all be burnt to ashes. The negresses and young negroes of the same gang shall be present at the execution, if they should be in that city at the time thereof; that he ought and did condemn likewise, the negro Jose, servant to said Don Alexandro, and Yambaio, Francisco, Rodriguez,

to ten years confinement in the place of Valdivia, to work chained, on allowance and without pay, in the work of the King, and also to attend the execution of the other criminals; and judging definitively by this sentence thus pronounced and ordered by his Honour, and that the same should be executed notwithstanding the appeal, for which he declared there was no cause, but that an account of it should be previously sent to the Royal Audience of this district, for the execution thereof with the costs.

DOCTOR ROZAS.

Before me.—JOSE' DE ABOS PADILLA.

His Majesty's Notary of the Royal Revenue and Registers.

CONFIRMATION OF THE SENTENCE.

SANTIAGO, *March the twenty first, of one thousand eight hundred and five.*

Having duly considered the whole, we suppose the sentence pronounced by the Deputy Assessor of the City of Conception, to whom we remit the same for its execution and fulfilment, with the official resolution, taking first an authenticated copy of the proceedings, to give an account thereof to his Majesty: and in regard to the request of the acting Notary, to the process upon the pay of his charges, he will exercise his right when and where he shall judge best.—

There are four flourishes.

Their Honours, the President, Regent, and Auditors of his Royal Audience passed the foregoing decree, and those on the Margin set their flourishes, the day of this date, the twenty first of March, one thousand eight hundred and five;—which I certify,

ROMAN.

NOTIFICATION.

The twenty third of said month, I acquainted his Honour, the King's Attorney of the foregoing decree,—which I certify,

ROMAN.

OFFICIAL RESOLUTION.

The Tribunal has resolved to manifest by this official resolve and pleasure for the exactitude, zeal and promptness which you have discovered in the cause against the revolted negroes of the ship Tryal, which process it remits to you, with the approbation of the sentence for the execution thereof, forewarning you that before its completion, you may agree with the most Illustrious Bishop, on the subject of furnishing the spiritual aids to those miserable beings, affording the same to them with all possible dispatch.—At the same time this Royal Audience has thought fit in case you should have an opportunity of speaking with the Bostonian captain, Amasa Delano, to charge you to inform him, that they will give an account to his Majesty, of the generous and benevolent conduct which he displayed in the punctual assistance that he afforded the Spanish captain of the aforesaid ship, for the suitable manifestation, publication and noticety of such a memorable event.

God preserve you many years.

SANTIAGO, *March the twenty second, of one thousand eight hundred and five.*

JOSE' DE SANTIAGO CONCHA.

DOCTOR DON JUAN MARTINEZ DE ROZAS,

Deputy assessor, and learned in the Law, of the Intendency of Conception.

I the undesigned, sworn Interpreter of languages, do certify that the foregoing translation from the Spanish original, is true.

FRANCIS SALES.

Boston, April 15th, 1808.

N. B. It is proper here to state, that the difference of two days, in the dates of the process at Talquahauno, that of the Spaniards being the 24th of February and ours the 26th, was because they dated theirs the day we anchored in the lower harbour, which was one day before we got up abreast of the port, at which time we dated ours; and our coming by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, made our reckoning of time one day different from theirs.

It is also necessary to remark, that the statement in page 332, respecting Mr. Luther being supercargo, and United States midshipman, is a mistake of the linguist. He was with me, the same as Mr. George Russell, and my brother William, midshipmen of the ship Perseverance.

On my return to America in 1807, I was gratified in receiving a polite letter from the Marquis De Case Yruso, through the medium of Juan Stoughton Esq. expressing the satisfaction of his majesty, the king of Spain, on account of our conduct in capturing the Spanish ship Tryal at the island St. Maria, accompanied with a gold medal, having his majesty's likeness on one side, and on the other the inscription, Reward of Merit. The correspondence relating to that subject, I shall insert for the satisfaction of the reader. I had been assured by the president of Chili, when I was in that country, and likewise by the viceroy of Lima, that all my conduct, and the treatment I had received, should be faithfully represented to his majesty Charles IV, who most probably would do something

more for me. I had reason to expect, through the medium of so many powerful friends as I had procured at different times and places, and on different occasions, that I should most likely have received something essentially to my advantage. This probably would have been the case had it not been for the unhappy catastrophe which soon after took place in Spain, by the dethronement of Charles IV, and the distracted state of the Spanish government, which followed that event.

Philadelphia, 8th September, 1806.

Sir,

His Catholic Majesty the king of Spain, my master, having been informed by the audience of Chili of your noble and generous conduct in rescuing, off the island St. Maria, the Spanish merchant ship Tryal, captain Don Benito Cereno, with the cargo of slaves, who had mutinized, and cruelly massacred the greater part of the Spaniards on board; and by humanely supplying them afterwards with water and provisions, which they were in need of, has desired me to express to you, sir, the high sense he entertains of the spirited, humane, and successful effort of yourself and the brave crew of the Perseverance, under your command, in saving the lives of his subjects thus exposed, and in token whereof, his majesty has directed me to present to you the golden medal, with his likeness, which will be handed to you by his consul in Boston. At the same time permit me, sir, to assure you I feel particular satisfaction in being the organ of the grateful sentiments of my sovereign, on an occurrence which reflects so much honour on your character.

I have the honour to be, sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed) Marquis De CASE YRUSO.

Captain Amasa Delano, *of the American Ship Perseverance, Boston.*

Boston, August, 1807.

SIR,

WITH sentiments of gratitude I acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's much esteemed favour of September 8th, conveying to me the pleasing information of his Catholic Majesty having been informed of the conduct of myself and the crew of the Perseverance under my command. It is peculiarly gratifying to me, to receive such honours from your Excellency's sovereign, as entertaining a sense of my spirit and honour, and successful efforts of myself and crew in saving the lives of his subjects; and still more so by receiving the token of his royal favour in the present of the golden medal bearing his likeness. The services rendered off the island St. Maria were from pure motives of humanity. They shall ever be rendered his Catholic Majesty's subjects when wanted, and it is in my power to grant. Permit me, sir, to thank your Excellency for the satisfaction that you feel in being the organ of the grateful sentiments of your sovereign on this occasion, and believe me, it shall ever be my duty publicly to acknowledge the receipt of such high considerations from such a source.

I have the honour to be

Your Excellency's most obedient,

And devoted humble servant,

(Signed) AMASA DELANO.

His Excellency the Marquis DE CASE YRUSO.

Consular Office, 30*th July*, 1807.

SIR,

UNDER date of September last, was forwarded me the enclosed letter from his Excellency the Marquis DE CASE YRUSO, his Catholic Majesty's minister plenipotentiary to the United States of America, which explains to you the purport of the commission with which I was then charged, and until now have anxiously waited for the pleasing opportunity of carrying into effect his Excellency's orders, to present to you at the same time the gold medal therein mentioned.

It will be a pleasing circumstance to that gentleman, to be informed of your safe arrival, and my punctuality in the discharge of that duty so justly owed to the best of sovereigns, under whose benignity and patronage I have the honour to subscribe myself, with great consideration, and much respect, sir,

Your obedient humble servant,

(Signed) JUAN STOUGHTON,

Consul of his Catholic majesty,
Residing at Boston.

AMASA DELANO, *Esq.*

Boston, August 8th, 1807.

SIR,

I FEEL particular satisfaction in acknowledging the receipt of your esteemed favour, bearing date the 30th ult. covering a letter from the Marquis De CASE YRUSO, his Catholic Majesty's minister plenipotentiary to the United States of America, together with the gold medal bearing his Catholic Majesty's likeness.

Permit me, sir, to return my most sincere thanks for the honours I have received through your medium, as well as for the generous, friendly treatment you have shown on the occasion. I shall ever consider it one of the first honours publicly to acknowledge them as long as I live.

These services rendered his Catholic Majesty's subjects off the island St. Maria, with the men under my command, were from pure motives of humanity. The like services we will ever render, if wanted, should it be in our power.

With due respect, permit me, sir, to subscribe myself,

Your most obedient, and
Very humble servant,

(Signed) AMASA DELANO.

To Don JUAN STOUGHTON *Esq. his Catholic*
Majesty's Consul, residing in Boston.

CHAPTER XIX.

Description of the Islands of St. Ambrose and St. Felix—Easter Island—The discovery of Pilgrim Island by Samuel Delano, August 12th, 1805, with a description of it—Further remarks on Chili.

I SHALL now finish my account of the coast of Chili by giving some description of the islands of St. Ambrose and St. Felix, Easter Island, and an island discovered by my brother Samuel, which we named Pilgrim Island, in reference to the name of my tender, that he commanded, and in which he made the discovery; together with some other particulars of the kingdom of Chili, before I proceed to give an account of the coast of Peru.

St. Felix, the western island of the group, is in latitude 26° 14′ south, and in longitude 79° 25′ west, as given in captain Colnett's voyage, which agreed with our observations of it. It is the island most visited by those in pursuit of seal skins, and I would recommend it for fish and eggs; but as for fish, they can be caught at any one of the islands in great plenty. If necessary to go on shore on the western island, the landing is on the north west side, nearly south of the rock, which appears like a sail when first made, and is called Sail Rock. It will be observed in rowing along the north side, that the westerly head of it is of a different colour from the easterly part; that is, the western head is red and much higher than the easterly part, which is black. Between the red and black parts is the best place to land. It is a cove that makes up so far that the sea is very much broken. Let me here warn any one from landing on the sand beach on the north east part of the island, for it is a very bad place to fill and stave boats, or to get off again; a landing may be effected without difficulty at the first mentioned place. If you wish to have any communication with the Shoe rock, it is best to land on the north east side. On the eastern island, or St. Ambrose, there is a very snug little cove for a boat, on the

north west side, and in that cove, is the best place for fish that I saw hereabouts. I should always think it advisable to stop in passing this place for fish and eggs; but it will not be amiss to remark, that there is no fresh water to be got here.

The western island has not any grass, or vegetable production whatever upon it. It is all a barren, sun burnt surface, with some rocks and some sand. It is moderately elevated, and most parts of it are steep banks, like St. Maria. There is nothing that is profitable but a few seals to be got here. It is about five miles in circumference. Shoe rock lies directly south of the south east part of St. Felix, and is in all respects like that island; it is about one mile and a half in circumference.

St. Ambrose lies to the east-south-east of the first mentioned island, at about fifteen miles distance. It is higher land, having a mountain on it, which has some vegetation on its summit. My people ascended this mountain, and found some shrubby, bushy kinds of verdure on it, and some signs of water. I should recommend to a boat's crew, who should be necessitated for that article, to ascend it; and probably by carrying something with them that they could dig with, they would obtain it. The island is not quite so large as St. Felix; it is like it in some respects, affords some few seals, though not so many as the latter.

The centre of Easter Island lies in latitude 27° 15′ south, and longitude 109° 55′ west, by our observations. We fell in with the north east part of it, and run within two miles of the shore, the greater part of the north side, all the west side, and part of the south side of it. The east end forms a kind of bluff point, and immediately to the northward of that is the appearance of a large bay; but as the wind was blowing directly on this part of the island, I did not think it prudent to approach too near with the ship; but it is my opinion that it affords good landing for boats at least. From the north extremity of the bay the land trends about west by south to another large bluff head, which is very high land. Off this lie two small islands, or rocks, one mile distant. One of them makes very much like a sail at a distance. From this the land extends nearly south east. We did not observe any danger from the shore on any part of the island.

We saw a number of statues representing human forms, of a very large size. I should suppose them to be upwards of twenty feet

high, and very large in proportion to their height. Captain Cook says they are made of stone; but he does not mention so many as we saw, nor so many inhabitants. It is my opinion they have populated fast since captain Cook visited the place, and that they have built many of those statues and other buildings. We saw a large kind of house near the shore, that must have been two hundred feet long; and also many more of different forms. The most common form that we saw was like a hay-cock. Some appeared to be built with stone, and others thatched over. When we came abreast the place where captain Cook recommends it as best to anchor, that being on its north west extreme, we prepared a boat and made an attempt to land; but on our approach near the shore, we found the surf was so bad, that it was not in our power to effect it. The natives came down in great numbers, and made friendly signs to invite us on shore, holding up sugar-cane, yams, and many other things, which we could not distinguish. There appeared to be two or three hundred people near the place where we were trying to land, and I should suppose we saw five or six hundred inhabitants as we ran along the north side of the island. They all seemed to wear some clothing. Many of them wore a kind of cloth wrapped round their loins, hanging down to the ground. These we judged to be women. Five or six of them were sent down by a man, who appeared to be a chief, on a point nearest to us. They made many friendly, and indeed amorous signs, to invite us on shore; but as it was impossible for us to land without staving the boat, we returned on board. The greatest part of the island had the appearance of being capable of cultivation, and much of it was cultivated in beautiful plantations. I have no doubt, if the weather was good, and the sea smooth, so that a boat could land, plenty of vegetables might be obtained. The land in most parts rose in a gentle ascent from a high bank above the sea shore, to quite a high hill in the middle of the island. It is to be seen eighteen leagues in clear weather. The largest way of it is from north east to south west, and five or six leagues long.

Having heard several captains of whale ships speak of birds being seen seven or eight degrees to the eastward of Easter Island, and nearly in the same latitude, and likewise of other indications of land in that vicinity, I was induced to despatch the Pilgrim, under the command of my brother Samuel, to search for this sup-

posed island. My object was to find some place where seals might be procured. I was convinced of the capability of my brother to effect the object of discovering the island, if any such existed. I thought it worthy of our attention, and accordingly on the 19th of July, 1805, the Pilgrim parted company from the Perseverance, on the coast of Peru, in latitude 14° south, and sailed to the south west, in pursuit of this object.

For the information of others I shall here insert the circumstances which occurred during the search for this small island, and give some idea to navigators of the manner, and by what indications we were led to the discovery of the island. Our information had been incorrect as to the longitude of this imaginary island, and when my brother had got into the latitude in which it was expected to be found, he observed that the birds every day, towards night, took their course to the westward. This induced him to steer in that direction, and at length he found the land on which the birds went every night to roost. The following extracts from the log book of the schooner Pilgrim, during the time she was engaged in the pursuit of this discovery, will give the reader the most correct information on the subject.

"*August* 1*st*, 1805.—Course south west, wind south east, latitude 25° 50′ south. Pleasant weather through these twenty-four hours.

"2*d*.—Courses south west to north west, winds variable from south west to north west; latitude 26° 50′ south. Clear pleasant weather all this twenty-four hours. Variation of compass by amplitude 11° east.

"3*d*.—Course north west, winds from the northerly quarter; light airs, and pleasant weather. Latitude 26° 30′ south.

"4*th*.—Course west-south-west, distance 100 miles. Winds from north to north east. Latitude 27° 13′ south. Fresh breezes and squally the latter part of these twenty-four hours. Variation by amplitude 9° east.

"5*th*.—Course west one fourth north, distance 88 miles. Winds from the northerly quarter, fresh gales; cloudy weather. Latitude 27° 8′ south.

"6*th*.—Course north west, distance 70 miles. Winds from the south west quarter. First part squally, and thick weather; latter part pleasant, with a heavy swell from the south west. Latitude 26° 38′ south.

"7*th*.—Course west-south-west, distance 60 miles. Winds south-south-east; light airs through these twenty-four hours. Latitude 26° 48′ south.

"8*th*.—Course west by south, distance 54 miles. Winds south-south-east to south east. Gentle breezes throughout these twenty-four hours. Latitude 26° 56′ south.

"9*th*.—Course west by south, distance 61 miles. Winds south east. Light winds and pleasant weather during these twenty-four hours. At noon no observation. Saw land birds.

"10*th*.—Courses from west-south-west, to north-north-west, in search of land; distance 42 miles. Light breezes throughout these twenty-four hours. Saw a number of gulls, a tropic bird, gannets, a number of fish, and many other signs of land. At noon no observation.

"11*th*.—Courses between north-north-west and west, in search of the land; distance 42 miles. Winds between north and north east. Moderate breezes, and pleasant weather. Observed many omens of land. Latitude 26° 14′ south.

"12*th*.—Courses nearly in every point of the compass, in search of land; distance 46 miles. Winds from north-north-east, to east-north-east. Pleasant breezes, with a heavy swell from the north east. At six A. M. saw the land bearing south west by west, two leagues distant. At ten A. M. passed a shoal bearing north east, one fourth of a mile distant; the island at the same time bearing south west, between two and two and a half miles distant; the shoal appeared dangerous. At half past ten A. M. hoisted out the boat, in which the captain attempted to land; but found the surf too high, and the shores lined with rocks, which appeared nearly inaccessible. Returned on board to wait a more favourable opportunity, and to have the advantage of a second boat with him, to save the people, provided one boat should be staved.

"Whilst the boat was near the island, the captain and crew observed great numbers of sharks, caught some of them, and several other kind of fish. The island appeared to be two miles in circumference, and mostly composed of one solid rock, and not very high. At sunset observed a strong current setting to the eastward.

"13*th*.—Winds at north to west by north, light breezes and squally, and a strong easterly current. The islands bearing from west-north-west, to west-south-west, five leagues distance. Could not recover it this day.

"14*th*.—Winds from south to south east, light breezes. Found the current still setting strong to the eastward. Could not recover the island.

"15*th*.—Winds south east, light airs; still to leeward of the island. Found the current setting so strong that it was very difficult keeping near the land; and on the 16th, concluded to relinquish our pursuit and shape our course for Massa Fuero.

"Pilgrim Island is in latitude 26° 30′ south, and in longitude 104° 50′ west. When we returned from our attempt to land on the island, which we had rowed in our boats all round, we were in expectation of effecting a landing by waiting a day or two for a smooth sea, and of getting an observation to ascertain the longitude. We obtained an observation; but found it impracticable to land, on account of the large surf going, our being swept to leeward by the current, and there not being any beach to land on. When near the island, it appeared to be about three quarters of a mile long, from east south east, to west north west, which was about the direction of it, and half a mile broad, on an average; though narrowest and lowest in the middle. Its ends were not very high, as it cannot be seen at a distance of more than fifteen or eighteen miles from a ship's deck. The island is mostly rocks; but some high grass was seen on one part of it. There was much drift wood lying near together, which was in very large pieces; and was, as we supposed, the ruins of some ship or ships, that had been stranded there.

"The south west side of the island makes a bay or cove, and south-south east of it, half a mile distant, is a bad breaker, when the sea is rough; and north east by north, two and a half miles from this is a dangerous shoal, that has been before mentioned, on which the sea does not break, except when there is a remarkably large swell. There were many sea birds on the island; but were mostly man-of-war birds. The water was full of sharks; but other kinds of fish were scarce; and those which we caught were not good, being of a copper colour, and when cooked their bones turned a deep purple. They were found to be poisonous. Where we caught the fish in the bay, five or six rods from the shore, we had fifteen fathoms of water, and rocky bottom. When we were nearest to the island with the schooner, we could not get ground with thirty fathoms of line."

Believing that it will be a satisfaction to the reader to see a more general account of the whole country of Chili, its boundaries, extent, the manners and customs of its inhabitants, &c. than it was possible for me to have an opportunity of observing, I shall here insert some extracts from Dr. Rees' Cyclopædia, relating to this country, which will be found to contain much useful knowledge. I will, however, here state, that I shall introduce no quotations into the work, except such as I am satisfied from my own experience are correct, and will tend to illustrate the subjects treated upon.

"Chili, an extensive, rich, and fertile country of South America, reaching from the frontiers of Peru to the Straits of Magellan, terminating towards the east, partly on the frontiers of Paraguay, from which it is separated by uninhabited deserts, and partly on the government of Buenos Ayres with the intervening pampas, or extensive and level plains, and bounded on the west by the pacific ocean. On the north, its boundary is the desert of Atacama, or Attacama (which see) extending 80 leagues between the Province of the same name, being the last of Peru, and the valley of Copoyapo, or Copiapo, the first in Chili: on the east it is separated by the eastern branch of the Andes from Cuyo, in the vice royalty of La Plata, and the savage tribes; on the south, by barren mountains and regions covered with sand and snow; and on the west, as we have already said, by the South Sea, extending from 27° nearly, the latitude of Copiapo, to 53° 30′. Its length is computed at 1260 geographical miles, and its breadth, which depends on the distance of the Andes from the ocean, is from 24° to 32°, about two hundred and ten miles, from 32° to 37°, one hundred and twenty miles, and thence to the island or islands of Chiloe, about three hundred miles. If we comprehend within its extent, the Andes, Chili may be supposed to contain about 378,000 square miles. Of this extensive and interesting country, little or nothing was known till about the middle of the fifteenth century. At that period the native Chilese were divided into fifteen tribes, each of which was governed by its own chief. About the year 1450, the Inca Yupanqui, the 10th emperor, allured by the enchanting account given of this country, undertook the conquest of it, and prosecuted the enterprize with such success, that he subdued the several nations inhabiting the vallies of Copiapo, Coquimbo, and Chili; but hav-

ing established his dominion in some of the northern districts, his progress further southward was vigorously opposed by a confederacy on the part of the gallant and high spirited inhabitants, who were determined to maintain their independence; and the Peruvian army was defeated. The Chilese, however, who were subdued, and those who remained free and independent, pursued the same mode of life. They cultivated their lands with maize, potatoes, yueas, and other native plants; they incouraged the breed of the camel and sheep, which supplied them with flesh for food, and with wool for clothing; and they are said to have had at this time hogs and hens, besides other beasts and birds, which belonged to their country. But though they seemed to have advanced from a pastoral to an agricultural state, their instruments of husbandry were mean and unwieldly. Their villages consisted of scattered huts; and their chiefs, who were probably raised to this dignity on account of their wealth, possessed merely a power of direction, and not of coercion."

"The right of property was acknowledged; the field that was cultivated belonged to him who bestowed labour on it, and descended to his children. Their looms resembled those of the Europeans, though of ruder fabric, and they were acquainted with the process of manufacturing earthen ware. From their mountains they extracted gold, silver, copper, tin, and lead; and of a mixture, like bell metal, they formed axes and other instruments; although those in more general use were made of basalt. It has been suggested that they were acquainted with the use of iron; but this fact seems to be doubtful. They were not strangers to salt, both fossil and that produced from water by evaporation: they fixed their dyes by means of an aluminus stone, called *palauva*; they prepared thread for cords and nets from one of their plants; and they possessed canoes of different sorts. In numbers it is said they could express one thousand, and they had *prones*, or the Peruvian *quipos*, a bundle of threads of various colours, with different knots to express contracts or events. The native Chilese, being generally of a mild character, as Mr. Malina, cited by Mr. Pinkerton suggests, may probably have proceeded from the Isles of Polynesia; though their colour is brown, tinged with red or copper, whereas that of the Polynesians is generally olive. The language of the Chilese, which is said radically to differ from the *Quechua* or

Peruvian, is remarkably rich and harmonious, and from the vocabulary, formed by Malina, it is capable of expressing most natural objects, and even abstract terms. It essentially differs, however, from the other American languages, not less in its words than in its structure."

"The Araucans, the present possessors of nearly one half of Chili, and celebrated for their valour in resisting the progress of the Spaniards, may be considered as the genuine representatives of the antient Chilese. The beautiful tract of country, which they inhabit, extends from the river Biobio north to that of Valdivia south, and is bounded on the east by the Andes, and on the west by the ocean. These people derive their name from the province Arauca, which is the smallest of their states; and they are also distinguished by the appellation of '*Aucas*,' or freemen. Without surpassing the usual size, they are generally robust, well-formed, and of a warlike aspect. The face is nearly round; the eyes small, but lively and expressive; the nose somewhat flat; the mouth well made, with white and uniform teeth; the legs muscular and elegant, and the feet small and flat; they have naturally little beard, and take pains to extract it; and they also eradicate the hair from other parts of the body. The hair of the head, which they preserve, is black and abundant, and they bind it up in a knot."

I must here differ from the Cyclopædia in the assertion that "they have naturally little beard." I know from the abundant opportunities which I have had to obtain information on the subject, that the Chilians, as well as all other men in the different parts of the world, have beards; and most generally as much and as strong as the Europeans or Americans, provided it was allowed to grow; but the natives of a great part of South America, of Asia, and of the islands in the Pacific Ocean, are in the practice of plucking the hair from their bodies as soon as it makes its appearance; leaving that only which grows on their heads. This circumstance has most probably given rise to the many accounts given by writers, that the people of these countries have not naturally any beards. The natives on the coast of South America, and on the islands in the Pacific Ocean, extract the hair from their bodies in the same manner as the Pelew islanders. They use a shell about the size of a cent for the purpose, which they obtain from the sea shore, resembling the shell of the quahaug, found on our

coast. They bury it in the ground till the meat decays and comes out of it. This preserves the joint which unites the two parts together, and by taking it between the thumb and fingers and applying it like a pair of nippers, it will take out the hair better than any instrument that could be made for the purpose.

"Many of their women are handsome, particularly those of Boroa. They live to the advanced age of seventy, eighty, and even one hundred years, without any perceptible decay of mind or body. Their mental qualities correspond to their bodily vigour; and they are characterised as intrepid, patient of the fatigues of war, prodigal of their lives in defence of their country, ardent lovers of liberty, in defence of which they are ready to make any sacrifice, jealous of honour, courteous, hospitable, faithful to their engagements, grateful for benefits, generous and humane towards the vanquished. These excellent qualities, however, are tarnished with the vices incident to savage life; such as drunkenness, sloth, self-confidence, and a pride which leads them to treat other nations with contempt. The dress of the Araucans, who are a military people, is short, wholly made of wool, and generally of a blue colour. The clothing of the women is modest and simple, though sometimes set off with artificial ornaments. Their hair is made into flowing tresses, and the head adorned with false emeralds, or with the green stone, called '*gliauca*,' which they highly value. They also use necklaces and bracelets of glass beads, ear-rings of silver in a square form, and numerous silver rings on the fingers. Polygamy is almost universal; their houses are constructed so as to admit the number of wives which the owner can entertain; but their furniture is plain, and such as merely adapted for use. Their habitations are generally dispersed over the country, and situated near the rivers; but cities are regarded by them as prisons."

After a long detail of their mode of government, and the arrangements for war, the Cyclopædia says—"the toqui addresses a pathetic discourse to the army, exhorting them not to permit the sacred flame of freedom, bequeathed by their ancestors, to expire. They then advance with loud shouts, generally attacking the Spanish centre; and with their clubs, notwithstanding the enemy's artillery, they often make terrible havock. The booty is equally divided amongst the captors, without any preference of the officers, or even of the general. The prisoners remain slaves, till exchanged or

ransomed; and sometimes, though very seldom, one is sacrificed, to pacify the manes of the slain. Treaties are formed in a kind of council, held in a meadow near the river Biobio. The symbol of peace is a branch of the cinnamon tree; and an Araucan orator discusses, in the Chilese language, the motives of the war, and the means of future harmony. As soon as this speech is interpreted, the Spanish governor or president replies; and the articles being revised, are ratified with a sacrifice of Chilese camels. The president then dines in company with the toqui and chief ulmens, to whom he makes the usual presents, in the name of his sovereign; and these are repeated on the arrival of every new president."

I will here remark, that the olive branch, or a branch of a green tree or bush, is an emblem of peace in nearly every part of the world that I have ever visited. It is in Peru as in Chili; and in New Guinea, New Holland, in the Society Islands, as captain Wallis describes at Otaheite; and in almost all the islands in the Pacific Ocean that I know, or have read of.

"The Araucans acknowledge a Supreme Being, the author of all things, who is called Pillan, or the Spirit; and they express by various epithets, his residence in heaven; his being the soul of all creation; dreadful from his thunder; the architect of the universe; omnipotent, eternal, and infinite. They also hold, that the affairs of worlds are administered by inferior spirits, of various rank and power. The Mars of the Araucans is Epunameen; and Mulen is a beneficent god, and lover of the human race. They admit an evil principle, Guecubu, the author of calamity and death; and subordinate to Mulen are many genii, who attempt to counteract the machinations of Guecubu. These genii are male and female; and the latter are supposed to serve the men, conceiving that the spiritual lords resemble the ulmens, and would despise any attempt of mortals to praise and honour them. They have neither temples, idols, nor priests; and they offer no sacrifices, except during endemial maladies, or on a treaty of peace."—"Christianity is tolerated in the country of the Araucans, and the missionaries are well received; but the number of proselytes is small. These people are very attentive to omens and dreams; and the bravest Araucan warrior will tremble at the sight of an owl. They consult their magicians in all affairs of moment; and are firm believers in apparitions. They admit the immortality of the soul, and suppose that

the soul passes to the west, to a place or country called Galeeman, where, according to some, delights abound for the good, and the bad are punished by privation: but, according to others, all souls will enjoy pleasures; punishments, like crimes, being short and transitory. They watch the dead all night, and, on the third day, carry the body to the cemetery of the family, which is commonly in a wood, or upon a hill. The bier is surrounded by women, who affect to weep; and another spreads ashes behind in order to prevent the return of the soul to the house. When the body is set down, warlike weapons are placed round it; and if it be that of a female, her ornaments; together with plenty of food, and vases of liquor, often cider, or wine, that there may be no want on the journey into the other world. After taking leave of the dead, with many lamentations, and wishing a happy journey, the body is covered with earth, or with stones, in the form of a pyramid, over which they pour copious streams of cider. They further believe, that an old woman soon arrives, in the form of a whale, to carry the soul across the ocean, where another old women guards the elysium, and sometimes exact an eye, when the passenger cannot satisfy her demands. The occupation and pleasures of the future life remain the same; and the husband, if he chooses, may have his wife again; but there are no children, because it is the abode of the dead. There are also wars and battles; and armies, meeting in the air, cause thunder and lightning. The Araucans have an idea of a great deluge; during which many were saved on the mountain Thag-Thag, which can float in water. This idea, Malina suggests, has arisen from the earthquakes and volcanoes, so common in their country; for during the terrors excited by a severe earthquake, they still run to the mountains, with provisions, in hope of escaping, if the sea should overwhelm their country."

"The year of the Araucans is solar, and commences on the 22d of December, immediately after their summer solstice; and it is divided by the solstice in June into two parts. They have twelve months of thirty days, and five intercalary days. They have four seasons, each of three months; and they divide the day into twelve parts, six of darkness. The hours of the day are distinguished by the height of the sun; and those of the night by the position of the stars. Constellations are also marked; the Pleiads being styled that of *six* from the most apparent stars, and the Antarctic that of

four. The milky way is called the street of the fable, because the astronomers of the country reject certain popular tales concerning it. They distinguish the planets, and believe them to be inhabited. The Araucans, though they have little or no idea of the speculative sciences, cultivate rhetoric, poetry, and medicine; to the purity of their language, and to the eloquence of their public speakers they pay great attention."

I cannot help remarking here, that in all the countries which I have visited, that are styled savage, it is an universal custom, to pay strict attention to the one who is speaking; and if he is in the habit of speaking too long, or too frequent, his superiors gently chide him, after he has finished speaking. Would it not be well for nations more refined to follow the example of the savages, in this as well as in many other respects, and be a little more complaisant, than they sometimes are? It should be remembered, that with gentlemen of fine feelings, there cannot well be offered any thing that is more repugnant to their feelings than to interrupt them, or to pay no attention to what they are saying in public; and on the other hand, the man who is occupying a great proportion of time, without considering that he is intruding on the rights of others, is seldom very wise or amusing to the hearers.

"Polygamy, as we have already said, is universal, and a man may buy as many wives as he can maintain; but an old bachelor is regarded with contempt as an enemy to the state." The principle respecting bachelors holds good with the Spaniards in this kingdom, it being considered very much to a man's disadvantage and discredit to live without a wife.

"The education of children is restricted to horsemanship, the use of arms, and the practice of speaking their language with elegance."—"They light their fires by turning one stick rapidly on another." The same method is practised by the Pelew people to produce fire.

"Music, dancing, and gaming, constitute their principal amusements. Their music is bad, and their songs harsh and hideous; but their dances are more cheerful and harmonious."

"Having enlarged on the dispositions and manners of the Araucans, because they are a people hitherto so little known, although Dr. Robertson in his America, and Peyrouse in his voyages, and some others have very transiently mentioned them, we shall close

this part of the article Chili with observing, that the Pulches of the mountains, now united with the state of Araucana, are more rude and savage than the other inhabitants."

"By the Araucans the mountaineers are highly esteemed on account of their bold services in war, and their inviolable fidelity in adhering to the confederation."

"The climate of Chili is the most delicious in the new world, and is hardly equalled by that of any region on the face of the earth. Though bordering on the torrid zone, it never feels extreme heat, being screened on the east by the Andes, and refreshed on the west by cooling sea breezes."

For further information on the subject of Chili I refer the reader to Rees' Cyclopædia, where he will find an abundant source of the best information that can be had. I had finished my own observations on this country before I had seen the foregoing quotations from the Cyclopædia, which will be found in general to agree with them.

In taking leave of Coquimbo, on one of my voyages, I ran to the northward as far as Guasco, or Nasca, and took a look at that little port; but its appearance is not much recommendation to it; and at this time the inhabitants of all the small ports were very much in fear of having any communication with ships, on account of the war with the English, they having received orders from their capitals to that effect, and fearing some imposition might be put upon them. All this information I was in possession of, which induced me not to make an attempt to obtain any thing from the place. We stood close in with the anchoring ground, and saw no danger for ships, in or near the harbour, should they attempt to go into it. The land appeared very barren near the shore. The harbour is formed by a point of land, that makes off to the westward, and directly to the southward of it. It lies in latitude 28° 25′ south, and in longitude 70° 30′ west. I should judge it to be eight or ten miles in a south west direction from the village. All the coast from Nasca to the bay to leeward, on the coast of Peru, in latitude 23° 6′, is clear of dangers by keeping two or three leagues off shore, and runs nearly north and south. It has not much vegetation nor many inhabitants on it. The shores are easy of access in most places. The sea is smooth and pleasant the greater part of the time. There is very little rain from this latitude down to the equinoctial line. It was this coast which the Tryal fell in with, after the negroes had

taken her; a very poor place for water, which they were in search of. If a ship wishes to make a harbour hereabouts, with the object of making repairs, I have not any doubt but she could find one; but for any thing but repairs, or possibly of a few hair seals, it would be good for nothing.

During my first voyage in the ship Perseverance, in the years 1799 to 1802, we did not visit the coast of Peru, no otherwise than the Gallipagos Islands; but in the second voyage, in 1803 to 1807, we were on both the coasts of Chili and Peru, down as far as the equator. In giving a description of the different places, which I visited on the coast of Chili, and the events which took place while at them, I have made no difference whether it was during my first or second voyage; as it could be of no consequence to the reader at what time the information was obtained, either on one or the other voyage; and I thought it best to describe every thing worthy of notice, as far as we proceeded in the first voyage, without any reference to the regular progress of the voyage. During our stay on this coast we were constantly back and forwards, from the different ports on the coast to the islands which lie off, and from one island to another, in pursuit of the objects of our voyage.

We completed our business on the coast of Chili, and took our departure from Massa Fuero on the 18th day of October, 1801, and directed our course towards the Gallipagos Islands, where we arrived, the second visit, on the 3d of November following. Nothing remarkable happened during the passage.

CHAPTER XX.

Description of the Gallipagos Islands; with remarks upon them, and the observations made during my first visit, in 1800, and at several subsequent visits.

My first visit to the Gallipagos Islands was in the year 1800. On the 30th of June we saw Chatham Island bearing north-north-west, ten leagues distant; soon after saw Hood's Island bearing west by north, six leagues distant; and on the 1st day of July anchored in twenty-eight fathoms, muddy bottom, in Stephen's bay, Kicker rock bearing west by north. Captain Colnett describes this bay as having a bason at the bottom of it, fit for vessels of one hundred and fifty or two hundred tons burden to be hove down in. On the second examination of the large bay, I discovered the bason, or cove, which captain Colnett speaks of, and found it entirely unsafe for anchorage; it was as convenient for landing, and for taking off wood, as any other place on the island. It was a remarkably pleasant little boat harbour, having mangrove trees growing in the water's edge, nearly all round the bay. I presume when captain Colnett recommended it for vessels of two hundred tons to be hove down in, he had not sounded round its mouth, or within the cove; if he had, he would have found that there are many places which have not more than six feet water, and a very rough ledge of rocky bottom, with a ground swell till getting quite into the bason. It lies east-south-east from the Kicker rock. We examined all the shores of Stephen's bay, and found the next best place to land was in the south west part of it on several sand beaches. We found rocky ground in the easterly part, and it is recommended in going in, or coming out, to the eastward of Kicker rock, not to run near the shore within it, or to the southward of the high head on the easterly side of the bay, it being foul ground; for in case an anchor should be let go it would most probably be lost. There was very little to be obtained in this bay, except green turtle.

As we sailed round the westerly end of Chatham Island, we did not observe any dangers till near the shore. I navigated from three or four leagues to the southward of the west point of it all the west and north parts, within a small distance of the land, and saw nothing that was dangerous but one small island rock, lying off the north east extreme of the main island, about three or four miles distant. I went with the boat, but could not land on any part of it; observed some sunken rocks lying near it in different directions. Its greatest length is not more than two hundred feet, and little more than half that in breadth. A ship should not come near it on any account. Found several convenient landing places on the north side, between the east end of the island and the Kicker rock, which is very remarkable for its stupendous height and perpendicular sides; as likewise for its being split from top to bottom, and the two parts separated from each other at least twenty feet. It is split in the middle, and is as smooth as a piece of timber could be sawed. We passed within what is called Dalrymple's rock, which lies about north-north-west from the westerly point of Chatham Island, four miles distant. It is three hundred feet in circumference, nearly round, and is considerably high. We found very indifferent anchorage after we left the first bay that we anchored in; as all the north side of the island was deep water, foul ground, and there was no kind of a harbour. The southerly and easterly being the windward parts of the island, and of course not likely to afford any landing. The whole of this island appeared unfavourable to any kind of cultivation, as the greater part of it was mountains of rocks burnt to a cinder; and it appeared as if the whole island had undergone a revolution by a volcano, and it is a remarkable fact, that it never rained at these islands.

The best general account of the Gallipagos Islands, that I have seen, is that of captain Colnett, which is tolerably correct information, though we found some things different from his statement. We made the easterly part of Chatham and Hood's Islands nearly at the same time, and stood in between them, and found Hood's Island to lie south westerly from the west end of Chatham Island, about seven leagues distant. The latter island lies its longest way from east-south-east to west-north-west, and is about ten leagues in length, and not far from half that in width. We traversed all the south west side of Hood's Island, from the most extreme south

part of it to the north west end, and tried to land with the boat; but found it all an iron bound shore, until we rounded its north west point, where we found a good landing place. All the northerly part of the island appeared to be easy of access. On a succeeding voyage we found, on examination, several small sand beaches on the easterly side of the island, where boats could land. We went over all parts of the island, and procured plenty of tortoises. We saw many albatrosses with their young, and some sitting on their eggs. There were snakes, and a very large kind of lizard. Plenty of green turtles were to be obtained. We likewise saw marks of former visitors. There were some very large trees which had drifted on shore here, that were much larger than any to be seen growing on either of these islands. They must have drifted from the continent, and most probably from some where to the northward of the bay of Panama. They were of the kind of wood commonly called Spanish cedar, which is nearly as handsome as mahogany. It is a convenient place for procuring wood and tortoises, which are all the island afforded. We had not a very good opportunity to ascertain the latitude and longitude; but by the best authority we were possessed of, we made the centre of the island to lie in latitude 1° 20′ south, and in longitude 89° 40′ west, which I presume is not materially incorrect. Its longest way is from south-south-east to north-north-west, being from five to six miles long, and two thirds that in width. The land is not so much elevated as Chatham Island, having no mountain or hill upon it. The surface is burnt stones and sand, with some small shrubby wood growing on it.

I found it best, as captain Colnett says, to make Hood's Island first, if bound to the northward, as you will then have all the rest of the islands to leeward. He speaks of a reef which lies at a distance off to the north west of this island; but as we cruised off that part of it nearly two days without seeing any thing of it, we were led to suppose it to be only tide ripples, or two currents meeting, that he saw. We then proceeded to Charles' Island, and made a tack or two to the south east of it. There is said to be a reef off its south east ends about three leagues distant. I obtained the information from a captain William Anderson of London, who told me he saw it when he was in the ship Castor and Pollux; but we cruised over the spot where he said that he saw the reef,

and could find nothing of it, and from that circumstance concluded that it does not exist. We attempted to land on the three small islands to the south east of Charles' Island, at three or four miles distance from it, called Gardner's, Watson's, and Caldwell's Islands; but found there was no possibility of effecting it. We passed to the northward of them, and landed in a very convenient cove for that purpose, on the main island, where we found marks of people having very recently left it. There were some seal skins left pegged out by them, and fresh ashes where they had made fires. Plenty of tortoises were to be obtained here. This landing place is nearly west, and right within the most southerly small island, which lies on the east side, and near to Charles' Island. We next landed on a small island, that can scarcely be called so, as it connects so nearly with Charles' Island to the northward of the cove, and with the other small island, last mentioned, to the eastward of it. A little further to the northward the land forms a fine bay, to appearance four or five miles distant; after which the land trends away to the westward more. It was my intention to have examined that bay; but the current swept us to leeward so far in the course of the night, that I found in the morning we should not be able to recover the place in several days. We bore away and run to the northward for James' Island.

Charles' Island lies in the same parallel of latitude with Hood's, and about fifteen leagues west of it. On a succeeding voyage we found that there was a good harbour on the south west side, we anchored there, and found it very commodious for wooding. Its soil was much better than either of the islands, which have been already described, and I believe it to be the best for cultivation of any one of the group that I have seen. The trees at the southward of the anchoring place, in ascending the moderately elevated land, appeared to be of a good growth, which indicates a rich soil. This island is not so much torn to pieces with volcanos as the others that I have visited, and it is my opinion, from what I saw, together with the information I have obtained since I was there of the progress that an Irishman was making in cultivating the interior of this island, that it might be very easily made to support many inhabitants with its own productions. There are salt lagoons adjacent to the beach where we landed in the easterly part of the bay, in which may be often found good shooting of teals and flamingoes.

It is best to anchor a quarter of a mile off shore, in five and six fathoms water, sandy bottom; the west point of the bay bearing west by south, and the east point north east by east. This island is about the same in length as in breadth, and is estimated to be ten miles in diameter. In making the harbour, pass to the southward of the island, when coming from the eastward, by which means a steady fresh breeze of wind will be experienced till quite up with the westerly point of the bay. If a ship attempts to come in to the northward and eastward of the island, she will be most likely to have baffling winds and calms.

In our run to James's Island, we passed between Albermarle, Barrington, Duncan, and Jarvis's Islands, down to James's bay, which is formed on the north west side of James's Island. We saw in this run a number of others, which captain Colnett has not laid down, but all the large ones were on the easterly side of us, and all the small ones lay to the westward of us. The latter lie off the south east end of Albermarle; but did not appear to be dangerous. Indeed we saw no dangers off any of the islands in the whole cluster, that were a quarter of a mile off shore, except the one already described to the north east of Chatham Island. When we were in the narrowest part of the passage, between Albermarle and James's Island, night came on and we had to make short boards through the night. In the morning we found that the current had set us to leeward twelve or fifteen miles, notwithstanding we had beat to windward, during the night, with a good fresh breeze from the southward. We stood into James's bay, where we anchored in seven fathoms, good bottom; and found it to be a good safe harbour, sheltered from all prevailing winds. We likewise found fresh water here. as captain Colnett mentions, which was very good, and filled eighteen or twenty of our butts. We caught plenty of fish; but they were not very good. We also killed some flamingoes and teals, in the salt ponds that lie just within the sand beach, abreast of the anchoring place. We cut a supply of wood between the ponds and the sea, and found it to be the best to burn of any I ever saw.

When we arrived in this bay we found two Spanish brigs riding together by another brig which had been sunk for that purpose. They had all three been cut out of Pisco. They were prizes to the ship Henry of London, commanded by captain William Watson,

who arrived on the 23d of July, from a whaling cruise. I had flattered myself that on the arrival of the Henry, I should have much pleasure in the company of the captain. As the two Spanish brigs were left with only one man, one boy, and a Spanish negro prisoner, I was confident the ship could not be long absent; but when she arrived I was very much disappointed in my anticipations. The captain was, in my opinion, the greatest drunkard, and the most low and mean spirited man, that ever was put in charge of property. Here was one instance of the abuse of power, that was given to a villian, who made use of it to rob and plunder on the high seas. He had it in contemplation to plunder me, and I have no doubt he would have attempted it, had his officers and crew been willing to have assisted in such an outrage. He found me with only ten men on board my ship, when he came into the bay. Several of them were sick with the scurvy and other complaints. I had buried one but a few days previous, who died of a scorbutic complaint. In this weak and helpless condition he threatened, with other insults, to take away my men as British subjects. He came on board once and demanded my chief officer. I found that I must either let him take him, or have recourse to some very hostile measures. On my telling him, however, that he should take no advantage of me with impunity, although I was in such a disabled state, he did not seem to be disposed to pursue his designs, especially when he found there was some appearance of opposition in the way. The Henry mounted fourteen six pounders, most of which were too light for actual service, and I found her commander to be not of the fighting cast, but one of the blustering sort of men. They left us on the 30th of July, to our great satisfaction. They left captain Anderson late of the Castor and Pollux, of London, who will be hereafter mentioned, and who had been put, with seven of his men, on shore on the weather-head of Albermarle Island to recruit from the scurvy, which they all had very badly. During their stay on shore, a Spanish privateer ship, called the Atlantic, fell in with and captured his, and one more English ship, that was in company. Captain Anderson had no knowledge of his ship, or what had happened to her, at the time he left this bay. He was left there in charge of one of the Henry's Spanish prizes, called the St. Bartholomew. He

fitted and rigged her and left this place, intending to proceed to London by way of Cape Horn.

Whilst we were at James's bay, we examined all the westerly part of the island, and found several good landing places to the southward of where our ship was moored. The direction of the shore is from south to south-south-west. We likewise examined all the north, and part of the easterly side of it, and found good landing in several places; but all very ragged rocky shores. James's bay is, as has been before stated, on the north west side of James's island. There is a small island lying about four miles to the north west of the anchoring ground, by which strangers may know how to find the bay. Before anchoring, run in till abreast the middle of the white sandy beach, and come to in seven fathoms water. This island is nearly seven leagues in length, from north to south, and its breadth about five leagues. The equator passed near its north extreme. The westerly part of it has some soil from two miles to the northward to ten miles to the southward of the anchoring place. Most of the hills and valleys are clothed with trees of a good growth, and in some parts the under wood and shrubbery are so thick, that it is difficult for a person to penetrate them. It may appear strange to some, that land should produce verdure where there is no rain, rivers, or springs, whereby it can be watered; but in this place the dew falls so heavily at some seasons, that it would wet a man's clothes to be out at night, as much as a small rain. All the animals that are found here are the terrapin, (or tortoise,) guanas, of two species, land and sea; snakes, of two or three kinds; and lizards of different sorts. The feathered race is the pelican, which lays its eggs in nests built on trees; flamingoes, and a small kind of albatross which does not lay its eggs in rookeries, but is found here sitting and hatching on the burnt stony ground; gulls, teals, rooks; a small kind of heron, which is in this country vulgarly called shite-poke; the ring dove, and two or three kinds of small sparrows. There are some seals of both the fur and hair kind, and green turtles are found on the beaches.

As it may be gratifying to the reader, I shall give a description of some of the animals that are mentioned above. The terrapin, or as it is sometimes called the land tortoise, that is found here, is by far the largest, best, and most numerous of any

place I ever visited. Some of the largest weigh three or four hundred pounds; but their common size is between fifty and one hundred pounds. Their shape is somewhat similar to that of our small land tortoise, which is found upon the upland, and is like it high and round on the back. They have a very long neck, which, together with their head, has a very disagreeable appearance, very much resembling a large serpent. I have seen them with necks between two and three feet long, and when they saw any thing that was new to them, or met each other, they would raise their heads as high as they could, their necks being nearly vertical, and advance with their mouths wide open; appearing to be the most spiteful of any reptile whatever. Sometimes two of them would come up to each other in that manner, so near as almost to touch, and stand in that position for two or three minutes, appearing so angry that their mouths, heads, and necks, appeared to quiver with passion; when by the least touch of a stick against their necks or heads. they would shrink back in an instant and draw their necks, heads, and legs into their shells. This is the only quick motion I ever saw them perform. I was put in the same kind of fear that is felt at the sight or near approach of a snake, at the first one I saw, which was very large. I was alone at the time and he stretched himself as high as he could, opened his mouth, and advanced towards me. His body was raised more than a foot from the ground, his head turned forward in the manner of a snake in the act of biting, and raised two feet and a half above its body. I had a musket in my hand at the time, and when he advanced near enough to reach him with it, I held the muzzle out so that he hit his neck against it, at the touch of which, he dropt himself upon the ground and instantly secured all his limbs within his shell. They are perfectly harmless, as much so as any animal I know of, notwithstanding their threatening appearance. They have no teeth, and of course they cannot bite very hard. They take their food into their mouths by the assistance of the sharp edge of the upper and under jaw, which shut together one a little within the other, so as to nip grass, or any flowers, berries, or shrubbery, the only food they eat.

Those who have seen the elephant have seen the exact resemblance of the leg and foot of a terrapin. I have thought that I could discover some faint resemblance to that animal in sagacity.

They are very prudent in taking care of themselves and their eggs, and in the manner of securing them in their nests; and I have observed on board my own ship as well as others, that they can easily be taught to go to any place on the deck, which may be wished for them to be constantly kept in. The method to effect this is, by whipping them with a small line when they are out of place, and to take them up and carry them to the place assigned for them; which being repeated a few times will bring them into the practice of going themselves, by being whipped when they are out of their place. They can be taught to eat on board a ship as well as a sheep, or a goat, and will live for a long time if there is proper food provided for them. This I always took care to do when in a place where I could procure it. The most suitable to take on board a ship, is prickly pear-trees, the trunk of which is a soft pithy substance, of a sweetish taste, and full of juice. Sometimes I procured grass for them. Either of these being strewed on the quarter deck, the pear-tree being cut fine, would immediately entice them to come from all parts of the deck to it; and they would eat in their way as well as any domestic animal. I have known them live several months without food; but they always in that case grow lighter and their fat diminishes, as common sense teaches, notwithstanding some writers have asserted to the contrary. If food will fatten animals, to go without it will make them lean.

I carried at one time from James's Island three hundred very good terrapins to the island of Massa Fuero; and there landed more than one half of them, after having them sixty days on board my ship. Half of the number landed, died as soon as they took food. This was owing to their stomachs having got so weak and out of tone, that they could not digest it. As soon as they eat any grass after landing, they would froth at the mouth, and appeared to be in a state of insanity, and died in the course of a day or two. This satisfied me that they were in some degree like other animals, and only differed from them by being slower in their motions, and that it takes a longer time to produce an effect upon their system than upon that of other creatures. Those that survived the shock which was occasioned by this sudden transition from total abstinence to that of abundance, soon became tranquil and appeared to be as healthy and as contented with the climate as when they were at

their native place, and they would probably have lived as long had they not been killed for food. Their flesh, without exception, is of as sweet and pleasant a flavour as any that I ever eat. It was common to take out of one of them ten or twelve pounds of fat, when they were opened, besides what was necessary to cook them with. This was as yellow as our best butter, and of a sweeter flavour than hog's lard. They are the slowest in their motions of any animal I ever saw except the sloth. They are remarkable for their strength; one of them would bear a man's weight on his back and walk with him. I have seen them at one or two other places only. One instance was those brought from Madagascar to the Isle of France; but they were far inferior in size, had longer legs, and were much more ugly in their looks than those of the Gallipagos Islands. I think I have likewise seen them at some of the Oriental Islands which I visited.

I have been more particular in describing the terrapin, than I otherwise should have been, had it not been for the many vague accounts given of it by some writers, and the incorrect statements made of the country in which it is to be found. The frequent political comparisons and allusions, which have been made by our public papers and orators to this animal, may have led the people of this country into incorrect notions concerning them. It has been publicly said that terrapins are common to China, which I am confident is incorrect; for I have carried them to Canton at two different times, and every Chinese who came on board my ship, was particularly curious in inspecting and asking questions about them, and not one, I am positive, had any knowledge of the animal before.

The land Guana is very similar in shape to the lizard or alligator, having four legs, and is about two feet and a half long. Their shape is like a short thick snake with four legs; but it is a very innocent animal. Its colour is like that of burned rocks, or cinder, and their skin looks almost as coarse and rough. They are tolerably good eating and would be made use of for food were there not so many terrapins and sea turtles to be got at this place.

The sea guana resembles the land guana in its shape, being about the same size; but its back and head go up to a sharp ridge on the top, and a comb runs from near the nose over the top of its head to near the end of its tail, on the top of this ridge, which

gives it the most disagreeable appearance of any animal to be found here. The colour of the skin is nearly black and has as rough and coarse an appearance as the land kind. It obtains its living entirely out of the sea. The other kind feeds upon the same vegetable substance as the terrapin.

The largest kind of lizards found here resembles the land guana, in every thing except size; they being only a little more than half the length. Their colour and coarse appearance are the same with the exception of a bright vermilion red throat, which makes it appear as if bloody. There are to be found here also two smaller kinds of lizards. The smallest is not much longer than a man's finger. The size of the other kind is between the two. There is no particular difference in the shape of the three kinds; but the colour of the two latter is gray. They are very harmless animals. The snakes that we found here appeared to be most of them harmless; none possessing any venomous qualities that we had any knowledge of. One kind of them is four or five feet long, and not thicker than a person's finger, and is striped. There was a short thick snake which is not more than two feet and a half long, and about the size of the one described above. Its colour is clouded with a mixture of dark gray, black, and red. One or two other small kinds were seen by us, but not worth being particularly described.

The pelican of this place is in appearance much like those in the West Indies. They have a monstrous large bill, which is more than a foot long, with a cot, or bag, growing to the under part of the bill, from near its end up to its throat. The under jaw is divided in such a manner that it can be spread open similar to a net bow, and the cot will expand, so as to contain near a peck of grain. With this net they are able to catch fish for food, for themselves and for their young. They are the most clumsy bird that I ever saw. When in the act of diving they make the most awkward appearance that can be imagined; which cannot be better described than by comparing it to the manner in which a sailor washes his clothes, by making them fast to the end of a rope and throwing them from the forecastle into the sea; when they strike the water, they spread out, with the trowsers in one direction, the shirt in another, and the jacket in a third. The pelican makes a plunge into the water for the purpose of obtaining its food in a similar

manner, its wings being extended, its mouth open, and its bill expanded; and with two enormously large feet spread out behind exhibits itself in a very ludicrous and sprawling manner.

The small albatross has been before described.

The ring dove is not so large as a turtle dove, and is more of the colour of the quail of this country, than that of the dove. It has a ring of feathers round its neck, of a light colour, and is a little simple, stupid kind of a bird. They are commonly found on the ground, amongst the groves of trees, where is not much under brush. They are a very delicate bird, and good eating. The method we practised to take them, was by going into the woods and taking with us small sticks, five or six feet long, and start a flock of them, when they would light upon the little bushes, and then walk up near enough to reach them with our sticks, and with a gentle motion place our stick close to the side of their neck, and while they would sit nodding, and looking stupidly at the stick, give them a sudden blow and break their necks. By these means, three or four of the crew could go into a grove and kill five or six dozen in two hours, which would be sufficient to make our ship's company a good dinner.

There is another remarkable bird found here, which has not before been described. It is known by the name of the diver. They resemble the small kind of booby, and something similar to the kind which is described at the Lobas Islands, called Bonaparte's army, excepting they are of rather a darker colour on the breast and neck, and their beaks and feet are of a Prussian blue. These birds collect together in small flocks for the purpose of diving. They fly round in a circle and continue to rise till they get to the height of from sixty to a hundred yards in the air, when one of them makes a pitch to dive, at which motion every one follows, and they fly down with remarkable swiftness, till within four or five yards of the surface, and then suddenly clasp their wings together and go into the water with the greatest velocity that can be conceived of, exceeding any thing of the kind that I ever witnessed. This bird should be contrasted with the pelican. I have often stood upon the ship's taferel rail, and sometimes have gone into one of the tops, to observe the motions of these birds whilst they were diving, especially when they came near the ship. They go into the water with such force as to form a curve of

thirty or forty yards in length, before coming to the top again, going to a great depth under water. They glide under water at almost as great a degree of swiftness as when flying in the air. The water was so very transparent where the ship lay, that they could very plainly be seen when near, during all their submarine course.

These islands afford some seals of both the fur and hair kind; and I think a vessel might procure several thousands of the two kinds, upon the whole of this cluster of islands, as all of them afford some. Green turtles are found here in the greatest plenty; and they are the easiest procured, of any place that I ever visited in any part of the world.

The south east part of James's Island we did not explore sufficiently to give much account of it; but from what we did see, I was led to believe that it has not so much soil on it as the westerly part. There are two salt lagoons directly back of the sandy beach, abreast where ships anchor, not more than ten rods from the shore; and we often shot teals and flamingoes here. All the watering place on this island yet found is between two and three miles to the northward of the lagoons. It is easily discovered in rowing along near the shore, as there will be observed a remarkable nook make into the land to the eastward, where the rocks on each side are from twenty to fifty feet perpendicular height. It will be seen that there are trenches, or gutturs cut in the rock at the head of the cove, to lead the water that oozes out into a bason, which holds not more than fifteen or twenty gallons. It has the appearance at the head of the nook as if a brook had wore away the rocks, as it run down from the high land. At this place a person can with some difficulty get up to the top. I have been at this place when there was water standing in several little basins on the upland above the brow, which appeared to have come down a valley between two moderately elevated hills; and at other times when there was no sign of a drop of fresh water either above or below the brink of the hill.

The method we took to fill with water here, was to raft our empty casks on shore and haul them on to the shelf of the rock by means of a hauling line, place them beside the basin, already mentioned, and leave a man with them constantly night and day, to attend and dip up the water as fast as the basin filled. By this

means we could sometimes save three hundred gallons in twenty-four hours. We got the casks off to the boat again by means of a hauling line being made fast to them. After this it was rolled into a kind of pit, which was wore into the rocks by the constant surging of the sea. They were then hauled to and taken into the boat by means of a par-buckle, if the boat was sufficiently large and strong to receive them, otherwise we towed them to the ship. This watering place is immediately to the southward and eastward of the most extreme north west high head of the island.

There is one very large island to the south east of James's Island, eight or ten leagues distant, which I know but very little of, as I never visited it, neither have I seen any one that did. Its appearance as I passed it, within four or five leagues distance, was more favourable than any one of the cluster. I should recommend to any person that was in pursuit of seals or terrapins, to examine this island, as from its appearance I should think it worthy their attention.

Albermarle is much the largest, and is the most westerly of the Gallipagos Islands. Its largest way is from north to south, and its north point by our observations lies in latitude 0° 15′ north, and in longitude 91° 15′ west. Its south extreme 0° 52′ south. The extreme width of the island we estimated at six leagues. It has a spacious bay on the west side, with an island lying in the middle of it, called Narborough, estimated at sixteen miles in circumference, and has a large and very remarkable rock, lying three or four leagues off the north point, in nearly a west direction, which is called Rodondo. The land on it is much higher than on any other island of the group, and has some very high mountains. Its appearance is like most of the other large islands, a great part of it appearing to have been torn to pieces by volcanos. I have seen places on this island and also on James's, and Chatham Island for a mile square, which had the appearance of once being a solid rock; but had been heated by volcanos to such a degree as to cause it to melt and run off the sides of the hills, which resemble the waves of the sea; having the appearance in many places of the surf, as it rolls on shore on flat beaches, with one sea following on the back of another. It is very dangerous attempting to pass over those burned places, as there are very deep chasms, some of them perhaps twenty feet in depth, which a person would be ha-

ble to fall into. If this accident was to happen to an adventurer, if he was not killed by the fall, it would be very difficult for him to get out again, as the rocks are so much burned that they have but little strength in them. When we walked over this clinker the tread of our feet would cause a remarkable sound, as if walking on bell metal. Albermarle Island is similar to the others in the production of terrapins, and sea turtles, seals, and all the other animals common to them.

Were it not for the advantages which these islands afford to the American and English whaling ships, in getting a supply of fresh provisions when in these seas, I know not what they would do, especially in time of war, as they then could not possibly obtain any from the Spanish settlements. The advantages which ships derive from these islands are very important, in consequence of their lying so much in the way of those employed in the whaling business, who can always get a supply of fresh provision here, and not be put much out of their course; without which they would not be able to keep to sea but a few months, before their people would die with the scurvy. There is a great number of islands lying between Albermarle on the west, James's on the north, Chatham on the east, and Hood's and Charles's Islands on the south. I presume I saw more than twenty within the above space besides two to the northward, and in sight of Albermarle, and James's Island. The distance from Albermarle to the nearest port of James's is about nine or ten miles. It is good navigation between them, although I never have known of any one who had been through previous to ourselves.

The most extraordinary phenomenon, happened while we were riding in James's bay, in the year 1800, that I ever witnessed in my life; and as I do not remember to have ever heard or read of any thing like it either before or since, I will here insert an extract from the ship's Journal, describing it, as it was minuted down at the time it took place, by the officer who had the care of the log book. "As our boat was coming from the watering place on the evening of the 21st of August, between sunset and dark, with a load of water, we saw a large black cloud gathering over the highest mountain on Albermarle Island, which was the same place where one of the men on board our ship had asserted that he had seen a volcano burning in 1797; soon after the cloud gathered, it

formed a spire or piked end similar to that of a cloud when about to meet a water spout. It descended to the top of the mountain, with a body of fire following it, apparently of the size of the largest part of the steeple of a meeting house. Its illumination was so great, that it attracted the attention of all the people in the boat, although they were at the time rowing with their backs toward it. After the fire had descended to the top of the mountain it continued some seconds, when it broke like a water spout and left a streak where it had passed, which appeared as brilliant as a column of fire, and continued for near half an hour before it wholly disappeared."

The watering place on Albermarle Island is in a cove directly to the eastward of Narborough, and on the westerly side of the island. The passage between the two islands being not more than two miles across. In going into the cove it may be approached from the northward, or from the southward; but it is most common for ships to go in from the northward. A red head, or cliff on Albermarle will be seen before getting so far to the southward as where the cove makes in. The shore to the northward of the red head, for several miles, is all green mangroves, and to the southward it is all burnt, rocky, mountainous land, for about half a mile, after which the cove makes in; but it is so small, and the land so very high round it, that it will not be seen until very near.

To enter the cove when coming from the southward, it must be found in the best manner that circumstances make practicable. The best guide that I can recommend is, to keep Albermarle shore on board as near as possible and be safe; when in passing by the cove it cannot help being seen, as it makes in a north east direction. The winds are generally very light and variable in the passage between Albermarle and Narborough, which will make it necessary to always have the boats in readiness for the purpose of towing, either to keep the ship off shore, or get her into the cove, as circumstances may require. When a ship gets in, she can anchor in from nine to twenty-five fathoms water, in good muddy bottom; but there will be no soundings soon after passing without the last mentioned depth. The watering places are to be found on the south east side of the cove, and are eight or ten in number. They are formed by holes which are cut out of the rock just above the surf, and will contain about one barrel each. They are situated

directly underneath some little hillocks or knolls, which will be a good mark to find them by. There are likewise two or three little gullies near them, in which water sometimes runs. A ship may fill at this place from fifty to one hundred and fifty barrels in twenty-four hours, by attending night and day as has been recommended at James's Island. Plenty of wood can be procured to the northward of the red head, from the green mangroves before mentioned, or from Narborough Island. This little cove is as snug a place as any I know amongst the islands for a ship to lie in and overhaul her rigging, or make any repairs that may be found necessary, and likewise to fill up with water; but any communication with the shore, excepting for water, is not so convenient as at several of the other islands. There are many advantages which unite about this place, and are seldom to be found any where else. The plentiful supply of the best of fresh meat; together with the fresh fish, which are as plenty as in any place I ever was at; and good wood for fuel which is easily obtained; and all to be procured without any expense, and with very little trouble. It is considered to be as good whaling ground about these islands as any in these seas.

The greatest number of the Gallipagos Islands received their names from captain Colnett, who visited them about the year 1792 and 1793, in the ship Rattler from London. The constant south east trade winds prevail as near the equator as Hood's and Charles's Islands; and they blow for the most part of the time from that quarter, till after passing to the northward of the whole group. There are at some periods spells of variable winds and calms near and immediately to the northward of the equator. It is necessary here to remark, that to get to windward when amongst these islands, or to get round the weather head of Albermarle, will be found to be almost impossible. After passing the latitude of one or two degrees north, a ship will be always subject to have variable and light winds and calms, with squalls and rain, till aftet getting as far as ten, and sometimes fifteen degrees north latitude. We found the currents among these islands most generally setting to the north west, and commonly at the rate of one or two miles an hour; but at some seasons they take a different course and set to the south east, for several days together. They commonly set very strongly to the northward and westward off the north point of Albermarle, for several degrees to the north of it; and if a ship

should get to leeward of the islands and be becalmed, it is difficult to say how far she might be carried before she would get clear of the current. In case such an event should happen, I would recommend to stand to the eastward, if the intention is to regain the islands; for by standing to the westward, it would be impossible for me to say how far a ship would be obliged to run in that direction, before she would obtain a wind, that would enable her to recover her station at the islands.

I found the variation of the compass here to be nearest 9° easterly.

I should recommend to those bound to the southward, if they are to the eastward of the south head of Albermarle, when amongst these islands, to bear away and go round its north point, where there is a good opportunity to send a boat on shore and procure sea turtles, and cray-fish; and to shoot teals, flamingoes, and perhaps some other kinds of birds. Then steer off close hauled upon a wind to the southward, in the same manner as if to the westward of Albermarle, keeping the wind, till far enough to the southward to be out of the trade winds.

When bound to the northward, or to the westward for China, as I have been at two different times when I left these islands, I have steered nearest a north west course, till in the latitude of 10° north, then more to the westward, so as to bring me, when I was in the latitude of 15° north, to be in 115° west longitude; from which I sailed nearly on a north west course till I was in latitude 20° north, and longitude 120° west. I would here remark, that during the whole run of my last course described, I saw boobies, man-of-war hawks, egg birds, and some other kind of birds, that indicated land in this vicinity; and I have no doubt of its existence, or of my having been able to have found it, if time would have permitted me to look for it.

CHAPTER XXI.

Passage to the Sandwich Islands, with a description of them.

WE sailed from the Gallipagos Islands for Canton on the 9th day of November, 1801, and directed our course towards the Sandwich Islands, where we arrived on the 10th of December following. Nothing worthy of being mentioned happened during the passage.

In running down for Owhyhee, the eastermost of the Sandwich Islands, it is best to keep in about 20° north latitude. By keeping this course the land on the north east side of the island will be first made, which is entirely free from danger until getting to the breakers on the shore. The land trends about north west far to the eastward on this side the island; but in sailing to the westward the land turns to the west-north-west, and runs quite to the west end of the island, in that direction.

The north west point of Owhyhee lies in latitude 20° 12′ north, or thereabouts, and in longitude 156° 4′ west; but as we had no observation while off the point, it may be subject to some error in both latitude and longitude. The land all the way down the north east side is high, and may be run for by night or day without danger, if it can be seen three or four miles distant. The highest land of Owhyhee is three large mountains, which are some of the highest land in the world. They can be seen forty or fifty leagues at sea in clear weather. They lie in the centre of the island. One of them is a volcano, which sometimes burns with incredible fury. The place which we anchored in is not called the best sheltered bay, or the best place to procure provisions and water The bay further to the southward, which is called Karakakooa Bay, has the preference with them who are acquainted with both. The king generally makes it his home there, and where he resides a ship is not so much troubled with the natives, and is in no danger of being attacked by them.

I believe that nearly all the ships, that touch at either of the bays on the island, run down the north side. Although it is a long distance trom the north west point to either bay, it is not difficult to get to them; for after rounding the point a short distance, the regular trade winds in general cease to blow, and the land and sea breezes alternately prevail, and will soon carry you to the most southerly of them. The shores all seemed to be clear of danger by keeping one half or three quarters of a mile off.

This island affords plenty of hogs, fowls, some potatoes and yams; but they are very dear, owing to so many vessels stopping here, that they may be bought as cheap in almost any part of America. I should recommend to a ship, that anted any considerable quantity of refreshments, to go to some of the leeward islands, as I have been told they can be got there cheaper than at this place and equally convenient.

When visiting any of these islands it is necessary to be very cautious in keeping the natives out of the ship, and never permit so many to come on board as to be in fear, especially if they have any inclination to be hostile. The white people who are on these islands are very serviceable to ships; for by their assistance the water may be filled and brought off without getting the boats out, and risking the people on shore. I once went on shore where the king was, and was treated very hospitably, and saw no appearances of any danger from the natives, but I thought it was owing to the king's being with me.

Tomahammaha, the present king, is very well disposed towards the white people who stop at these islands; but should some one of the chiefs be invested with the reins of the government, on the death of the present king, I do not think it would be safe for small vessels to stop there. There are many of the chiefs wicked enough o take any advantages and cut a vessel off whenever they could get an opportunity. The name of the bay we anchored in is Towey-he; it lies on the west side, and not far from the centre of the island. For the information of those who may wish to go into this bay, I shall here state, that they can always take a pilot as soon as a ship gets round the north west point, who will show either of the bays, but that the captain must take care of the ship himself and keep her off shore. Some of the land on this island is fertile, producing plentifully of every thing put in-

to it, which is suitable to the climate. Part of it has been burned over by volcanoes, in such a manner as to look almost as bad as the Gallipagos Islands. The mountainous parts of the island is not capable of producing any thing, on account of their height. It is much the largest island of the group ; but I do not believe it to be the most favourable for agriculture.

In my visit to the Sandwich Islands in the year 1806, we ran this voyage in latitude 20° 30′ north, with the intention to go to Mowee ; but we made Owhyhee first We then hauled further to the northward, and made Mowee, and ran down its north side. We observed several pretty little bays. Some parts of that side of the island were well cultivated. On rounding the north west end of the island, great numbers of canoes came off to us with fowls, yams, potatoes, cocoa-nuts, and several kinds of fruit. We stood to the southward along the land for the anchoring place, which lies on the south west side of the island, abreast of a handsome little village, where we anchored under the lee of the land, in ten fathoms water, muddy bottom, one quarter of a mile off shore. We found this island to be much more fertile and pleasant than Owhyhee. I went on shore at the village repeatedly, and found it to be a delightful spot of low level land, of a very rich soil and exceedingly well cultivated. I was treated very civilly by all descriptions of people, and obtained a considerable stock of vegetables and some hogs ; but every thing was dearer than it was on my previous voyage at Owhyhee. I was informed at this place, that the king was at Woahoo, and I made up my mind to visit that island, it lying to leeward. Mowee lies to the north west of Owhyhee, from thirty to forty miles distant. Its northwesterly extreme is in about latitude 21° north, and longitude 156° 25′ west, sufficiently near to know the island by, though not to be depended on to a mile. This island is moderately elevated land in most parts of it, and appeared to be better cultivated than Owhyhee. It did not appear to be much burned with volcanoes. They had very recently brought to this island one of the bulls that Capt. Vancouver landed at Owhyhee. He had made very great destruction amongst their sugar canes and gardens, breaking into them and their cane patches, and tearing them to pieces with his horns and digging them up with his feet. He would run after and frighten the natives, and appeared to have a disposition to do all the mischief he could, so much so

that he was a pretty unwelcome guest among them. There was a white man at this village, who told me that they had not killed any of the black cattle that Capt. Vancouver brought there; and that they had multiplied very much. This agreed with what I had heard when there in 1801. I understood that the bull which they had now at Mowee, was the first of the cattle that had been transported from Owhyhee to any other place. I have within this year or two been told by several captains who have lately been to these islands, that they have increased so much, that they frequently kill them for beef.

After our getting under way at Mowee, and drifting off shore with the current, in a calm, I found that the ship was going on a reef which lay to leeward of us, and were obliged to come to with the stream anchor to prevent going on to it. This reef lies nearly two miles from the village. The white man at this island as well as some of the natives, told me there was scarcely water on it to float a boat over, of course it must be guarded against by strangers passing this way. When we got a breeze we steered out to the westward between the islands of Morotoi, and Ranai, for the island of Woahoo; run down the south side of it, to the bay that lies on that side. We found it not to be a well sheltered place till after getting into the basin, there being a constant swell rolling in, which made the ship lie very uneasy. We anchored with our stream anchor in nineteen fathoms water, rocky ground, abreast of the opening in the reef, the inside of which forms as good a basin for any ship not exceeding three hundred tons, as could be desired to anchor in. We parted our cable in half an hour after we came to, and never recovered our anchor after. We then let go our small bower and rode two days by it waiting for a smooth time to be towed into the basin. We made one attempt and failed, on account of the wind springing up and blowing so fresh that we could not get in. After waiting two days longer, six double canoes came off early in the morning and assisted us to get in, and we anchored in six fathoms water, muddy bottom, two cables' length from the shore, where we lay as snug and as safe as a vessel could in any place. I should recommend to any one who should touch at these islands, and had any repairs to make to their ships, to go to this place in preference to any other. Any work may be done to the hull, spars, or rigging, with as much

convenience as it can be at any other place whatever where a vessel lies afloat.

On my arrival at Woahoo I met the king, who appeared to receive me coolly, on account, as I soon learned, of my not returning a natural son of his, whom I had taken away from Owhyhee in 1801. He never had once named the subject to me. The circumstances were as follow; when I was at Owhyhee in the year 1801, I was upon the best terms of friendship and intimacy with the king. I observed a remarkably likely youth, of about twenty one years of age, at the time I was on shore at Toweyhee Bay. His appearance prepossessed me very much in his favour. His behavior was dignified, comely, and sprightly, his body, limbs, and features, handsome; in his address and conversation he was governed by the strictest propriety, but his speech was accompanied with that native modesty which ever accompanies good sense. As he seemed remarkably attentive to me, I was induced to inquire who he was, and was informed by George Mc Clay, that he was the natural son of the king. I was pleased with his appearance and took notice of him. On asking his name, I was answered, that he had taken that of Alexander Stewart, which was the name of a gentleman then residing on the island, and that he was more commonly known by the name of captain Stewart. I soon ascertained that the king did not notice him; but I was satisfied that this was owing to a political consideration. There were others on the island in a similar situation, and should the king notice any one of them more than another it naturally would create a jealousy. The young man who was called captain Stewart soon made application to me through the medium of George Mc Clay, to take him away from the island with me. I replied, that if the king had no objection I would do it, as I had made up my mind previous to my arrival, to take one of their boys, as I once had one, who was a native of these islands, and one of the best boys I ever saw. George observed, that I could take one now, and that he would find out the king's pleasure respecting his son. I very shortly received intelligence, that it was congenial to the feelings of the king, for me to take one of them, and that I had liberty to take any one that I pleased. It was accordingly settled that captain Stewart should go with me, and I agreed that I would take a boy provided I saw one that I liked. My determination being made known, I presume

more than one hundred presented themselves in the course of two hours, for my appro' ation ; but I did not see one that I liked till I went into a house where the king's wives were. They questioned me who I was going to take with me, and asked if I had found a boy that I liked, and being answered in the negative, one of them asked how I liked that one (pointing to one that was standing behind her, who was employed to fan his mistress with a large tassel of long feathers, made fast to a long stick to keep the flies from her ;) after inspecting him for a moment, I answered her, that I liked him very well. She then said " you shall have him," and told him to come to me. He lay down his fan of feathers and took his station at the back of my chair, or seat, and did not leave me one minute after, till I went on board.

When we had got the ship under way, it being then nine o'clock in the evening, with the king's son and my boy with me, I observed captain Stewart's mother had taken a station in the main chains, and was making great lamentation for her son. Her cries I never can forget, as they were so expressive and on a subject so tender to a mother's feelings. She said I was going to take away her only son and child, where she should never behold him again ; that she could not leave the ship without him. I called to one of the canoes that was not yet out of hearing, and desired them to come along side the ship, which they did, after we had backed the main topsail. I told captain Stewart he must go on shore with his mother ; that I could not carry him away and leave her thus distressed. He said "he could not go back, as it would be unmanly, that it would redound very much to his dishonor to have it said, that he had relinquished a design of such importance, for no other reason, than that his mother cried about it. That she was nothing but a woman and she would forget it by tomorrow and be well enough." This reasoning, however, did not satisfy me. His mother's tears argued more powerfully than words, and operated upon my feelings to such a degree, that I was perplexed to know what to do. Neither the man, nor woman, would leave the ship without my using compulsory measures. After detaining the canoe for more than an hour, we succeeded by intreaties and with presents, to prevail on the mother to go on shore.

After we were fifteen or twenty leagues from the land, I discovered that we had three more of the natives on board, who

had secreted themselves in the ship, without my knowledge.—When I arrived in Canton, my first concern for these people was to have them inoculated for the small pox. I had in my previous voyages seen many of these poor creatures die with that loathsome and fatal disorder in that place. I accordingly had them all five inoculated with the small pox immediately after my arrival.

When I arrived at Canton, on a succeeding voyage, in 1806, I found thatt here was a substitute for the small pox, by inoculating with the kine pox, which would answer all the purposes as a preventive, and at the same time would be attended with no dangerous conse quences to the patient. I procured some of the kine pock matter from an American ship, which we passed in the river as we were going up to Canton, and having several natives of the Sandwich Islands on board my ship, I had them all inoculated with it. I was perfectly convinced from this experiment, as well as from a great number of instances since that time, that it is a complete preventive to the small pox, and will answer all the purposes as perfectly as that disease; and I should recommend it to all captains, who are employed on voyages, where they may take the natives of these islands on board their ships, that they should provide themselves with kine pock matter, which may be easily procured, and preserved in such a manner as to be carried to any part of the world, and have them inoculated with it before carrying them to places where they would be exposed to take the small pox, which most generally proves fatal to them, and the distress and sufferings of the poor creatures have been beyond description; many scenes of which I have been an eye witness to, that would excite the compassion of any man possessed of the least particle of humanity.

The five who were inoculated with the small pox, had it very favourably; but during the time that they were sick with it, I found it would be very inconvenient as well as expensive to have them with me at Canton, and I was under the necessity to keep them on board the ship at Wampoa, nine miles below the city. I had discharged several of the men on my arrival, one of which was a great favourite with Stewart. This man had shipped himself on board an English Indiaman. He came often on board the Perseverance to see his old ship mates, and persuaded the king's son to leave me and go with him on board the ship that he belonged to. I think it

very probable, that Stewart felt that he was alone and neglected in my absence, and was discouraged ; he having a noble and gene rous mind, and very tender feelings. On being nformed of the circumstances, I waited on the captain of the Indiaman, that he had gone on board of. He did not deny having knowledge of the business, but said he had been informed, that I had so many of these people on board my ship, that I did not care any thing about their leaving me ; and that if I wished it he should be immediately returned. He likewise remarked, that as he had left my ship voluntarily and seemed to be very much ple sed with his situation, if I would give my consent to let him remain on board his ship, he would treat him in the same manner as if he was his own son ; and that on his arrival in England he would take care that he should be noticed in his true character. In answer to him, I stated that it was contrary to my principles to take the natives of those unfrequented countries away from their homes, and so far neglect my duty to them as to let them go unprovided for in a strange country ; but that I still felt far greater obligations towards the king's son whom he had got, and the boy who was still with me, than I did for the other three natives who were then on board. I had taken the former from their friends, who would reasonably expect me to take prudent care of them ; but the latter came on board my ship without my knowledge and against my will ; for which reason I felt no obligation towards them farther than common humanity. After I had maturely considered the whole subject, I made up my mind to let Stewart stay with the English captain, giving him a statement of his true character. He renewed his promise of friendship and kindness towards him, which was the last knowledge I had of the king's son, more than from a vague report, that he was taken notice of on his arrival in England by a gentleman of consequence, who took him to his own house with an intention of giving him an education. To the boy I gave the name of *Bill*, and brought him with me to Boston, where his merits were duly appreciated, and he was generally known, together with my treatment towards him ; and it will not be necessary to make any further mention of that subject. He performed on the Boston stage several times, in the tragedy of Capt. Cook, and was much admired by the audience and the publick in general. He afterwards returned to his native island with me ; but not wishing to remain there, he went to Canton in

the Pilgrim, where he was paid off, and I have heard nothing of him since.

I shall here make a few remarks on George McClay, and then resume the narrative. He was my carpenter in the ship Eliza, when I left Canton in 1793, and went to the Isle of France with me, and was also carpenter in the large ship Hector, which was purchased at that place.—He went with me to Bombay—after which he had been travelling in that part of the world until he had found his way to the Sandwich Islands, where he was noticed by the king on account of his being a good natured, honest fellow, and a very good ship builder. He had built near twenty small vessels, and a few as large as forty or fifty tons, whilst he was at these islands.—He likewise put in a new keel, and nearly new planked a small ship called the Lily-burgh, which ship was well known in that quarter of the world for a number of years. All this labour he performed for the king. I made a confidant of George McClay whilst at these islands, in all my negotiations with the king, and with other persons, with whom I had intercource.

As I have before mentioned, the king received me coolly on my arrival at Wahoo. The women of the highest ranks among them, were very particular in their inquiries of me concerning the youth who had left me in China. They gave me to understand, that all classes of people had built their hopes very much on him, and entertained high expectations of his returning with me, after acquiring some knowledge of the world, whereby he might be better qualified to make them a good king. I found likewise, by information which I obtained from Isaac Davis, George McClay, and a Mr. Holmes, (three of the king's favourites,) that great expectations were entertained in favour of the youth alluded to. They had calculated very much on his being their next king. I was informed, that as soon as it was known that I was to windward amongst the islands, great preparations were made for my reception at Wahoo. They collected hogs and other provisions for me, expecting I had the king's son on board; but when I arrived, and they found that he was not on board, they appeared to show more grief than anger. This operated more powerfully on my feelings than any other passion that they could have discovered. I felt the full force of my conduct in having left him at Canton, and considered myself to blame for giving my consent on any account whatever to have him

separated from me until returned to his friends at his place of nativity. I was treated very civilly by all, but not with that cordiality that I was at Owhyhee, or should have been here, if I had returned the man according to their expectations.

I found Wahoo to be the most convenient, best cultivated, and most beautiful, of any island in the group. It is not so mountainous as some of the windward islands, and has a beautiful skirt of land, five or six miles broad, lying on the south side of it, which extends from some miles to windward of the basin, before mentioned, fifteen or eighteen miles to the westward. It begins immediately at the foot of the high land, and descends in a gentle slope to the water's edge. There are beautiful streams that run through the plain from the mountains to the sea. This island is cultivated in such a manner as to appear to great advantage, as well as to afford all the necessary comforts of life. There is a long reef extending from east to west, all the length of this skirt of land, from one to three miles off shore. It has good water within it in many places for ships, if they could get there. I found the inhabitants to be similar to those on the islands to windward, and all their customs and manners the same.

All the clothing, worn by the people of these islands, is made of the bark of a remarkable shrub, called the cloth tree, which does not commonly grow larger than a man's wrist. It is peeled from the stem of the tree in the same manner that birch bark is, and is then pounded on a log with a small piece of wood, (both being prepared for the purpose) until it is as thin as brown paper. The nature of the bark is such that by being wet and beat, it will expand to any size necessary, or as long as there is substance to work upon. Of this kind of cloth all their wearing apparel is made. The women commonly wear a square piece wrapped round their waist, in the same manner that a blanket is put round an infant in this country, which reaches from their hips to the calves of their legs. They sometimes wear a piece over their shoulders, similar to a handkerchief, or shawl; but they most commonly go without this. Neither the men nor women wear any covering on their heads. The males wear a very narrow strip round their loins; the same as the common class of natives all over India, and in the eastern islands. It is called in India a land-gouty. They eat pork, which is exclusively the privilege of the men. Dogs, fowls, fish,

and all kinds of vegetables and fruit, are eaten by both sexes. Their most common drink is cocoa-nut milk, sweetened water, and a kind of ardent spirit which they distil from a disagreable sickish tasted root, and from the sugar cane. It is unwholesome and unpalatable, and has been the cause of the death of a number of the white men residing there, as well as many of the natives. Their food is somewhat different from that which is used in this country, as it consists principally of vegetables, and mostly of sweet potatoes. They make use of all kinds of vegetables for food which the islands produce, even to grass. They are not allowed to eat much meat, if they had an inclination for it.

The idea of making use of dogs for food is disgusting to the people of this country, who have never eaten of them; but I can assure them that they are very good eating; a satisfactory proof of which I experienced while at these islands, and as the anecdote may afford some amusement I shall relate it. On my arrival at Wahoo, I found a gentleman there by the name of Hudson, whom I had known at Massa Fuero in the year 1801. He had been once or twice from this place to California in one of the vessels which George McClay had built here. He was a man possessed of a large share of natural as well as acquired abilities; and was very enterprising and honourable in all his transactions. Captain Hills was likewise there at the time I arrived, who commanded the brig Lydia of Boston; and Captain Ebbets commanding the ship Pearl, and captain Jonathan Winship commanding the ship O'Cain, both of Boston, who arrived after me. We were much of the time together and formed a very pleasant society among ourselves. Captain Hudson kept at his own house while on shore, which the king had built on purpose for him, and had it very well furnished. We all, when on shore, breakfasted, dined, and supped at his house, each one contributing something to the mess. In this manner we enjoyed ourselves for several days. We had roasted pigs, fowls roas ed, boiled, and otherwise cooked; fresh fish, when we chose them; all kinds of vegetables that the climate afforded, in plenty; and fruit of different kinds; together with a plenty of the best melons that I ever eat. It happened one day while we were at dinner, that the conversation turned upon having a dog cooked and served up with the rest of our good fare. One of the company observed that we had not had one. I made reply, that I did

not desire to have one cooked for our table, as I had a peculiar prejudice against eating these animals; that although I had eaten skunks in America, rats in China, water snakes on the coast of New-Holland, and a number of such animals, merely to satisfy myself what was proper food for a man to eat, yet I had lived too long and been schooled too much to wish for any farther experimental knowledge in that way. I was answered, that I should not know the difference between a dog and a pig when it was cooked. The next day at dinner two pigs, as they called them, were brought on to the table; one was without a head, which was placed opposite to where I sat. I was very politely asked what I would be helped to? My answer was, a piece of a pig. The gentleman who sat near the one which had no head, asked if he should help me to a piece of it, which was baked in that country stile; and said he would recommend it far before the other, which was roasted. Yes, was my answer. I was helped, and eat very heartily of it. The gentleman who had helped me, said, that there was a plenty more that I could be helped to if I liked it. My reply was that I never tasted any thing better, and was again helped, and finished my dinner of what I thought to be the baked pig.

In the course of the afternoon there were many jokes passed on the subject of eating dogs, till at last I began to suspect there had some trick been played upon me. After inquiring into the affair, they satisfied me that what I had made so hearty a meal of was a dog. It caused some disagreeable sensation for the moment, and I was a little angry; but on reflection, and seeing my comrades make themselves merry at my expense, I thought it was the most prudent way to turn it off with a laugh. I sincerely believe that eating of the dog has not done me any harm, unless it was, that I possibly might have partook a little more largely of the canine spirit.

The king had come down to Wahoo with an intention to go to leeward against Atooi. This was the only island that was at this time independant of Tamahammaha. He was king, or chief of one half of the island of Owhyhee when captain Cook was killed; but not of that part where this memorable event took place. This information I had from the king himself, through the interpretation of George McClay. Since that period he has made himself master of every island of the whole cluster. Shortly after I was

there, the island to leeward capitulated, and came under the government of Tamahammaha. I consider him a man of very good natural abilities, of tender feelings, and aiming to be just, making a very good ruler. It may be remarked, that great credit is due to captain George Vancouver for his success in bringing all the islands under the subjection of Tamahammaha, as well as for his friendly treatment to the Americans and Europeans. The king never had thought of such a policy, till he was instructed and assisted in it by this man, whom the English government sent out to take possession of Nootka Sound, I think in the year 1791. A circumstance that is very generally known in the world.

These islands will, most probably, in the course of a few years, become very important. They lie in a central situation, between Asia and America, and their soil is found to be very fertile. They have for twenty years past been a convenient place for trading ships between the north west coast of America and China to stop at. There has been found growing at these islands, within the last seven or eight years, a considerable quantity of the real sandal wood; and some American gentlemen have made large profits in the traffick. There has been a company in this business for several years, captains William H. Davis, and Jonathan Winship, of Boston, together with several others; some of whom make it a place of residence, whilst others transport the wood to Canton; and I believe they have found it a profitable business. As long ago as the year 1790, I saw more than thirty tons of what was called sandal wood brought from these islands to Canton in one vessel; but it was of an inferior kind, and the Chinese would not give any thing for it. In consequence of this and similar circumstances, it is probable that the real sandal wood was so long neglected by them who visited these islands. They entertained an idea that all the wood that grew there was the same as that which was first transported to China.

Many more particulars might be given of these islands, which would be interesting to an American reader; but I shall conclude my account of them, by stating, that the most celebrated circumnavigator that England has produced, captain James Cook, died at this place. He was killed by the natives of Owhyhee at Karakakooa bay. Captain John Kendrick of Boston, the first American commander that ever visited the north west coast of America, and

who opened that channel of commerce to this country, also died at this place. His death was occasioned by a salute that was fired by an English commander in honour to him. One of the guns, through accident, was loaded with round and grape shot, which killed captain Kendrick and two boys while on his quarter deck.

I think it no more than justice to say something to the memory of this American captain; any thing on the English commander, would be but superfluous, as he is so generally known, and so justly celebrated by all the world for his extraordinary merit.

Capt. Kendrick was the first American that burst forth into the world and traversed those distant regions which were before but little known to the inhabitants of this part of the globe. He taught many of his countrymen the way to wealth, and the method of navigating distant seas with ease and safety. I was intimately acquainted with him in Canton bay, in the year 1791, as has been before stated, and I also knew his character afterwards as long as he lived. He was a man of extraordinary good natural abilities, and was noted for his enterprising spirit, his good judgment, and superior courage. As a seaman and a navigator, he had but few equals. He was very benevolent, and possessed a heart filled with as tender feelings as any man that I ever was acquainted with. He was esteemed and beloved by all who knew him in his last absence from the United States. I wish to impress it strongly on the minds of every American, not to let his rare merits be forgotten, and to cast a veil over his faults, they being but few compared with his amiable qualities.

On my arrival at Wahoo in 1806, I found eight Japanese, who had been taken off a wreck at sea by captain Cornelius Sole, of Providence, Rhode-Island, who was bound from China across the Pacific ocean to the coast of America. After he had passed by, and considerably to the eastward of the Japan Islands, he fell in with the wreck of a vessel that belonged to those islands. He found eight men on board, whose history will be given, after mentioning the conduct of captain Sole, as was promised in the account of Coquimbo. This generous man took the sufferers on board his vessel, the Tabour, and being then near the longitude of the Sandwich Islands, steered for them and landed the eight men with all their clothing and effects at Wahoo, where I found them. He left

them in the care of the king, with whom he made an agreement to take care of them and provide for their support, until something should turn up for their relief. He left one of the anchors which was taken off the wreck, forty axes, and some other articles to compensate for their living while at this place. He also left a letter with them, describing their situation at the time he found and relieved them, and recommending them to the care and assistance of any visiter that might touch at this island. I regret very much my having mislaid the copy of this letter, as it would do the writer much honour to have it published ; but let it suffice to say, that it was replete with the principles and feelings of a generous, humane disposition. I never had the satisfaction of knowing captain Sole in person, but his good deeds speak loud in the wake of his course.

When I arrived at this island, I found that the Japanese had pretty much exhausted their welcome. The king informed me that they had lived out more than the worth of what was left by captain Sole for their support, and if something was not done for them soon by some one, he should turn them out amongst his people to get their own living. I went to see them, and after reading the letter alluded to, concluded to take them with me, either to the place of their nativity, which was the town or city of Osaca, on the island Niphon, (the principal of the Japanese group,) or to Canton. I took them on board and proceeded to sea ; after which I maturely considered the danger of going to this port in the month of October, on account of its being so late in the season, that I should most probably have to encounter severe gales of wind, on a strange coast, with a ship going on the fourth year of her voyage, and very much run out in sails and rigging, and the cables worn out ; that however great my inclination might be to visit Japan, and return those unfortunate sufferers to their friends and country, yet motives of prudence forbade the attempt. I therefore continued my course for China, where I arrived in safety in the month of November.

On our arrival at Canton, I was enabled to obtain a tolerably correct narrative of the Japanese, who I had with me. I ascertained that they write the same characters as the Chinese, though they pronounce the language so differently that they cannot understand each other ; but by the assistance of a servant I had in the factory

there, who was one of the natives of China, and who understood the language grammatically, I could ask them questions, and receive their answers. Some of the questions with their answers to them, I shall here insert, as they were written down at the time.

Question. What place did you leave last, previous to your being shipwrecked ?

Answer. The town or city of Osaca, on the island of Niphon.

Question. What time did you leave it ?

Answer. Some time last February or March, (as near as I could understand by comparing their time with ours)

Question. How many men were there of you on board, when you left Osaca, ?

Answer. Twenty-two.

Question. What happened to the other fourteen ?

Answer. Some were washed overboard in the gale of wind in which we lost our masts, rudder, and were otherwise materially injured, and a still greater number were killed and eaten for food to save life ; all of which died by *lot*, fairly drawn.

Question. How were you treated by captain Sole ?

Answer. We acknowledge him as our saviour ; next to God, we adore him. He not only took us away from that horrid death, which stared us in the face ; but he gave us victuals, and carried us safe to land; after which he befriended and provided for us.

Many other questions were put to them, all of which they satisfactorily answered. I could discover the greatest number of favourable traits in the character of these people, of any that I ever saw. They were remarkably religious ; but I could not find out exactly their tenets. They seemed to pay some adoration to the sun, the moon, and some of the stars ; but not in so great a degree as I have seen in the Gentoos, and the other natives of India. I observed them at their devotions every night ; and particularly about the rising of the planet Venus, or Morning Star ; and sometimes at the appearance of the New Moon. They kept a religious and constant care over all their actions towards each other, which convinced me that they had lived under a good government, where merit was rewarded and crimes punished. I shall hereafter give an account how these Japanese were disposed of.

The latitudes and longitudes of some of the principal places at the Sandwich Islands, we found as follows. The anchoring place at Towhyhee bay, latitude 20° 6′ north longitude 155° 50′ west. Karakakooa bay, latitude 19° 28′ north ; longitude 155° 58′ west.—South point of Mowee Island, latitude 20° 34′ north ; longitude 158° 00′ west. West point of Morotoi, latitude 21° 10′ north ; longitude 157° 14′ west. Atooi anchoring place, at its south west end, latitude 21° 57′ north ; longitude 159° 47′ west.

CHAPTER XXII.

Passage to Canton—Directions for Sailing through between the Ladrone Islands—Entering the Straits of Formosa—Arrival at Canton—Some Description of Japan—Passage through the Chinese Sea—Remarks upon the Keeling or Coco Islands, and Return to America.

AFTER having taken in a supply of fresh provisions and water, we took our departure from the Sandwich Islands on the 20th of December, 1801, and steered a course for Canton; and on the 21st of January following, we fell in with and passed through between the Ladrone Islands.

In our passage through the Ladrone Islands there appeared to be no kind of danger whatever, neither rock nor shoal in the way. We made the land in about 18° 20′ north latitude, and I think that to be a good latitude to run down in. There is an island on the southerly side of the passage, eighteen or twenty leagues distant, appearing in shape much like a high round loaf of bread. As we raised it, we made more high land to the southward, which we found to be connected with the former On drawing up with it, we made an island to the northward of the passage, which appeared high and round like the one described, only larger on the water, and found the first to be a volcano. We then saw another island to the south of the first we discovered, at the distance of fifteen leagues. When on with the east end of the first island, its bearing was south 10° east. There lay two remarkable rocks, or islets off the south east side of the first island, which appear, when bearing south west, or south west by west, like two ships at a distance; but the westerly one is much the largest, and when coming nearer to them, there will be observed a very large hole through the easternmost one.

We passed at about four miles distance from the first discovered island, and when the volcano bore south 15° east, the island to the northward bore north15° west; the estimated distancewas10 leagues, and all the passage between them appeared to be clear. The nearest island that we passed was green and very fertile round the volcano; but the other parts of it appeared to be very barren indeed, and nothing but high craggy sharp rocks. We did not see any signs of inhabitants on either of them. When we passed nearest to the first, we were in latitude 18° 12′ north. The center of the island lies in latitude 18° 2′ north, or there abouts, and in longitude 214° 14′ west. As we had a very good set of sights on each side of the moon the night before we passed them, and they agreed so very well together, I think the longitude must be right. The first island is about twelve miles long and perhaps half that distance in breadth, and lies the largest way north east and south west. As these islands are laid down very erroneously in the best charts that we have, and not having any voyages on board which gave an account of them, I am at a loss what their names are, and shall give them none, as I do not consider myself authorized. I have, on a succeeding voyage, satisfied myself, that the island that had the volcano on it, is called in the charts Guguan, and the other bearing north-north-west from it, is called Mamaguan. The passages between the islands both to the north and south, for two degrees either side of where we passed, are good, and if any vessel should be very much distressed on account of scorbutic complaints, it may haul to the southward to latitude 12° north, and run down for the island of Guam, where it may get suitable refreshments without much difficulty, as the island affords fruit, vegetables, and water, which can be procured very conveniently.

A ship, sailing through the straits of Formosa, will find it most easy and plain navigation to make Formosa, in which case she should be kept in latitude 22° 00′ north in the day time; but in the night, it is not very safe to run if the longitude is not known, unless it is a clear night, which is not common in the north east monsoon. In runing down in the above latitude, an island will be made to the eastward of Formosa, called in most charts *Bottle Tobago*, in latitude 22° 2′ north, and longitude 121° 55′ east, according to our observation. It is high land, and can be seen fourteen

or fifteen leagues in clear weather. It appeared to be four or five miles long, and half that distance in breadth. The longest way not far from north and south. There is an islet to the south east of it, appearing to be two or three miles distant, which can not be seen at much distance, especially in the night. We saw no other danger as we passed within six or seven leagues off it; but I cannot say that others may not exist beyond that distance. After passing this island it is requisite to make a west course till you see Formosa; and then leaving the south point on the starboard hand between one and four leagues distant. To keep nearer the shore is not safe, and over that distance,will be near the Vela-rete rocks.

I here insert the bearings and distances we had, when we passed the Straits of Formosa, together with the latitude and longitude of them, and Formosa south point; viz. At half past three P. M. saw the Vela-rete rocks bearing west by north four miles distant, at the same time the south point of Formosa north west half north, six leagues distant.—At four P. M. the Vela-rete rocks on with the south and westerly extreme of Formosa in sight north 30° west, at the same time, the easterly extreme of Formosa in sight north 12° east.—Distance of the Vela-rete, one mile and a half.—Estimated distance off the south and westerly extreme of Formosa, five leagues.—At a few minutes afterwards a remarkable peak on Formosa, on with the Vela-rete rocks, north 7° west. The south point of Formosa latitude 21° 54′ north, and longitude 120° 55′ east. Vela-rete rocks latitude 21° 40′ north, and longitude 120° 59′ east.

On a succeeding voyage, we made the north east Barshe Island to lay nearest in latitude 21 26′ north, and in longitude 122° 00′ east, or there abouts. We saw dangerous breakers in latitude 21° 48′ north, bearing about north west by north, from the above named island, and south by west, or south-south-west of Bottle Tobago. As I did not see or know of the shoal, or breakers previously alluded to, when I gave directions for making Formosa. I here recommend it as highly requisite to bear it in mind on making this passage through the Straits. It is necessary to caution the navigator against runing too near their entrance in stormy weather, as I have known a gale of wind to continue with a thick heavy atmosphere, for many days together, when I was about to enter the

China sea, by this passage, and always a strong current setting to leeward, which, considering all circumstances, would render it very dangerous to fall in with, till there was clear weather enough to obtain observations sufficient to ascertain the latitude and longitude. As this passage is made only in the north east monsoon it is always to be calculated on having excessively bad weather, and a very rough sea, for many degrees to the eastward of Formosa, till entering the bay of Canton.

After passing the south point of Formosa, you should not come to the northward of that latitude, till you have made one hundred miles westing, on account of a rock that lies about eighty miles west of it, and about fifteen or twenty miles to the northward of its latitude. Then, if bound to Macao or Canton, you should haul west-north-west until you get soundings in forty fathoms water, then keep to the westward, or keep in such a latitude as to have about thirty fathoms, making near a west course, and when drawing nearly up with the grand Lama Island, (which is the ruling mark to enter the bay by,) the water will shoal to twenty-five fathoms, or perhaps less, by which you may know (if in the night) that you are near up with the easterly passage inside the islands. It is not safe to come under twenty fathoms, when up with the grand Lama, which lies in latitude 22° 5′ north, and longitude 114° 32′ east, on account of being too near the land; but if you have been runing down in a higher latitude, and of course are to the northward of the ruling mark, you will have shoaler water and be equally safe, excepting only on account of Pedro-branco, and that in the day time is not dangerous. A ship in the north east monsoon, when coming from the eastward, should enter between the Grand Lama island and the small islands to the northward of it, for the benefit of a more easy wind down to Macao, and at the same time will be found in a plainer passage than any other for a stranger. The ruling mark is easily known, when it is made in coming from sea. It is the most eastern island of all the group in Canton bay of any magnitude, and the eastern head is quite bluff, and lies out far to the southward of the main coast, so that it cannot be passed without being observed in the day time. After entering this passage, an island seen to the westward, that seems to lie in the middle of this island, must be passed to the northward, and in

running this course some northing will be made. After passing the island alluded to, the way is all clear and open up to a very long island which makes on the starboard hand, except three rocks that must be left on the larboard, hand which are called the Triangles.

The long island before mentioned is called Lintow, and must be passed to the south leaving it about four or five miles to the starboard hand, until drawing near the south west of it; then if you choose you may pass between it and the first small island to the larboard hand, or between any two of the islands that lie off to the south west of it. The longest way of Lintow is about north east and south west, and a stranger will have no better guide to find Macao, after entering among so many islands, than by coming into the bay as before stated. After you pass the south west end, (if you go between it and the first small island,) you must steer south west by west, or west south west for Macao roads, and anchor in from four to seven fathoms; that island will be known from any other in the bay, by the white buildings of the town and castle. They should be brought to bear about west, from four miles to four leagues distant. But in the event of falling to leeward of the Grand Lama, and not being able to enter between the eastern head of that island, and the main, or the small island to the north east of it, it may be entered any where to leeward between any two of the islands without danger, keeping your lead going, and pass on to the northward until the long island above stated is made, and then proceed as before described.

It is to be remembered that all ships bound to Canton must stop at Macao and report at the Chinese chop, or customhouse, who will give a permit and a pilot for Canton, without which the ship is liable to be seized, as captain James Colnett was, when he went up without reporting, (see Colnett's voyage.) After having got a pilot on board, it is always requisite to keep a watch over him and not let him run the ship into shoal water, or into any other danger that a commander has any right to judge of, as the China pilots are in general very ignorant of a ship, or the navigation from Macao to Canton, and if a navigator sees any thing doing that is not right, and will tell the pilot modestly that he is going wrong, he will always pay attention to what is said to him and not be angry.

I never allow one of them to run one moment longer than I consider it safe, ever taking care of my own ship. I have been on board two different ships when they were run aground through the ignorance of the pilot. One was the Ganges of Phalidelphia, which was near being lost by this means, the other a vessel from the north west coast of America, which, with other accidents that I know to have taken place with those pilots, makes it a matter of consequence to be vigilant after them ; and it should be the busi ness of every master on any coast whatever, to look after the pilot he has on board and see that he does not neglect his duty. If the question should be suggested, whether I mean to insinuate that the captain of a vessel should take it on himself to dictate to a European or an American pilot, I answer, certainly not ; but having a constant care and look out himself, he may sometimes prevent very serious accidents from taking place, as all pilots are not men of abilities, or of competent knowledge in their profession, and putting them in mind, when they appear any way deficient, has most commonly a beneficial tendency.

On arriving at Whampoa, the port of Canton, it is considered best for small ships to pass up the river above Dane's, and anchor abreast French Island, nearest the north shore, on account of a wreck, that is sunk on the south side. The water is good and a clear bottom in any part of the river, except as above named, having from four to seven fathoms. After the ship is secured, and a passage provided to Canton, the next important concern to those who have no agents, or factors residing there, is to select a security, or what is called in their language Hong Merchant. There are twelve of them appointed by government, who become surety for all the ship's duties, and the behaviour of persons on board, whether good or bad, that come to the port to trade. In consequence of this regulation, a security must first be provided, before the ship can be entered, or business transacted further than making bargains. The most common method is to make some agreement for the cargo with the merchant, to whom you are obligated ; otherwise they all will refuse taking that responsibility on themselves, it being a hazardous business for them, as they not only become surety for what the commander, or supercargo does at Canton ; but for all they do previous to their arrival, and after they

leave it, whilst any where within the jurisdiction of the China law, such as smuggling, depredations, or misdemeanor of any kind whatever. After that point is settled, any further trouble is unnecessary, more than to consult the Hong Merchant on all important occasions. The method of doing business is soon learned, as any European or American who is acquainted there, will give a stranger any information relative to the general way it is transacted in. The European nations, that is, England, Holland, France, Spain, Denmark, Sweden, Russia, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, have factories, and keep supercargoes there constantly. The English stand the highest of any of them, having for more than the last twenty years, pretty much engrossed that trade to themselves, as far as it concerned the European flag.

I have found particular satisfaction in the acquaintance and favour of Dutch supercargoes. They have befriended me more than any other Europeans, except the English, in that port. The names of those that I have the greatest reason to remember with gratitude, are the two Messrs. VanBraams, Mr. J. H. Rabinal, Messrs. Blattosman, Yeeman, Vander Slyden, and Bosma, some of whom are deceased; but to all of them I have been under obligations for many favours, and in particular for offering me shelter and a place of abode, when I was a stranger and stood in need of their kindness. May I cease to breathe when I forget favours of that nature.

After our arrival in Canton with the Japanese on board, they were visited by some of all nations, who were at that place, and many questions were asked concerning them. The Chinese seemed to wonder as much as any of the other visiters, to find men they could correspond with by letters, and still could not speak one word of their language. After much being said about them, the Dutch supercargoes offered to take charge of them, and send them to their own islands, by way of Batavia. I accordingly delivered them, and Mr. J. H. Rabinal, then chief of their factory, made me a present of five hundred dollars. They were sent to Batavia accordingly by a Chinese junk. I saw them afterwards all in good health, on my arrival at that port, which was occasioned by distress of weather. I was particularly noticed by the governor general, and other persons in that government. They made

me several valuable presents, amongst which was a Japanese sword, for the kindnesses shewn to those distressed islanders. They were afterwards sent to their own country, by an American ship called the Mount Vernon, Capt. Davison, of Philadelphia, and arrived safe, as I have been informed by authority I have no reason to doubt.

As it may be gratifying to some of my readers to have a particular description of the empire of Japan, I shall here make a few remarks from as good authority as any person could have who has not visited the place. It consists in a group of islands situated between latitude 30° 00′, and 40° 00′ north, and between longitude 130° and 145° east; there are three of considerable magnitude, and a great number of inferior size; the principal one is much larger than all the rest put together. It is called Niphon, and the name of its capital is Jeddo. It lies nearly in latitude 36° 20′ N. and in longitude 13° 90′ E. The second in magnitude is called Kinou, on which the city of Nangasaqui stands; and the only port that foreigners are allowed to trade at. The third is called Sikokf. The Dutch are the only Christian people who have been allowed any privilege of trade here for more than an hundred years past.

Their laws are considered by some that I have been acquainted with, and who have spent much time in that empire to tend more to keep men in order, and make them good members of society than any in the known world. I shall here mention an instance of their rewarding merit, which I had from the gentleman who was my partner in the purchase of the ship Hector at the Isle of France, already mentioned. He went four times to Japan in command of a ship, after he and I were together, and sailed three times from Batavia in the employ of the Dutch East India Company, and once from Bengal; but he did not succeed in opening a trade while he was under the English flag. Captain Stewart informed me that he was drove on shore by a gale of wind, on a large rocky ledge at Nangasaqui, in a ship of between seven and eight hundred tons burthen. The rise and fall of the spring tides at that place were sixty feet, and when the water had left her she heeled so very much, and lying on the side of the ledge, that he feared she would overset, and had her masts cut away. She started at the shock the falling of them occasioned, slid off, and sunk in twelve or

fifteen fathoms of water, with more than six hundred tons of Japan copper on board, besides other heavy articles. After he had time to consider what was best to be done, and finding himself totally destitute of any means of recovering the ship, except with the assistance of the government, he made application to the Emperor, through the medium of the Dutch supercargo, and was favoured with the imperial order, granting all the assistance that was in the power of the government to afford. The first men there, in the public service, went to work and expended great sums of money in making efforts and trying different experiments; but could not get a purchase to raise the ship. During the time they were making these exertions, a fisherman came often to look and see what methods were pursued, and seemed to be very attentive in his observations. After the government men had exhausted all their faculties and could not make any progress, or even stir the ship, they gave over the attempt and reported to the Emperor that this important task could not be effected. When all was done that could be by the government, and every body had quit the undertaking, the fisherman before mentioned, came to captain Stewart and offered to raise the ship without any compensation whatever, more than the honour of accomplishing what had proved insurmountable to the Emperor's men. He was answered that if the power of the Emperor could not effect any thing, it was not very likely that a fisherman could. Captain Stewart was invited to his house to look at the plan he had drawn of the manner he intended to effect it. Captain Stewart went with him; and as soon as it was seen, he was satisfied it would accomplish the thing desired. It was thought advisable to let him go to work. This plan was to make fast two large vessels of two hundred tons and upwards, one to the stem, and the other to the stern of the ship, and as many small vessels to each side as he could. The fisherman was wealthy and owned a number of vessels of different sizes; so that he could do all the business without employing any vessels or men but his own. After he had made every thing ready, at low water, he hove all down and made them fast. When the tide began to flow, the cables, lashings, and vessels all began to crack as if every thing would part; but after all were fairly brought to bear equal share in the burthen, the ship began to rise

from the bottom. She was floated into a convenient cove, and at high water was hauled on shore so far that at low water when small vessels were taken away, the ship was left dry, all above the bends. The cargo was taken out, and necessary repairs made; it was again reshipped, and every thing made ready for sea, free from any expense to the commander, as all the cost the government were at, was gratuitous.

As soon as the knowledge of what the fisherman had done reached the Emperor, he sent for him to court, conferred the rank of nobility on him, of the first or second order, and gave him two swords, (being the custom of the country for the nobility;) a body guard of thirty six pike men, and a competent salary to support the dignity of his rank. This was bestowed upon him in consideration of his having performed more than any man in the Emperor's service could In this manner they reward merit; and on the other hand, if a man is guilty of a violation of the laws, he is punished according to his crime. Their laws are very simple and easily to be understood by all classes of the people. A man of superior merit is sure to be rewarded, and a villian is equally sure to be punished for his crimes. There are no tedious delays in obtaining justice; no swarms of professional men, to confound and perplex in the due execution of the laws, and create doubts on points that are perfectly plain to any man of common sense.

For the purpose of shewing with what dread, punishments for violations of the laws in this empire are held, I shall insert an anecdote, which was told me by a man of undoubted veracity who was on the spot at the time it happened. A Chinese being at these islands, who was in the commercial line, and having purchased a quantity of pearls that he wished to convey out of the country without paying the duty, which was very high, adopted the following stratagem to effect the object. He put them into a pumpkin and attempted to pass it into a boat amongst twenty or thirty others of nearly the same shape and size. A mandarin, who was looking after what was going on board, took each pumpkin in his hands and passed it to another to put it into the boat; and when he came to the one that had the pearls in it, his sagacity was great enough to discover it to be heavier than the rest; he gave it a shake and put it by for

examination, and passed the remainder of them through his hands as before; when they were all passed, the mandarin called for a knife and cut the one in halves that had the pearls in it; and at the instant it was done the Chinese who was standing by, cut his own throat from ear to ear, and died in less than five minutes on the spot. So much was he in fear of the law. The punishment in such cases, I never have learned; but am satisfied it is capital, as they do not make laws in vain in that part of the globe. The laws in Japan, are acknowledged to be just by all who have been there. They have had an established religion, as I understand, ever since the horrid butchery that was occasioned by the Portuguese, on account of christianity, when all christians were extirpated from the islands. It is considered the richest country in the world for gold, silver, and copper, the former is not of so pure a quality as that of South America. Silver is higher valued than gold, according to our rate of valuation, and is not so plenty with them. Copper is very plenty, and of a superior quality to that found in any other country. The trade carried on with them, is in spices, sugar, woollen cloth, and a great variety of articles of small value, in which the merchants barter with them; and for them they get in return, precious stones, gold, copper, camphor and many kinds of beautiful lackered furniture, and other japanned ware.

After having disposed of our skins at Canton, and taken in a cargo of teas, sugar, and other articles, we sailed from Whampoa on the 6th day of April, 1802, for Boston. We passed the Straits of Sunday, and arrived at the Isle of France on the 5th of June, and left there the 23d of July, doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and arrived in Boston November 1st, after having been absent a few days short of three years.

Nothing worthy of being mentioned happened during this passage; but I shall take this opportunity to give some directions for making a passage from Canton to the United States, together with such observations as experience has enabled me to recommend to the attention of navigators who may be employed in this trade, with a sincere wish that they may be useful.

If a ship cannot leave Canton until late in the season, say the last of March, it is best to steer for the Macklesfield Shoal, or enough to the eastward to clear all the dangers to the westward of it, which

is necessary at any other season of the year, unless bound through between the Parcels and Cochin-China. As for the great necessity of striking soundings upon the Macklesfield bank, as recommended in all directories, I think it of but little consequence ; besides it is rather uncertain whether a ship hits it, in a common run from the Grand Ladrone. They many times have strong currents in the China sea, and it is at all times very uncertain which way they run, and no ship can ascertain that point, unless they have a chronometer on board. When a course is to be shaped from any of the islands in the bay of Canton, it should by all means be made so as to insure easting enough, not to fall to the westward of the before mentioned bank, on account of the Lincoln shoal, and several others that lie to the westward of the Macklesfield, and not very far from it. After passing which, it is proper to steer for Pulosapata, or something to the eastward of it, until getting within a degree and a half, or two degrees of its latitude ; then shape a course south west, or south south west, so as to hit the Natunas, off the west coast of Borneo. In sailing between the great, and the south Natunas, there is a very wide clear passage. I have been passing through between them and could not see either at noon day, and in tolerable clear weather, but in case of falling into the eastward of the south Natuna, you can pass between it and the island of Borneo with safety.

I have coasted the whole of the west side of that large island, and never saw any danger lying near the track in making this passage to prevent a ship's running any time, except one small shoal that lies near a small island called the Haycock, one of the south Natunas. I can only say further, that the soundings are so regular in the fair way that a ship will never be in any danger to run night or day, keeping the lead going ; but should irregular soundings be found in the night, by all means anchor. After passing the south Natunas, it is best to coast Borneo along, just to the westward of most of the small islands lying off it, until nearly up with Billiton ; then if acquainted with the Gaspar passage, it is safe to go through it ; but there are many dangers in that passage, for a stranger. If not acquainted, I should recommend going through the Billiton, there being nothing to guard against in going through that passage, several shoals excepted, that lie off to the south east of that island.

These shoals are dangerous, especially at night. I should advise by all means to anchor if the soundings were irregular, and I could not see two or three leagues distant, and as shoal water as sixteen or eighteen fathoms, is indicative of danger. These shoals are just in sight of Billiton, in a very clear day, and I think by keeping close on board its shore, a ship would be out of danger of them, or by keeping near the Borneo coast, she would likewise be out of danger. After passing them, the Java sea is all open, and of course you can run direct for the Straits of Sunda.

The above passage is ever to be preferred if a ship cannot leave Canton before the first of April, for whilst you have nothing but calms nearly all that month, from Pulo-Timone to Banca, you have a good easterly wind on the coast of Borneo, and the further to the eastward the better the chance of winds will be in the China sea, late in the monsoon. Should the season be ever so far spent, I should not advise to attempt going out through the straits of Malacca, when bound to any port of America, or Europe, as the winds prevail from the westerly quarter so constantly, that it would be found very difficult getting through, and out into the south east trade winds. After getting to the Straits of Sunda in May, or June, I have found it very difficult to get clear of them to the south and westward, into the regular trade winds, it being as before described subject to violent squalls, and sometimes they continue from the westerly quarter for many days together. In such cases I should advise you to stand over to the north side, and endeavour to work to the westward of the Sumatra shore, until a sufficient westing could be made to stand to the southward, and weather Prince's island; then take care of the Coco islands, as they lay directly in the track for homeward bound ships. I once fell in with these islands, in the night, and in thick stormy weather. We considered ourselves safe, as we were running three degrees out of their longitude, according to the best authority we had on board; but the wind suddenly left us, and we were becalmed in a smooth sea.—This happened a little before day light, and we remained nearly in the same situation until it was quite light, when we found ourselves to leeward, and within one or two miles of three or four islands, bearing from east to south south west. We saw no dangers off them. The island appeared to be ten or twelve miles in extent. The

largest way of the cluster was from south west to north east. The eastern island was the largest. I was very sick at the time. and but few observations were made on them. Their latitude and longitude we did not ascertain. Had we fallen in with them, three or six miles to windward, we should most certainly have run on shore, as the night was uncommonly thick and dark. I should caution all ships from running in the night too near their situation.

"The Keeling or Coco Islands are four small islands surrounded by many islets and breakers, and extending above sixteen leagues from north to south. They are very low, not to be seen above five leagues off in clear weather from an Indiaman's deck, and covered all over with trees. The ingenious captain George Robertson has determined the situation by an Arnold's box chronometer, in a short run from Java Head, and corroborated by three sets of lunar observations of objects east and west.

"The northernmost is a single low island in latitude 11° 50′ south, and longitude 8° 1′ west of Java Head, or 97° 7′ east. It lies due north from the westernmost of the cluster of islands distant fourteen miles, a passage lies between them 'through which,' continues the same gentleman, 'we passed in the General Coote, captain Baldwin.' The southernmost are a circular cluster of low islands, in latitude from 12° 4′ to 12° 23′ south. Their eastern extremity 7° 50′ west of Java Head or 97° 18′, and their western extreme in the meredian of the northernmost island. In ranging along the north part of the cluster of islands, we saw no danger detached from them, they being steep-to close in to the shores, which is a beautiful white beach, appearing like sand, but which I believe is white coral. A reef runs out from the north west course of these islands, a short quarter of a mile."—*New East India Directory.*

The latitude most suitable for ships to run in till drawing near up with the Island Rodriguez, or longitude 65° east, is between 18° and 20° south, after passing that island (if business does not require a stop at the Isle of France or Bourbon,) a course should be steered so as to pass two degrees, or more, to the southward of Cape St. Mary's, or the south end of Madagascar; then fall in with the south east coast of Africa in the latitude 28° to 30°, and keep the coast on board within fifty miles, till you round the Cape of Good

Hope. I have found it in the months of June, July, and August better weather and much easier making westing near the land here than to keep off in the strength of the current, that runs through the Mozambique channel. It is not dangerous to keep the land close on board, for fear of gales of wind, as I never experienced it to blow heavy on shore, any where to the southward of 25° south, on the south east coast of Africa. It will be borne in mind, that it is necessary to preserve a sufficient distance from the land, to avoid some small islands and rocks, which lie off the coast a few leagues distant near latitude 34° south. If wishing to stop at the Cape of Good Hope, a ship can enter False Bay with safety, and anchor in Seaman's Bay any time in the winter season.

In leaving the bay to proceed to the westward, it will be natural to choose a fair wind to make some westing with, and a ship, in the season of the year likely to have bad weather, should not come to the northward of the latitude of the cape, till one degree or more to the westward of it, on account of the strong gales of wind that sometimes blow from the westerly quarter, and would in souch cases drive a ship on shore to the northward of the cape. I have known this to be done, and they have been lost from no other circumstance than standing to the northward before she had secured sufficient westing to bear the effects of a gale of wind on a lee shore. After the passage round is secured, the best course to run is for St. Helena, and from that to the island Ascension, if after the month of September, till the month of March; from thence steer a course so as to cross the equator in the longitude of about 30° west, and pass to the westward of St. Paul's rock, and make the course so as to pass but a short distance to windward of the island of Barbadoes. But should it be necessary to make a passage from the Cape of Good Hope between the months of March and September, it is recommended to steer down the south east trade winds, some where about latitude 20° south, till nearly in longitude 25° west, before hauling to the northward, as the winds and currents at that season of the year are from the southward, on the coast of America; setting strong to the northward a great part of the time, and will of course accelerate the passage. To cross the equator at that season of the year in as high a longitude as 35° west, would be safe, and perhaps better than to cross

it further to the eastward. I have found it best when bound to any port in New England to sail to the eastward of Bermuda, as the winds at that season of the year are as frequently from the eastward as from any quarter of the compass.

When I have passed to the westward of Bermuda, it has been repeatedly the case that I have been kept for several days together hemmed on to the westward of Nantucket Shoals with a north east wind, and at the same time I might have gone to the eastward of it, and avoided this delay, which is so extremely disagreeable for seamen when returning from a long voyage, to be kept out of port, and fatigued with bad weather and contrary winds. It is a good general rule to come on to the coast of America, when bound to a port to the eastward of New York, to pass to the eastward of Bermuda, any time between the 20th of March, and the 1st of October.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Remarks upon fitting out and preparing for a voyage to the South Sea, and North West Coast of America, by way of the Cape of Good Hope—Description of the island of Trinidad—Tristian de Cunha—King's Island—Straits between New Holland and Van Dieman's Land—Settlements on New Holland and Van Dieman's Land.

AFTER my return to America in November 1802, in the ship Perseverance, from a voyage on which I had been three years absent, I set about making preparations for another excursion to the Pacific Ocean. I had a tender of sixty two tons burthen, built by my brother Samuel with the assistance of my brother William. We rigged her as a schooner, and called her the Pilgrim.

I had the Perseverance refitted, coppered her and the Pilgrim, and put both in the best order possible for sea. The Perseverance mounted twelve six pound cannon, and the Pilgrim mounted six guns, from nine pound carronades to four pound fortified cannon, having all parts of their armament fitted in the best manner to correspond with their number of guns. Being the principal owner of both vessels myself, I took special care to have them equipped with every thing necessary for a sealing voyage, loading them with provisions and ship stores, and to complete our equipment, shipped sixty prime men. After a more than ordinary share of difficulty and perplexity, we again set sail on the 25th of September, 1803, bound to the South Sea, by way of the Cape of Good Hope, and the south cape of New Holland.

On my leaving America on this voyage, I was placed in a situation that caused me more anxiety than I had ever experienced at the beginning of any enterprise. I had with me my two brothers, who were all I had, and a nephew of seven years old, who was

an invalid. He had lost the use of his arms, and wanted as much attendance as common children of three years old. I had entered into a contract, which was * * * * * *, that had more powerful effect on my feelings than all the other causes put together; and moreover I found myself less active in body and mind than I was at the age of twenty five years. I considered the responsibility I was under, when I took from my parents all the sons they had, and one grandson, and from my sisters all their brothers; and to other near connections who might have tender feelings for absent friends; and of the importance it would be to them all, was any thing to happen to our vessels so that they might never return. Almost the whole of our connections, whom we left behind, had need of our assistance, and to look forward it was no more than a reasonable calculation to make, that our absence would not be less than three years. All these important causes came under consideration, together with the extraordinary uncertainty of the issue of the voyage, as we had nothing but our hands to depend upon to obtain a cargo, which was only to be done through storms, dangers, and breakers, and taken from barren rocks in distant regions. All the foregoing considerations were sufficient to rouse the sensibility and put the mind of any man on a stretch. But after a voyage of four years for one vessel, and five for the other, we all were permitted to return safe home to our friends, and not quite empty handed.

Many were the perils and dangers we three brothers encountered during this long, extraordinary and tedious voyage. We built both the vessels we were in ourselves and navigated them two and three times round the globe. Each one of the brothers has been master builder, and master rigger, and navigator of ships and vessels in all quarters of the world.

Being now about starting on my third and last long voyage, I will state the principles which have actuated me in my pursuit, so far as I have gone through life. The first that I know of was an ambition to excel others in achievements; the next was, to satisfy my own curiosity in a knowledge of the world, and particularly to know how far myself and others were imposed upon with exaggerated accounts of the world, and false statements of things a great way from home; the third and last, and for many of my

latter years by far the greatest, was, honestly and honourably to obtain a competency sufficient to support myself and family, through an old age, should I live to see it; to do a benevolent act now and then, and to leave an unblemished character behind me. As a child of misfortune, I have felt for the distress of others, and may these feelings remain with me as long as I have breath to draw, and it will be my constant prayer, let my misfortunes, miseries and persecutions be ever so great.

In preparing for such a long voyage, a man should take great care that his business should be so settled, and agreements made so binding, that on his return home, he could keep clear of being dragged into the law, harrassed and wronged out of all his hard earnings, which is peculiarly poignant to the feelings of a man who has earned his money in the hard way that globe beaters generally do theirs. On returning from a voyage of three or four years, to be called upon to pay sums of money that he never owed, and sometimes to people he never saw before to his knowledge, is very disagreeable, and should be guarded against in the beginning of the voyage as much as in his power. Never let an account lie open with friend or foe, although they may say, "let it all lie just as it does till your return;" for in such cases the simple or fair balance seldom or never pays the demand, especially when the sailor has got a little money.

It may be believed that when a man has been absent a great length of time, that he will imbibe different ideas from those he has entertained whilst on shore; and he sees things very differently when he returns home. He is vulnerable at all points, to either love, friendship, gratitude, or benevolence; and at the same time holds his honour at too high a rate to get along very well with people who do not set so high a value upon theirs.

It is a duty that every man owes to himself to take care of his own earnings, and not be outstripped under the operation of any of the foregoing principles, so that he may be left in his old age pennyless and without a friend; for should it so happen, it most commonly will break his heart, more especially if he possess a noble mind.

After preconcerting the plan of operations in the course of the voyage, the first places of our rendezvous, and the order of sailing, we proceeded on to the southward, the Pilgrim in company, commanded by my brother Samuel. We did not separate until by order on the 4th of January, 1804, in latitude 40° south, and longitude 4° east, when the Pilgrim was instructed to make the best of her way to Bass's Straits, which are formed by New Holland on the north, and Van Dieman's Land on the south, and there rendezvous at King's Island; but in case of failure, the second place appointed was Port Dalrymple, situated on the north side, and about in the center of Van Dieman's Land. We parted company at sea, and ran until the 6th of February, when we again by accident fell in with each other, in latitude 40° 50′ south, and longitude 109° east. We continued together the most of the time after, until the 20th, when we made King's Island as was agreed on, where we separated in the longitude of 4° east. In continuing the narrative, I will now return back and mention some occurrences that took place on our passage between Boston and the island of Trinidad.

We found the Perseverance and Pilgrim to be very near alike in point of sailing, but the former the best of the two, and the latter one of the best sea boats of her size that ever crossed the ocean. On the 16th of October, observed the Pilgrim astern manœuvering in a manner I did not understand, hove the main top-sail to the mast, and waited to see what she was doing. She however shortly got on her course again, came up, spoke with us, and informed that they had lost their cook overboard by accident, and that all their exertions to save him had proved ineffectual. We proceeded on with pleasant weather for the most of the time until the 16th of November, when at four o'clock in the morning, the Pilgrim brought to the Danish schooner Experiment, of Copenhagen, commanded by H. Giambery, from the coast of Africa, with one hundred and five slaves on board, bound to St. Croix. We requested the favour that she would remain with us until day light, that we might have opportunity to write by her. The captain very obligingly consented, and all of us who wished to write, occupied two hours in endeavouring to inform our friends at home what progress we had made. A little after the sun had risen, we lowered down our stern boat, and after calling along side the Pilgrim for

what letters they had written, I went on board the Experiment and delivered to the captain more than a dozen for our different friends. I supplied him with beef, of which he stood in great need, and with potatoes, and in return received a pig, a few fowls, and yams. I make mention of these particulars on account of my hearing that the Danish schooner never arrived at any port, and not one of our letters were ever received. On the next day we crossed the equator, in longitude 30° west, spoke a Spanish frigate from Cadiz bound to Buenos Ayres, who was likewise obliging enough to wait two hours for letters to be written, and she took them with others I had on board for her port of destination.

The island of Trinidad, is in latitude 20° 28′ south, in longitude 28° 32′ west, by our observations. I should judge it to be about 12 miles in circumference, and it is mostly a barren rough pile of rocky mountains. What soil there is on the island is on the east side, where there are several sand beaches, above one of which the Portuguese had a settlement, and have done much work in making streets, or roads over the vallies, levelling down small hills to make the roads good. They have walled in a number of enclosures for the purpose of making fields, at the expense of much labour. This settlement was directly above the most northerly sand beach on the east side of the island, and has the best stream of water running through it that there is on the island. It might be possible in pleasant weather to get it off from this place, but we got ours off the south side from the next best watering place or stream. It falls in a cascade over rocks some way up the mountains, so that it can be seen from a boat when passing it. After you have discovered the stream, you can land on a point of rocks just to the westward of the watering place, and from thence may walk past it, and when a little to the eastward of the stream, there is a small cove between the rocks, where you may float your casks off.—Wood may be cut on the mountain just above the first landing place, and can take it off if you have a small oak boat. The method in which we filled our water was carrying it in kegs and buckets to the place where we floated our casks on shore. All the south side of the island is indented with small bays; but the whole is so iron bound a shore, and such a swell surging against it, that it is almost impossible to land a boat without great danger of staving it. The

south part is a very remarkable high square bluff head, and is very large. It has an arch under it that a boat could pass through in clear smooth water. There is a sand beach to the westward of this head, but I should caution against landing on the beach until it is well examined; for just at the lower edge of the beach and amongst the breakers it is full of rocks, which are not seen until amongst them. Where we landed we saw the remains of at least two or three boats which had been knocked to pieces by landing. We found plenty of goats and hogs. The latter were very shy, but we killed some of them, and a number of goats. We saw some cats, and these three sorts of quadrupeds were the only animals we saw on the island.

If a ship is very much in want of wood, or water, it can be got at Trinidad; or if the crew should have the scurvy it is an excellent place to recruit them, as you can get plenty of greens on the south east part of the island, such as fine purslain, and several other kinds. These, together with the fine sweet water, would soon recruit a crew. A ship must never be anchored at this place with common cables, or she will be likely to lose her anchors; but if she has chains for her anchors, the rocks cannot cut them. The navigation is safe for a ship all round the island within one mile distant. Martin-vas rocks, or more properly islets, lie about east nine leagues distant, but there did not app ar to be any dangers between them and Trinidad.

We shaped our course from Trinidad towards where the island of Saxenburg is laid down in common charts, crossed over it, and shifted our course in this vicinity several times. We observed discoloured water and great numbers of birds, but we were satisfied that Saxenburg Island did not exist any where near. I think however, it is probable that there is some shoal, bank, or soundings, some where hereabouts. We continued our course southerly towards the islands Tristian de Cunha, fell in with and explored them, and made the following remarks.

These islands are very well laid down and described by Sir George Stanton, when on board the Lion man of war, as secretary to Lord Macartney, on his embassy to China. He makes Nightingale Island to be in latitude 37° 29′ south, and longitude 11° 59′ west, and Inaccessable Island in latitude 37° 19′ south, and longitude

11° 50′ west. From the anchoring place of the Lion I allow the Grand Tristian to lie in latitude 37° 10′ south, and longitude 11° 48′ west, which agreed very well with our observations. When sailing for these islands, a ship will of course fall in with them, coming from the westward, as the winds blow from that quarter nearly all the time. There will be discoloured water for several degrees before making them. On discovering them you will commonly see the Grand Tristian first if the weather is clear, as that is much the largest and highest of the three It may be seen (as Sir George says,) twenty five leagues distant. It is a regular shaped, round, high mountain, with snow on its top, which I think never melts. We passed nearly all round it by land, and saw no danger far from the shore, except off two or three points, which had breakers two or three cables lengths from the shore; but these always show themselves sufficiently soon to prevent danger. The shores are very difficult of access, being almost all of them so rocky that boats cannot land on them without great danger of being stove, as there is continually a very heavy surf. We landed on the southerly side of the island, and walked several miles round to the eastward, and some distance to the westward and northward. We saw some streams of water; but none that seemed convenient for filling water or getting it off. The north east part of the island is most commodious for filling and getting off water, as I was informed by capt. Nathaniel Dorr, who was in a ship that passed round the island at this time, and from what I saw. If it should so happen that a ship is in want of that article at this island, she could obtain it by floating it off in casks; but I think wood would be very difficult to be got here, it being very small and shrubby, and grows at a distance from the water, and in general in inaccessible places. I should calculate the island to be seven or eight leagues in circumference.

We circumnavigated a great part of Inaccessible Island, near to land; but found it to be very difficult of access on all sides; we at length however landed at its south west part, and could not pass along the beach more than one or two hundred yards before we came to a square bulk head of rocks projecting into the sea, which stopped us. Twenty or thirty feet above the rocks where we landed, it was as perpendicular as the side of a house, and many hundred feet high. There did not appear to be any thing to be

obtained on or about this island, except a few seals, and it was next to impossible to get them. We caught a plenty of fine fish here, in twenty five and thirty fathoms water.

We did not land on Nightingale Island, or go very near to it; but from what I could discover, it differed very little from the other two. We sailed round and between all three of these islands, and did not see any kind of danger, that was a considerable distance from the shore. We found no object amongst them worthy of our attention, or that would be profitable, except sea elephants, whales, and a very few seals. The whales were very plenty. All of them were right whale, or the kind that is called black whale. The sea elephants were also very plenty, and I have no doubt but that a large ship might soon load with elephant's oil, if she could get it on board. We saw discoloured water and whales for a great distance to the southward and eastward of those islands.

In making a passage to the eastward as far as Van Dieman's Land I should recommend the following directions. If bound to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope between the 20th of Sept. and 20th of March, it is best always to keep in as high a latitude as 40° south, by which means there will be very steady westerly winds in summer. I have always found better weather in the above, than in a lower latitude, even in winter. I should as soon round the cape in 40° as in a lower latitude; for, as has been before remarked, in passing near to any high mountainous cape, or head land, a ship will always be subject to strong gusts of wind, and they frequently continue for a great length of time. The gulf stream also comes out from between Madagascar and the main, and runs round the cape with such velocity that it creates a tremendous sea. Off the Cape of Good Hope, between the 20th of March and the 20th of September, in the latitude of 40°, there will most commonly be found steady kind of weather, with a strong westerly wind which prevails more in the winter than in the summer. In passing to the eastward in latitude 40° all the way from longitude 10° west to 20° east, there will frequently be found places of discoloured water; but I never sounded on those banks, as I considered them. I should recommend to a navigator to continue to the eastward in the above latitude until getting as far to

the eastward as 140° east, then haul to the southward and go round the south cape of Van Dieman's Land. I do not think it safe by any means for a vessel to go through Bass's Straits unless the commander is well acquainted there. In crossing the Indian Ocean in latitude 40°, or thereabouts, there will often be found places of discoloured water, more especially when drawing up with the south part of New Holland.

King's Island is a large piece of land, and by the best information I could obtain from persons who landed and walked round it, should calculate it to be eighty miles in circumference. I think from what I saw and could learn, the largest way is from north east to south west, but there is not much difference between its length and breadth. I have never seen a good chart of it, or the straits between New Holland and Van Dieman's Land. The land is moderately elevated. No mountains could be seen on it from a ship's deck at a distance of six leagues. We ran down in latitude 39° 57′ south, and made the land about eight or ten miles to the northward of its south end, and did not try for soundings before we made it, as the information we had received did not promise any; but it is my opinion, by the soundings we had, that ground might be got ten or twelve leagues to the westward of it, in the latitude of the island. We sailed round the south end; off which extends a most dangerous point of sunken rocks. The point appears low and flat, a stonny beach running down on it; and a little to the eastward is a cove or bay, which appears on passing it as if it might afford shelter for a vessel to anchor in. Off to the south-south-east of the above dangerous point, lies a small hummock, or island, about eight or nine leagues distant, which has something the appearance of a hay stack. It is about nine miles in circumference, and has no dangers round it. I have been on this island in a fine clear day, and could see nothing but deep water that was very near to it. Between this hummock and King's Island lies a low flat island, or rather a ledge of rocks, appearing a little above water, which is dangerous on nearly all sides of it. I have seen it break on three or four rocks or shoals at the same time, all in different directions from the main ledge, a mile distant from it, and not one of them showed themselves above water. This chain of rocks lies to the eastward of a direct line between the hummock and the above

dangerous south point of King's Island, and is nearly in a line with the hummock and the eastern extreme of that island; but nearest to the hummock. The distance from the hummock is from five to eight leagues from any part of King's Island. The latitude of the centre of King's Island is 39° 50′ south, and longitude 144° 18′ east. In passing round the south east side, you fall in with a bank of sand which has not more than seven or eight fathoms of water on it, and in many places not more than four or five fathoms, several miles from the shore. It extends ten or twelve miles along the east side of King's Island. There lies an islet on the same side of King's Island, called Elephant Island. The above shoal extends from Elephant Island to the southward. There are some rocks likewise to the north east of Elephant Island, on which the sea often breaks. As I was never to the northward of Elephant Island on the easterly side of King's Island, or to the northward of the centre of King's Island on the westerly side of it, I cannot give much information of that part of the island or its navigation. I was told by the people, who were there for the purpose of sealing, that this navigation was very dangerous; that there were many sunken rocks and shoals lying off that side of it, many of them nearly out of sight of land. I was informed that there are two small islands off the north side of King's Island, called New Year's Day Islands, lying from four to six miles from it.

I found it very difficult to procure wood or water from the shore, so much so, that I left the place after standing into a kind of bay two or three times, about three miles to the south of Elephant Island; but did not consider it safe to anchor with the prevailing wind, which was from the southward; and as this was the only possible place on the east side, in which water could be procured, I was obliged to leave it without wood or water, as I found they could not be obtained without a westerly wind. We steered to the eastward with an intent of making a harbour in Bass's Straits, and passed to the northward of Hunter's Island. We then hauled to the southward near the north side of Van Dieman's Land, and ran near the coast as far as Port Dalrymple, which we intended to have made had the weather been good; but the wind was blowing a gale from the west-north-west when we came abreast the port, and caused such a heavy sea that we could not

approach the land near enough to see much of the place ; but by the appearance of the shore about where the port must be, it seemed to be very unhospitable and dangerous.— We hauled our wind to the northward about four or five miles to the westward of a small island that is off the north side of Van Dieman's Land. We carried short sail and lay to for two or three days off and on, drifting to leeward, and passed four small islands off the north side of Van Dieman's Land, which lie three or four miles off shore, to the eastwasd of Port Dalrymple. The first to the westward is called Round Island, on account of its first appearance. The next we called Second Island, and it is much farther from Van Dieman's Land than Round Island. The next, which is large, is what is called in the chart Water house Island. The other is Swan Island. As we drifted to the eastward, we raised a high mountain to the northward and eastward of us, which is the south end of Flinders' Island, and is called the crown head of Flinders. Directly to the south of this high head lies the island called Cape Barren. It is about three miles distant from Flinders' Island. It must never be attempted to run through between these islands by any vessel ; for to the eastward of the narrowest part begins a most dangerous bay, which is called the Bay of Shoals, and runs to the eastward nearly out of sight of land, and is shoal enough to take up a boat. To the westward of this narrow passage lies a great number of small islands and rocks, which it will not be necessary to enumerate. It will be sufficient to state, that the north, south, east, and west sides of Cape Barren are surrounded with rocks, shoals, and dangers, for some miles from the island ; and must not be approached but in the day time, and then with the greatest caution. There is an anchoring place in Cape Barren, called Kent's Bay, which I shall hereafter describe. To the south of Cape Barren Island is a large island called Clark's Island, between which and the north east extreme of Van Dieman's Land are Banks' Straits. The distance across them is about fifteen miles. Swan Island, as before mentioned, lies in the passage about one third of the distance from Van Dieman's Land to Clark's Island. The passage I suppose to be three leagues wide between Swan Island and the southerly part of Clark's Island, through Banks's Straits, and if kept any where near the middle, I think it safe for

a ship to pass through ; but by no means make free with the shores on either side of the passage, as all this coast is attended by dangers. You must not think of coming near Van Dieman's side, as all the way between Swan Island and Van Dieman's Land is one continued bed of reefs and shoals ; but as soon as it is passed to the eastward, the straits spread much wider and a ship will soon be clear of all dangers from the chain of islands between latitude 38° and the south cape of Van Dieman's Land.

If necessary to make a harbour in passing the straits, the only one I know of is Kent's Bay, in the island of Cape Barren, which however is not safe for a ship to enter larger than two hundred tons, and when at anchor there, she is unsafe unless provided with extraordinarily good cables and anchors. There are two ways to get into this bay. One is from the westward, and the other is from the eastward ; but as the wind blows from the westward three-fourths of the year, it would be much more adviseable to come into it from that quarter. When going into this harbour, you will observe a number of islets to the westward of Cape Barren Island, as has been before mentioned ; all of them should be left to the northward of you. Some of the islets to the westward of Cape Barren are a number of miles long ; but none of them near so large as that island. As you pass to the southward of the above islands, and keep Clark's Island to the eastward, there will be seen a passage open between Cape Barren and Clark's Island, in the mouth of which lies an island called Preservation. A ship must always enter to the north of this island. It can always be determined which is the right way by the course. The northerly passage runs up nearly east, whilst the southerly one between Clark's and Preservation islands is south east, or perhaps more southerly. The reason, why I recommend not to enter the latter passage, is on account of there being a reef, or sand bank, running from the easterly end of Preservation Island nearly across to Clark's Island. Preservation Island is low land, and Clark's is higher ; but by no means so high as Cape Barren. There is a number of considerable high mountains on the latter, which, on approaching towards the westerly part, are discovered to make to the westward, and terminate in a kind of cape, consisting of very irregular, rocky, and broken kind of land, off which lie several rocks and

ledges, one or two of which should be left on the starboard hand, on passing to the south of the point. After sailing three or four miles to the eastward of this westerly cape, you will be abreast of Preservation Island, under which it would be adviseable to anchor, to avoid being overtaken by night, if there is no probability of reaching Kent's Bay before: as running this passage is very perilous, and ought never to be attempted, except by day light, and then, with a good mast-head look out, and the lead continually going. If desirous to anchor under the last mentioned island, it is requisite to haul in to the southward, and approach it so near as to make the passage at the entrance appear to be nearly closed up, then the anchor may be cast in either nine, eight, or seven fathoms, good ground; care must be taken not to shoot too far to the southward, so as to be in danger of the above mentioned reef. On first entering, as also through this passage, Cape Barren must always be kept best on board until getting up to Kent's Bay. The distance from Preservation Island to Kent's Bay, I supposed to be about four or five leagues; on running up this passage two or three bays and coves will be observed on the north side, but Kent's Bay is very easily distinguished from the rest, for as it opens on the left hand, the sea opens on the right, between Clark's and two small islands to the westward of it, besides which, there is a rock visible in Kent's Bay, that appears much like a sloop with her topsail set, and is called the Sloop Rock. This rock must be passed to the westward between it and the main island; although the passage is narrow, the water is much deeper than to the eastward of it, from which a bank of sand runs the entire length of the bay from west to east, having no more than five, six, seven and eight feet water on it. I never saw any rocks on the bank, or in the bay, that would endanger a vessel if she got aground, or damage a cable in riding; the bottom being very good on that account. After passing the above mentioned rock, coming from the westward, a vessel may anchor at a quarter, a half, or even one mile to the eastward of it, and likewise between the sand bank and Cape Barren shore, in three, four and five fathoms water. It is always adviseable to moor a ship as soon as the anchor is cast, on account of the strong tides that incessantly run there; the heaviest anchor ought to be laid to the westward. Fresh water, though but very

indifferent, is to be found in the vicinity of a small river, that empties itself through a sandy beach into a small bay, to the northward of these anchoring places. It may be found necessary to dig six or eight feet for water, in which case there are places to be found near to where some dwelling huts have been built, where others have been digging before for the same purpose. Wood can be got any where round the bay very conveniently, and is the best for fuel I almost ever saw. The harbour is sheltered from the north, east, and west winds by Cape Barren Island; to the southward, the sea is open one or two points of the compass, besides which the bank of sand is there that runs from the Sloop Rock to the eastward. There is a number of sand banks, many of which show themselves above water, running quite across from Clark's to the two small islands before alluded to, where the sea makes its appearance on opening Kent's Bay. These two small islands are called Penguin and Sea Lion; the latter is the most easterly of the two, between which and Cape Barren Island must always be the passage to enter the bay from the eastward; it is very narrow, and called the narrows; it has a strong tide setting through it. Cape Barren should be kept best on board on coming near to the narrowest part, on account of some dangerous rocks that make off from the Sea Lion. After getting a little way through westward, it is requisite to keep off from Cape Barren, on account of a rock which lies on that side a little way above the narrows, and then pass to the westward between the sand banks that run from Clark's Island to the Penguin and Sea Lion, and that which runs from the Sloop Rock to the eastward. Those to the soutward will in general show themselves. The passage is wide, having from seven to twelve fathoms water all through it. The lead will always caution the mariner against approaching too near the northerly bank. It would be folly to think of passing between Clark's Island and Penguin with any thing larger than a boat, or even with that, as the tide-ripples are so very dangerous, that unless a person is well acquainted, there is great danger of being lost in them.

The latitude of Kent's bay is 40 27′ south, nearest, but must not be depended on to a mile; the longitude is 148° 25′ east, subject to some small error only. If the passage through Bass's Straits is an object of desire, it is much better to keep to the

northward after passing King's Island, as far as latitude 39° 30′ south; you then pass to the northward of the Sisters, which are two small islands lying off the northerly end of Flinders' Island. There is a chain of islands, rocks, and shoals, the whole way along from the Sisters to Cape Barren Island, so that at any time, night or day, no vessel would be safe to get amongst them; they lie nearly in a north and south direction. I cannot say much on the passage called Bass's Straits, or the passage between the Sisters and the sontherly extreme of New Holland. I only know that there has been one or two dangerous rocks lately discovered, which lie even with the water's edge. There are likewise several islands in the passage; but according to what I have heard, it is not dangerous to sail through in a clear day, but it would be so to a stranger at any other time.

All the islands of any magnitude in all these straits afford plenty of many kinds of game, such as kanguroo, badger, porcupine, and many species of water fowls, such as black swans, geese, several kinds of ducks, teel, and a variety of beautiful birds in the woods and bushes, of which I shall give a more minute detail hereafter. To make a harbour, if required, in passing round the south cape of Van Dieman's Land, the main island should be kept on board within three miles, after passing the south cape, until the land is found to trend short to the northward; this trend must be followed, until fairly entered into an opening called Storm Bay passage, in which a good harbour can be obtained; you again make the land on the starboard hand, and then you give it a large birth on the easterly side, then draw nearly up with it, at the same time haul to the northward into the passage to avoid some rocky islands that lie off the westerly shore. As soon as these islands are passed to the distance of about five or six miles from the first short turning of the land to the northward, the vessel must be worked directly up under the western shore, where a long spacious harbour will be made, the mouth of which is very wide, but decreases considerably in breadth on ascending, and has deep water in all parts of it, except on approaching towards the head, near which is a small island. Between this island and the southerly shore, the anchor must be cast, in six, seven, eight, nine, and ten fathoms water on sandy ground. This small island must by no

means be passed to the northward on account of a large bed of kelp that runs north east from it. I do not doubt but all the ground so covered with kelp is rocky and foul, and in most places shoal water.

When the right anchoring place is attained, the vessel will be entirely shut up from the sea, except about one or two points of the compass, which will be from the eastward; but then being so far up the bay I am well assured, there will never be any sea in that direction, strong enough to endanger or even hurt a vessel. The shore on the small island, and all round the head of the bay, indicates that there is never any surf there. This anchoring place has to the south and westward a beach of the most beautiful white sand imaginable, running all round that part of the bay. Directly to the westward of the above mentioned small island, there is an inlet, or lagoon, which runs several miles into the country; after ascending it about two miles, it divides into two branches. I have been to the head of the northern branch but never was any distance up the westerly one. By the appearance of both the land and water, I should conclude that the western branch terminates in a river. This lagoon is one of the pleasantest places nature ever formed; all its shores are lined with beds of oysters, besides frequent patches of them off from the land, and in such quantities, that one man may easily load a boat of a ton burthen in two hours. Besides oysters of excellent flavour, its waters abound in many other sorts of fish, and great numbers of water fowls, such as black swans, ducks, &c.

This lagoon can only be entered with a boat, as the water is very shoal before the mouth. On going to the westward of the small island near the anchorage, the water suddenly shoals so that a boat will float only between the reefs, especially at low water. Its rise and fall is six feet at full and change of the moon. On approaching near the lagoon, the water suddenly deepens enough to float a small vessel, and by the appearance of the place, one would judge there was water enough for any ship; but I have never sounded it. If fresh water should be wanting, my advice would be to ascend the western branch with a boat, and if none should be found there conveniently, it is most probable that some might be obtained round the lagoon, or in the northerly part of the bay, to

the northward of the island. Not being in want of fresh water we gave ourselves no trouble in looking for it; plenty may be procured at the back of the above mentioned beach of white sand, by digging and sinking a cask; but it is swamp water, of a red hue, and is stagnant As for wood, there is plenty to be got with facility any where on shore. A ship in sailing round the south cape of Van Dieman's Land would lose very little time in going into this pleasant harbour, and recruiting her men with the abundance of fish and fowl that is there to be had, besides many kinds of greens, to be boiled with meat, which are very salutary in scorbutic complaints. I make no kind of doubt, that plenty of good firesh water is to be found there by taking a little trouble to look for it. The woods afford the same kind of game as those of the islands in and about Bass's Straits; but it is very difficult to be procured without having good dogs, which are seldom on board of ships.

The bay may be easily known by the rocky islands before mentioned, two or three of which lie directly off the south entrance of it; and as there are no rocky islands further up the passage to the northward, it cannot be mistaken. After finishing the business in the bay there is no trouble in proceeding again to sea by steering out the same way the vessel came in, until getting into Storm Bay passage, then to the eastward and round the south end of what is called William Pitt's Island, which forms the easterly side of Storm Bay passage. It is likewise called Bruny's Island. A good birth must be given to this south point on account of the small islands lying off, called the Friar's. After passing them the course may be steered directly for Cape Pillar, which is in a north east direction from the Friar's, and forms the easterly entrance to Storm Bay. Cape Pillar may be distinguished by many marks; the first is its latitude, which is 43° 12′ south; the second is a small island that lies to the south east of it, and is not more than a quarter of a mile distant, being so very perpendicular on all sides, and so very high, like the cape, that I do not think it possible for a man to get on shore on any part of either of them; the third is the trend of the land, which runs nearest north on the easterly side, and about west on the south side for five miles to what is called Cape Basaltes, and then the land trends

suddenly to the north west, and north-north-west, which forms Storm Bay; fourthly and lastly, it is obvious on making it when its bearing is to the northward by a pillar on the top of it, which has the appearance of a dome or a cupola on a church, and stands on the outer part of the cape; it always shows highest at the very end when made in any direction.

The entrance of Derwent river may be made by Storm Bay passage, which course I should prefer to that of going through Storm Bay, as there is nothing to fear, after passing to the northward of the fine anchoring place before described, but what shows itself. The course through this passage is from north-north-east to north east. All turning to the starboard or larboard hand should be carefully guarded against, as several rivers and coves are in different directions. The distance through this passage is according to my computation about ten leagues; the water is deep the greatest part of the way, but safe anchorage may be had all the way through, by only standing in under the shore to avoid having a long scope of cable to heave in, which otherwise would be the case; and if the wind should incline to blow fresh, it would be requisite to get into some cove. The termination of Storm Bay passage will be previously observed, and is readily known by the sea opening to view in the south east; this opening is the main passage from Storm Bay into the Derwent river notwithstanding its appearing so small, and is about the narrowest part of that bay. After sailing through this passage into the river, it will be necessary to run more to the northward than it appeared on first entering, and soon after to turn somewhat to the westward of north. The distance from the termination of this passage to the settlement is not more than four or five leagues, and about the same number of miles from the entrance of the passage into Storm Bay.

After entering the river, a vessel may anchor any where on good ground, as its shores on both sides are navigable and clear of all danger. To enter the river by way of Storm Bay, it is requisite to keep Pitt's Island best on board whilst sailing in a north west direction between it and Cape Pillar, taking care not to run into any of the coves and bays on the westerly side; and when up with the head of the bay, two or three lumps of land will

appear like islands on the starboard hand, on passing which, one or two large rocks are seen off to the southward, and one further up the passage. On leaving these, the river is entered nearly abreast to where Storm Bay passage opens into it. I know of no danger either in going in or out of the Derwent river but what is visible. If you are bound into the river from the eastward, and are not able to fetch to the westward of the above mentioned small islands at its entrance, they may be passed to the eastward, and then sail to the northward into a large bay, called Frederic Henry Bay. Anchoring is good all over the bay, and is well sheltered from nearly all the winds that blow; it is therefore advisable to make this harbour, to avoid going to sea in the strong westerly winds that commonly prevail in these latitudes, as it affords a good asylum when the river is not attainable. If a mariner wishes to coast along the shore from Cape Pillar to Bass's Straits, he will find the main trend of the coast to be about north and south. There is a small island not more than four or five miles to the northward of Cape Pillar, off which lie two or three rocks. I should never attempt running between this island and the main, nor approach it very near on any side. About ten or twelve leagues to the northward of the cape lies a very large island, called Oyster Island, on the westerly side of which is Oyster Bay. This bay is sheltered from all winds by its own shores, except the westerly, which of course are the worst, and are only broken by Van Dieman's land at the distance of two miles nearest. In case a shelter is requisite, the easterly side of it is the most advisable to anchor under. The anchorage is very good, both under the north east point and abreast the middle of the island. There are rocks off the southern extremity which are said to be dangerous, and of course ought to be carefully avoided.

Several islands further to the northward will be passed in coasting along Van Dieman's Land. I know very little about these islands, but I should think it dangerous to run in amongst them, without taking every possible precaution. On approaching near to Banks's Straits no islands are visible, except a number of small rocky islets irregularly dispersed along the shore, and those are only seen by keeping very near the coast. By the assertions of the people that went in my own boats, as well as of others that

have been there, this part of the coast is very dangerous, being lined both with reefs and shoals.

A vessel in want either of wood or water, and not desirous of entering any settled port on the coast, (being liable there to many impositions under the present establishment,) may without the least apprehension touch at any anchoring place on the east side of Van Dieman's Land, which affords at the same time a shelter against turbulent winds, as those from the eastward are not common, and seldom known to blow very strong. I shall here further remark, that going on shore on any part of this land, and more especially on the small sandy islands, (observed to be much frequented by birds, to lay their eggs and hatch their young) great care should be taken against reptiles, particularly snakes, of which there are several species, and on some of the islands very numerous and large. Their bite is said to be as venomous as that of any snake whatever, and which I really believe to be the case. Besides snakes, there are scorpions, tarantulas, and several kinds of lizards. All parts of the coast abound in excellent fish, which can be caught with the hook and line, as well as with the seine; but the latter is more convenient to procure an abundant supply with than the former.

The river Derwent was discovered and explored in 1798, by the Duke and Duchess, two English ships, and a map of it taken by captain John Hayes. The latitude of its mouth is 43° 5′ south, and longitude 147° 35′ east, taken from the chart. It is a delightful river, running in a northerly and westerly direction to about ten or twelve miles from its entrance, before it decreases to one mile in width, having water from shore to shore bold enough for a line of battle ship. On ascending the river about the same distance, it decreases to about an half mile, still retaining a good depth of water, and without any visible indication of danger. A small settlement was made on the easterly side, about six leagues from the entrance, in the latter part of the year 1803. This settlement was sent from Port Jackson, under the direction of lieutenant Bowen of the navy, whom I afterwards met in distress at Cape Barren Island, on the 3d of March, 1804, whilst coming last from Port Jackson in the Integrity, (king's cutter,) bound to the Derwent river. She had lost her rudder, and could

proceed no father on her voyage without assistance. I took the lieutenant, ten passengers, the cargo of the cutter, together with her broken rudder, on board the schooner Pilgrim, and proceeded with them to their place of destination, where I delivered them all in safety, and waited seven days for the rudder to be repaired.

On our arrival at the Derwent river, we found the ship Ocean, commanded by captain Martha, who had brought out governor Collins and people from England to make a settlement there. They had touched at Port Phillip on the New Holland side, in Bass's Straits, with an intention of forming the settlement there; but finding it destitute of fresh water, and with several other circumstances, rather disadvantageous to a settlement, they concluded to proceed on to the Derwent river, where they landed about two weeks previous to our arrival, at a place called Sullivan Cove, on the westerly side of the river about six or eight miles below the other settlement. This place was very judiciously chosen by governor Collins, as the cove affords all the natural conveniences for a settlement that can possibly be found to unite together in one place. There is a delightful rivulet running through the part they alloted for the settlement. The country all round is level, and of a charming picturesque appearance, besides which there is an islet off the north side of the cove, covering nearly one third of its width. The passage to it from the main is dry at low water, and is the most convenient place to build commodious wharves upon that I ever saw. The governor appeared to be a man very well qualified for conducting a new settlement. He went out as judge advocate with governor Phillips in the first fleet that went to Botany Bay, where he met with general approbation throughout his long continuance of services in that part of the world. When I was there, the new settlers had not been able to procure an interview with the natives, although numbers made their appearance every day near them. This was most probably owing to some improper conduct in the people of the first settlement towards them. I understood, they had seized a boy of the natives on their first arrival, and kept him for some time against his will; but as soon as an opportunity offered, he made his escape. This usage of course rendered them timorous and prevented any intercourse with them, at least until I

took my leave of the place on the 23d of April, 1804, which was my second and last visit to these settlements. The country on both sides of the river is very even, and rises to a moderate elevation; the soil is extraordinarily rich, and without doubt, the place will in time be as beautiful as any man would wish to reside at. The climate is temperate, the thermometer seldom standing higher in summer than from 80 to 85, and in winter the frost is seldom severe enough for ice or snow to remain any time on the ground.

The country affords a variety of game. There are three species of kanguroo, of which the larger kind called the forester will sometimes weigh from eighty to a hundred pounds. The second in size is called the wallowby, and weigh from fifteen to twenty pounds; the third kind is called the kanguroo rat, being but very little larger than that animal. The three species are exactly alike as to form. The head, neck, fore-paws, and fore-body are not half as large as the hind part, in proportion with any other quadruped; but the flesh of all three is very delicate and good eating. There are also badgers of a very large size with meat of a good flavour, porcupines, ant-eaters, and other small animals, besides many kinds of birds of excellent flavour and not difficult to be shot. The river and adjacent waters are exceedingly well stocked with the best fish, which are easily taken with the seine. Oysters and many other kinds of small fish are likewise as plentiful and well flavoured as in any place I recollect to have visited. A kind of porpoise, that has been described before as being remarkable for its variegated black and white colours, frequents this river in large shoals. When one of these shoals makes its appearance, a boat has only to row directly for it, they will then face the boat and play round its bow, so that with harpoons, previously prepared, one may be struck with every iron in the boat. I have often caught five or six out of a shoal before they would leave us. I once struck a young one, which is generally preferred for eating; as soon as it was struck and hauled under the bow of the boat, the dam perceiving the danger of her offspring, came immediately to its succour, urging every possible means the poor creature was capable of for its relief, putting her nose to the wound as if trying to extract the harpoon, and then forcing herself between its shank and the boat's bow, where there was

scarcely space enough to pass through, and successively raising herself nearly out of the water to pass over the body of her young whilst it lay on a level with the surface. The affectionate and reiterated exertions of this poor dumb inhabitant of the deep to save its young was in reality a spectacle so uncommon and so pathetic that I soon began to repent of my bargain; but as the evil was not to be remedied, I thought it the best way to be callous, and kill the mother too, which I accordingly did, though greatly against my inclination. I must acknowledge I never saw an animal, either human or brutal, strive harder to save its relative than this sensible creature did.

The black swan is very numerous all over this coast; it is a handsome bird, about twice as large as our wild geese, and somewhat of a similar shape, but has a much longer and slenderer neck, and a great deal more sagacity; its appearance is very majestick, it is quick sighted, and has a soft, plaintive note, rather agreeble to the ear. I have had a dozen of them at a time on board of my vessel, that were caught in the moulting time, when they had lost the feathers of their wings, which of course hindered them from flying, and made them an easy prey. They are far from being difficult to domesticate, for I have known them to go to the tubs and feed along with the pigs the very same day they were caught and brought on board. I have seen them stretch their necks up till their heads would be nearly six feet high. There are three kinds of swans. The above is only found in New Holland, Van Dieman's Land, and their vicinities, and is of a jet black. The white swan is very well known in different parts of Europe, and in the southern states of America; it resembles the former in every thing but the colour, which is of a snow white. The third and last is an inhabitant of the coast of Chili, is made in every respect like the two former excepting the colour, which is variegated. It has a dark coloured back, a white breast, and a ring of feathers round the root of its neck; the throat and joles are of a beautiful greenish cast, which makes it by far the handsomest of the three. I shall here take the liberty to insert an instance of the sagacity of this bird. Some people on a sealing party at the island of Mocha, having, as is usual in such cases, built themselves

a hut, which they make their home for a number of months, observed soon after they landed a pair of the last described swans in a fresh pond on the island, which had some tufts of grass growing off from the shore in different parts of it; but knowing it to be about the time they lay their eggs, they did not feel disposed to disturb them. These sealers, having frequent occasion to visit this pond, observed them for some time pairing together. After an elapse of several weeks, they perceived one to be always alone, which would on seeing the men advance make a noise, on which the other would soon make its appearance near it, as if from under the water. This they observed sereral times, without being able to account from whence this bird made its sudden appearance, or where it had secreted its nest, in which it was most natural to suppose it to be during its absence. They at last resolved to satisfy their curiosity by watching them more closely every time they visited the pond; but it being to no purpose, they agreed to wade through the pond and examine the top of every tussuck, the grass on which they found to be very rank and coarse, but no signs of a nest was visible. After a fruitless search of some time, they began to despair of success, and were just going to desist, when they observed something slip into the water from under one of the tussucks, and soon after the second made its appearance near the first; they waded through to this place, the water being no deeper than their middle, and by close examination found an opening in one side of it much like the mouth of an oven, just above the surface of the water; the long grass that formed the roof was so curiously contrived to hang over and conceal the entrance as to render it a matter of difficulty to find it if the exact place is not previously known. They found, I think, about nine eggs in this more than ordinary secure covey; they concluded not to disturb them till they were hatched. They accordingly waited till after the young ones were big enough to leave their nest, and then caught five of them, which they carried to a small pond in the vicinity of their own habitation, when the old ones soon followed, and continued to take care of them. I do not know what became of the other four eggs, whether they were hatched or not. The two old ones continued to take care of those five until they were nearly grown to a full size, keeping the greatest

part of the time about the sealers' habitation, who had it in their power to shoot the old ones whenever they thought fit; but at last, I think they let them entice and lead away a part of the young ones, but two or three of them were killed and eaten. One of them when dead was slung over one of the men's shoulders, its head was as low as his breast, and its feet would be dragging along on the ground.

To return to the narrative of the Derwent river. There are many palatable water fowls fit for the table, such as ducks, teal, &c. The emeu or cassowary, as before mentioned on the coast of New Guinea, are likewise to be found on Van Dieman's Land, New Holland, and King's Island. The last time I took my departure from the Derwent river, I proceeded through Storm Bay passage, where I landed several times in the course of it, on the Van Dieman's side, and found the soil throughout rich, and the land beautifully adapted for cultivation. There was here one of the finest groves of timber that I almost ever saw, consisting chiefly of a kind the settlers call stringy bark, from the appearance and quality of its rind, which ran in strips of two or three inches width to the height of twenty and thirty feet up the tree. The wood of this tree is very hard and heavy, but apt to be shelly and not sound at the heart. There were hundreds of these trees in the space of one square mile, that measured above four feet in diameter, six feet above the ground, growing as straight as an arrow for more than a hundred feet. There is likewise a qantity of wood called Botany Bay oak, (best known in this country by the name of beef-wood,) on all parts of this coast, and several other kinds of hard wood, but not many of them are very suitable for building.

I have mentioned before, when I left the Derwent river on the 23d of April, the settlers had not as yet had any interview with the natives. On the morning of the 26th following, about twenty miles south of Sullivan's Cove, in Storm Bay passage, I saw a party of the natives on the Van Dieman's side, going along the shore on the borders of the wood, which they were endeavouring to set fire to, in a number of places; I observed at the same time, that they had three or four small rudely contructed and ugly shaped canoes with them, with two outriggers each.

I immediately sent my boat on shore, commanded by a prudent officer, with instructions how to obtain an interview with them, and gave directions for one of our men to be left as a hostage if one of them could not be prevailed upon to come on board without. I very soon observed our boat returning with one of the natives, who proved to be their chief; he came on board without any hesitation, as one of our men was left in the custody of his tribe during his absence. He shewed no signs of fear whatever, was very much inclined to be sociable, and viewed every thing with indifference. What most attracted his attention was the vessel's being hollow; after looking down the different hatchways, he would stamp and try to shake the deck, seemingly not satisfied as to the reality of it. He was shewn down into the cabin, where he received clothes and presents; but refused the victuals that were offered him. He appeared to be a man of at least seventy years of age, of the negro cast, being without any clothing, more than a kangaroo skin over his shoulders; the rest of his body being destitute of any covering whatever. I could not discover any traits of either good sense, activity of mind, ambition, or much animation in this man, and from what I learnt from those that went in the boat, he was a pretty fair sample of his tribe. They are rather an undersized people in comparison with those of America and Europe, and are destitute of every necessary of life, that civilized people are accustomed to. Both men and women go naked and did not seem to have any sense of shame.

When the chief returned on shore dressed as he was, and his hands filled with presents, which consisted of some knives, and one or two pair of scissors, an old hatchet, a looking glass, and lastly, what he seemed most to value, an earthen plate, which was the only thing he asked for, his tribe came round him with the same kind of indifference he had shewed on viewing every thing on board the vessel. They brought the man on board that was left hostage for the chief, who reported that he had been treated well whilst on shore; they did not seem urgent with him about any thing except to pull off his clothes, that they might satisfy themselves as to his sex, which both sexes with them seemed equally anxious to ascertain

As captain Cook has given some description of these people when he was in Adventure Bay, together with some other remarks of his at that place, I think it will convey the best idea to the reader to extract a few of his observations, after mentioning that his station was not more than six leages in a south east direction from where we were at the time the chief came on board our vessel, and that I did not see the natives in quite so favourable a point of view as he did. Captain Cook says, "In the afternoon of the 28th of January, we were agreeably surprised at the place where our people were cutting wood, with a visit from some of the natives, eight men and a boy. They approached us from the woods without betraying any marks of fear, or rather with the greatest confidence imaginable, for none of them had any weapons except one who held in his hand a stick about two feet long, and pointed at one end. They were quite naked, and wore no ornaments, unless we consider as such, and as a proof of their love of finery, some large punctures of ridges raised on different parts of their bodies, some in straight and others in curved lines. They were of the common stature, but rather slender. Their skin was black, and also their hair, which was as woolly as that of any native of Guinea; but they were not distinguished by remarkably thick lips, nor flat noses. On the contrary their features were far from being disagreeable. They had pretty good eyes, and their teeth were tolerably even, but very dirty. Most of them had their hair and beards smeared with a red ointment, and some had their faces also painted with the same composition. They received every present that we made to them without the least appearance of satisfaction. When some bread was given, as soon as they understood it was to be eaten, they either returned it or threw it away, without even tasting it. They also refused some elephant fish, both raw and dressed, which we offered to them; but upon giving them some birds they did not return them, and easily made us comprehend that they were fond of such food. Being desirous of knowing the use of the stick which one of our visitors carried in his hand, I made signs to them to shew me, and so far succeeded that one of them set up a piece of wood as a mark, and threw at it from the distance of about twenty yards. But we had very little reason to commend his dexterity; for after repeated trials he was still very

wide from the object. From us they went to the place where some of the Discovery's people were employed in taking water into their boat. The officer of the party not knowing that they had paid us so friendly a visit, nor what their intent might be, fired a musket in the air, which sent them off with the greatest precipitation. Thus ended our first interview with the natives."

"The next morning," continues he, "we had observed several of the natives sauntering along shore, which assured us, that though their consternation had made them leave us so abruptly the day before, they were convinced that we intended them no mischief, and were desirous of renewing the intercourse. It was natural that I should wish to be present on the occasion. We had not been long landed, before about twenty of them, men and boys, joined us without expressing the least sign of fear or distrust. There was one of this company conspicuously deformed, and who was not more distinguishable by the hump on his back than by the drollery of his gestures, and the seeming humour of his speeches, which he was very fond of exhibiting, as we supposed, for our entertainment; but unfortunately we could not understaud him, the language spoken here being wholly unintelligible to us: it appeared to me to be different from that spoken by the inhabitants of the more northern parts of this country, whom I met with on my first voyage; which is not extraordinary, since those whom we now saw differ from the former in many respects. Nor did they seem to be such miserable wretches as the natives whom Dampier mentions to have seen on its western coast. Notwithstanding they absolutely rejected the sort of fish that we offered to them, it was very evident that shell fish made at least a part of their food, from the many heaps of muscle shells that we saw in different parts near the shore, and about some deserted habitations near the head of the bay. These were little sheds or hovels, built with sticks, and covered with bark. We could also perceive evident signs of their sometimes taking up their abode in the trunks of large trees, which had been hollowed out by fire most probably for this very purpose. In or near all these habitations, and wherever there was a heap of shells, there remained the marks of fire, an indubitable proof that they do not eat their food raw. The females wore a kanguroo skin in the same shape as it came from the animal,

tied over their shoulders and round their waist; but its only use seemed to be to support their children when carried on their backs, for it did not cover those parts which most nations conceal, being in all other respects as naked as the men, and as black, and their bodies marked with scars in the same manner; but in this they differed from the men, that though their hair was of the same colour and texture, some of them had their heads completely shorn or shaved; in others this opperation had been performed only on one side, whilst the rest of them had all the upper part of their head shorn close, leaving a circle of hair all round, somewhat like the tonsure of the Roman Ecclesiastics. Many of the children had fine features, and were thought pretty; but of the persons of the women, especially those advanced in years, a less favourable report was made."

The feathered tribes that have not already been described, are of the same kinds as those of New South Wales, which will be mentioned hereafter. Van Dieman's Land is separated from the southern extreme of New Holland by Bass's Straits, and lies between latitude 40° 35′ and 43° 42′ south, and between longitude 144° 56′ and 148° 30′ east, taken from the latest and most approved charts.

As it will be satisfactory to every public spirited and generous minded man to have some knowledge of the founding and progress of the settlement of New South Wales by the English, so much benefiting mankind at large as this enterprize bids fair to do, I will endeavour to gratify the reader with some of the most important information on that subject.

The English government embarked in this highly important undertaking from two grand motives; the first was pure humanity in saving the lives of such great numbers of vagrants as had been convicted of high crimes, and sentenced to death by the law, by transporting them beyond the seas, which would both save their lives and rid society of a great nuisance;—the second was, the great and magnanimous principle of planting a colony in the most remote region of the world, in order to civilize the natives and make that country beneficial to mankind. From the information they had received through the medium of that extraordinarily great man captain James Cook, they made choice of Botany Bay, or some place in its vicinity for the settlement, as he was the dis-

coverer of that part and highly recommended the country thereabouts. The choice was judicious, as has been before stated, owing to its central situation. For this act the English government deserves the greatest degree of praise that can be possibly given them, and no doubt will receive it from every man of a great and good mind. It has laid the platform for civilizing and uniting all parts of the world. No nation has been so much in the habit of doing similar deeds.

The first settlement was sent out under governor Phillip, who arrived at Botany Bay on the 20th of January, 1788. After examining the place, which did not altogether give him satisfaction, he visited Port Jackson, several leagues to the north east of Botany Bay, and found it promised better for a settlement. He proceeded round and landed at Sydney Cove, in the bay or harbour of Port Jackson, on the 25th, and their commenced his arduous undertaking. There were near one thousand persons of all descriptions when they first landed.

It deserves to be noticed here, that the Boussole and Astrolabe, the two French frigates sent out on discovery, and commanded by the highly esteemed and so much celebrated M. de la Perouse, entered Botany Bay at the same time that governor Phillip left it for Port Jackson, and which were afterwards both lost. There never have been any certain accounts of either of the ships since their sailing from that port.

As I have been a number of times upon the track of M. de la Perouse, and have had great opportunities of knowing his merits, I think it his due to place him as one of the first navigators that the world ever produced. He has explored more of the coast and islands, from Kamschatka to the westward and southward as far as to the Island of Formosa, than perhaps all other navigators put together, both Europeans and Americans. He was famous for judgment, knowledge, justice, discipline, humanity, and many other good qualities, which do honour to the possessors, as much as for his discoveries.

I have seen two or three men who gave me an account of their being on board a ship, which touched at some of the islands to the eastward of New Guinea, of which much was not previously known when they had not heard of the fate of M. da la Perouse.—

They told me they saw large timbers and parts of masts, which must have belonged to some large ship or ships on the shore where they stopped; but as these people did not know any thing of the exact situation of the island; no satisfactory information could be obtained from them. My opinion however is, that there is some small probability that what these people saw, was some of the wreck of La Perouse's ships.

The settlements progressed very slowly for several years, as in the latter part of the year 1789, and the first part of the year 1790, the inhabitants suffered extremely for want of provisions; since which, I believe they have been enabled to avoid excessive want. They have been extending their settlements north and south for a considerable distance along the coast, besides on Norfolk Island. They have extended their agriculture a good deal into the country, and have found that it has answered all their expectations.

On the 13th of March 1793, the two Spanish ships on discovery, commanded by Don Alexandro Malaspina, anchored in Port Jackson. They were called the Discovery and Intrepid. The second in command was Don Jose de Bustamanle y Guevra. As I have had occasion to make mention of Malaspina in a preceding chapter, I think it no more than his due to state that he has surveyed all the Spanish territory on the easterly side of South America, the island of Terra del Fuego, Staten Land, Cape Horn, the straits of Magellan, all the west coast of Chili, Chillio Islands, the coast of Peru, and the islands adjacent to the bay of Panama, and considerably farther to the northward on the west coast of America; all done in a masterly manner, and without representing any very extraordinary difficulties in the performance of it. This has in my opinion placed him amongst the first of great discoverers. I have been acquainted with several of his officers, who esteem him as highly as the English did captain Cook.

In 1796, in the month of September, their numbers amounted to nearly five thousand at Port Jackson and its dependencies, and on the first of the year 1800, according to Barrington, they had live stock as follows, viz.—"39 horses, 72 mares, 188 bulls and oxen, 512 cows, 3189 hogs, 4721 sheep, and 2588 goats; land in cultivation, 5465 acres of wheat, 2302 of maize, 82 of barley, and only 8

of oats. And so fast did the stock increase by importing and by multiplication, as to be on the 28th of September in the same year, 60 horses, 143 mares, 332 bulls and oxen, 712 cows, 4017 hogs, 2031 male, and 4093 female sheep, with 725 male, 1455 female goats." And by my estimation the number of inhabitants of all ages and sexes of Europeans, could not fall much short of 10,000 at the same time.—And in 1804, when I was in that part of the world I think it a fair calculation to rate them as high as 15,000. From satisfactory information, I considered that the colony was growing very fast, and would shortly be enabled to support themselves; and from my own knowledge, and what I have heard since I was there, am fully of opinion that it will shortly become a beautiful country for a man to get a living in.

I got a supply of wheat for my vessels at this place, of more than two hundred bushels, which was of an excellent quality. I had it ground into flour, and it was as good as I should wish to eat. The price of it was eight shillings per bushel out of the government stores; but I could have got it much cheaper from the settlers by paying cash for it. As we had dealings with the government, it became necessary for me to take it from that quarter. We likewise purchased different kinds of fresh meat, and vegetables of various kinds, and all at a moderate rate.

Having before promised to say something further on the feathered tribes that inhabit these countries, I will make the general remark that the greater part of birds that are found in the woods here, are of the parrot kind. There are several sorts of them; the largest is not much inferior in size to a small hen, and is called the black cockatoo, which is not remarkable for any thing but its ugly looks. The white cockatoo resembles the former in every thing but its colour. The next of the kind is about as large as a green parrot, resembling it in most respects; the third is half that size, and of a variegated colour, green, purple, yellow, and black, and so disposed as to render it a very beautiful bird; and it is said there is still a smaller kind. There are several kinds of eagles, and as many of vultures, two or three kinds of crows, all of which have the parrot or hawk bill. The bird of paradise of New South Wales is the most singular of any of the feathered race in this part of the world The body is not very remarkable,

but its tail is a curiosity that cannot be well described by words; it is only to be shown in reality, or represented by drawing. The two feathers that are most conspicuous in it are long and form two curves that cross each other, so that the lower ends form the exact shape of a heart. These feathers have the nearest resemblance to some rich coloured ribbon I have seen, with several crescent shaped spaces of a rich red and black colour. There are also two which are of an equal length with the former, projecting from the tail nearly strait for two thirds their length, when the two points turn from each other, forming a crescent each, and exactly crossing each side of the centre of the heart, their points turning out, and of a dark brown colour, fringed with very fine hair like filaments. There are several sprigs that are longer than the feathers, the main stem of which is not larger than a stout wire, being covered with small branches resembling very fine twigs, which may be seen growing on some slender shrubbery to the length of five or six inches, of a shining ivory black colour, which form a beautiful variety of feathers and colours. It may be understood that the bird of paradise, (so called,) of New South Wales, does not resemble any of those kinds found at New Guinea in any respect whatever.

The white fulice, (so called) is a native of this country, and Barrington says, "This bird is the only species of the genus known of this colour. Its body is the size of a large fowl, and on its wings is a small spine. The legs and spines on the shoulders of the wings are yellow; the bill and front of the head are red."

The blue breasted parrot is described by the same, and is nearly like one kind of lory that I have seen on the coast of New Guinea. "This bird, which is found in all parts of the country, has a red bill, head and throat dark blue, back part of the head green, prime quills dusky, barred with yellow. The belly is of a fine blue, thick, green, and yellow; breast red and yellow mixed; back and wings green; tail uniform, with the two middle feathers green; the others are the same only with yellow outer edges; the legs are dusky."

The white vested crow—by the same. "This bird in shape and size resembles the English magpie. It is black except the base of the wing feathers, the end of the tail, and the part from whence

arises its name, which are all white. The back is very strong, and indeed both the habits and appearance of the bird, prove it to be of the crow species."

The white hawk—by the same. "The entire plumage of this bird is white, and the beak is black, the legs yellow; in shape it resembles the English hen harrier.

The cassowary,—by the same. "The cassowary of New South Wales is larger in all respects than the well known bird called the cassowary, and differs so much even in its shape as to incontestibly prove it a new species; the colour is a dirty brown gray, inclined a little to white on the belly, the structure of the feathers, which are all small, is like those of its name sake, having two quills with their webs arising out of one shaft; the head and beak resemble the ostrich in shape as well as size; the feathers which very thinly cover the head, are so small as to resemble hair which descends much thicker down the neck, except the chin and throat where it is so nearly bare as to shew the skin, which at those parts is of a purple hue: its wings are so short when compared to the bulk of the body as to appear ridiculous; the legs of this bird also present a very singular appearance, for the back parts of them are notched like the teeth of a saw, and it has three toes with strong black claws. This truly remarkable bird is very shy, and when seen, runs with the speed of a grey hound; its flesh is good food, being as tender as the best beef."

The same author has described the emeu, which I have seen and consider it to be a bird of the same species. He has likewise described the crested goat sucker, anomalous horned bill, yellow eared fly catcher, wattled bee-eater, Port Jackson thrush, New Holland creeper, the nob fronted bee eater, the great brown king fisher, the motacilla or warbler, green parroquet, red shouldered parroquet, southern motacilla, and sacred king fisher. All these kinds of birds have nothing uncommon about them.

The tabuan parrot—by the same. "This parrot measures in length eighteen inches, the head, neck and under parts, are of a rich scarlet colour; the wings and upper part of the body is green, crossing the upper parts of the wing coverts, is a bar of yellowest green, more glossy than in any other part; the bottom of the

back and rump is blue; there is a patch of blue at the lower part of the back of the neck, dividing the scarlet and green; the tail which is long and of an olive brown colour; the bill is reddish, and the legs nearly black. The female is chiefly green. The under parts, head and neck olive brown; belly red; rump blue, upper part green and dusky underneath."

The golden winged pidgeon—by the same. "This bird is of a curious species, remarkable for having most of the wing feathers marked with a spot of golden yellow, changing according to the lights in which it is viewed to green and copper bronze, and forms on the wing being closed two bars across. The bill and legs are red; the chin and fore part of the head are of a buff colour, and a stark brownish red passes each eye; the two middle feathers of the tail are lighter than the other parts of the plumage, which inclines to a dull lead colour with a bar of black near the ends."

A description of some of the most remarkable quadrupeds, by the same author.

"Ornithorhynchus Paradoxus. This animal which has obtained the name of Ornithorhynchus Paradoxus, is still very little known. It is found only to inhabit fresh water lakes in the interior parts of the country. It swims not on the surface of the water, but comes to breathe in the same manner as the turtle. The natives often sit on the banks with spears, and watch their rising to the surface, till they get a good opportunity of striking them, which they do with their usual dexterity, and frequently succeed in catching them. Governor Hunter once saw a native watching one above an hour before he threw his spear at it; but at length he drove it through the neck and fore leg, and when he brought it on shore, it used its claws with such force, that it became requisite to confine it between two pieces of board, while he cut off the barbs of the spear, to disengage it. When freed, it ran on the ground with as great activity as a land tortoise, which was much faster than the structure of its fore feet seemed to promise. It inhabits the banks of lakes, and feeds in the muddy places which surround them; but its food is unknown. The male is seventeen and a half inches in length, from the point of the bill to the extremity of the tail. The bill two and a half inches long; and the end of the tail four and a half inches. The animal's body is compressed, and of the same

general thickness, except over the shoulders, where it is smaller. The circumference of the body is eleven inches. In size, the female is rendered rather longer than the male, by a portion of fat lying very generally under the skin, and which the male is destitute of. The colour of the male is a very dark brown, on the back, legs, bill, and tail; the under part of the neck and belly is of a silver grey. The hair is of two kinds; a very fine thick fur, one half an inch long, and a curious kind of hair, nearly an inch long. The part nearest the root has the appearance of hair; but for a quarter of an inch towards the point it becomes flat, resembling feathers: this has a gloss on it. The fur or hair on the back is shorter than that on the belly. No appearance could be observed of nipples; although the skin on the belly of the female was examined with the greatest accuracy. The head is compressed, the bill projects beyond the mouth, and in its appearance resembles that of a duck; but it is in fact more like that of a spoon-bill, the middle part being composed of bone, as in that bird, it has a very strong covering. The nostrils are close to each other, near the end of the bill, and the upper lip projects three quarters of an inch beyond them. The eyes are small, situated more on the upper part of the head than usual, and are behind the loose edge of the flap belonging to the bill. The eyelids are concealed in the hair, and in the male are scarcely seen; but the female has a tuft of lighter hair, which marks their situation. The ears are two large slits, behind the eyelids, and larger than the orifices of the eyelids. The teeth are all grinders; and are four in number, one in each side of the upper and under jaw, and have broad flat crowns. They differ from common teeth materially, having neither enamel nor bone, being composed of a horny substance only, connected by an irregular surface in the place of fangs. When cut through which is readily done, the internal structure is like the human nail. Between the cheek and the jaw, on each side of the mouth, there is a pouch as in the monkey tribe. When laid open it is one and a half inch long, and the same in breadth. In the female it contains a substance the size of a small nut in each pouch. Besides these teeth there are two small pointed horny teeth upon the projecting part of the posterior portion of the tongue, the points of which are directed forwards to prevent the

food being pushed into the fauces during the process of mastication, which circumstance is peculiar to this animal. The fore legs are short and the feet webbed. Each foot has five toes, united by the web, which is very broad, and is continued beyond the points of the toes nearly one inch. On each toe there is a rounded strait nail, which lies loose upon the membrance forming the web. The hind legs are nearly of the same length as the fore legs, but stronger. Each foot has five toes with claws, and webbed. The male, on the heel, has a strong crooked spur, with a sharp point, which has a joint between it and the foot, and is capable of motion in two directions. When the point of it is brought close to the leg, the spur is concealed in the hair; when directed outwards, it projects considerably, and is conspicous. The tail in shape is like that of the beaver."

"The dog, or dingo. The native dog of New South Wales resembles very much the foundation of the species, which is the wolf, though it is considerably smaller, and stands lower; but from its ill nature and viciousness, which indeed nothing overcomes, it may with great propriety be esteemed the wolf of the country. The dog or dingo, barks in a way peculiar to itself, but moans, snarls, and howls like other dogs. Its general colour is a reddish dun, covered with long thick strait hair, and has short erect ears and a bushy tail; the nose, belly, and feet, are of a blue grey colour.

"The poto roo, or kanguroo rat. The head of this animal is not so flat on a side view as the scalpis dentata. It has ears formed like those of a mouse. The hind legs compared to the fore are long; on the fore legs are four toes, the two middle of which are longest, and of the same length, with long bent nails. On their hind feet they have three toes, the middle one of which is the largest; the tail is long, the body has a mixed covering of hair and fur of a brownish grey colour. This curious animal, which is indeed a miniature of the kanguroo, has a pouch also on the lower part of the belly, for carrying its young in cases of danger or pursuit, on the surface of which are placed four nipples near each other."

"The kanguroo. This animal appears the most important in the country; its size is considerable, and it supplies both food and

clothing, if an apron can be so called to the inhabitants. It has a small head, neck, and shoulders, and the body increases in thickness to the rump, from whence it again tapers to the tail. The head is oblong, and in form like that of a fawn, the upper lip being divided. The nostrils are wide and open, and the lower jaw is somewhat shorter than the upper. The pupil of the eyes is of a bluish black, and the irides are dusky. The ears are erect, ovated, and thin at the ends. The hair of the kanguroo is of a greyish brown colour, somewhat similar to the English wild rabbit. It is thick and long when the animal becomes old; but is very slow in its growth, and for some time resembles a strong down. In some parts however, the mouth for example, it begins earlier to be hairy. This animal's teeth are so singular that it is impossible to decide from them to what class the kanguroo belongs. It has four broad cutting teeth in the upper jaw; but only two long lancolated teeth in the lower, which point forwards, and are so placed as to oppose those of the upper. It has also four grinding teeth in each jaw, remote from the others; and possesses the very singular power of separating the lower inotsores, and bringing them again close to each other. The proportion in some of the parts of this animal bear no analogy to what is common in most others. The fore legs are so very short as scarcely to reach the nose, and are indeed useless for walking. The hind legs are almost as long as the body, and the thighs are very thick. On the fore feet are five toes, with long conic and strong black claws; but on the hind feet are only three, the middle toe being very long and thick, like that of an ostrich, and extending far beyond the two others, which are small, and placed very distant from it. The inner toe of the hind feet is singularly distinguished by having two small claws; and the bottom and hind parts of the feet, on which the animal often rests, are black, naked, and tuberculated. The tail which is thick at the base, and tapers to a point, has at the end a strong hard nail, and the hair on it is short and somewhat hard. The tail though long in the old, is in the young short proportionably to the animal's size. It seems to keep pace with the growth of the hind legs, which are the instruments of the progressive motion in this animal, and which would also shew that the tail is a kind of second instrument in this action. The scrotum which is

large and pendulous, is placed before; aud the female has on the belly an oblong pouch of a vast depth, the receptacle of her young."

"The kankuroo is frequently more than six feet long from the nose to the tail; and its weight is a hundred and fifty pounds and upwards." "Kanguroo is the natives name for this extraordinary animal." "It lurks among the grass, feeds on vegetables, and drinks by lapping. It goes chiefly on its hind legs, making use of the fore feet as hands, only for digging or bringing its food to its mouth." "This animal is timid; at the sight of men it flies from them by amazing leaps; springing over bushes seven or eight feet high and going progressively from rock to rock." "When in motion, this animal carries its tail quite at right angles with its body; and as it alights often looks back. It is much too swift for greyhounds, and frequently escapes from the fleetest of those animals. The tail is its weapon of defence, with which it is capable of beating away the strongest dog." "The kanguroo soon becomes domesticated when taken."

"Mr. Pannant, the celebrated English naturalist, gives the following account of one he saw in London during 1793; it was, says Mr. Pannant, in a place of confinement; it for a little time went on all fours, but soon assumed an upright attitude. It would sport with its keeper in a very singular manner; it first placed its tail in a perpendicular manner; erected its body on it as a prop, and then raising its whole body, darted its hind legs on the breast of the man. It was capable of striking with great force if provoked; and it could scratch violently with its fore claws."

I have had many opportunities of acquiring a knowledge of the kanguroo. I have frequently had six or eight of them alive at a time on board my ship. They are the most innocent animals that I know of. I have seen them eat flowers or berries out of a person's hand on the same day they were caught. The method by which they are taken is by dogs, that are learnt to hold them fast till the huntsman could come up, when they were secured without sustaining any injury whatever. Their flesh is the darkest coloured of any animals that I have ever seen, and is without any fat; but is very sweet and delicate flavoured. Its skin makes

the handsomest leather for boots and shoes that can be found, and is very durable.

Barrington further states.—"The serpents I here describe are but a few of the many which inhabit the country: none of those are poisonous, and are only the most remarkable because the most beautiful."

"Blue Snake. The blue snake is about three feet and a half long, coated with rather large scales. The general proportion of this snake is nearly the same as the common English snake."

"Black and white snake. The black and white snake is very short, being only fifteen inches long, and from the head to the tail are alternate bars of black and white."

"Brown and yellow snake. This snake is eight feet long; the belly is of a yellowish colour; the other parts are of a dark brown with many spots of dull yellow; the scales are very small in propotion to the size of the animal, and the tail tapers to the end."

The same author speaking of fish makes the following remark. "To give any accurate idea of all the finny inhabitants of the deep, surrounding New South Wales, is a task to be effected at some far remote period. Little indeed is the information I can give."

CHAPTER XXIV.

Transactions at New Holland, Van Dieman's Land, and Bass's Straits—Letter to Philip Gedney King, Governor General of New South Wales—Remarkable Accident of the Pilgrim's boat being sunk—Departure from Bass's Straits—Description of the Snares—Bounty Islands—Passage across the South Pacific Ocean—Description of a Bay on the Coast of Peru, latitude 22°—Description of Arraca—Blow Hole Bay—Pisco—and arrival at Lima.

ON our first arrival in this country we made King's Island on the 20th of February, 1804, as has been before described. On this island as well as on the other large islands in Bass's Straits are to be found most of the quadrupeds, the feathered race, serpents, and reptiles that inhabit the main island of New South Wales. We took our station in Kent's Bay at anchor, where the ship Perseverance remained moored from the 3d of March till the 23d of October. I made two excursions in the schooner Pilgrim to the Derwent river, and out round the south cape of Van Dieman's Land. My brother Samuel made two trips in her to Port Jackson and Botany Bay, and some others in the straits. Having a greater part of the time from four to seven boats exploring the islands in all directions in search of seals, which were the principal object of our pursuit. Several circumstances took place while we lay here; some of which I shall relate. As soon as it was known that our vessels were in the straits, I was visited by six different gangs of men belonging to Port Jackson, who were here on the same business with ourselves; all of which were out of provisions. I considered their situation to be similar to people that I had been acquainted with on other sealing islands; though I afterwards found that it was not half so bad, owing to the advantages of the different sorts

of game that were to be obtained on the surrounding islands. I supplied all their wants, taking orders on their employers at Sydney Cove, every one of which was honoured at sight, and accompanied with thanks; but the ungrateful men whom I had supplied, and relieved of their wants, did every thing in their power to injure me. The leading motive was to prevent me from getting seal. Their ideas were, that no foreigner had any right to that priviledge near the colony.

These men practised many impositions, such as stealing from me, enticing my men to run away, conspiring to steal my boats, and to cut my vessels adrift. They would sometimes go on to an island, where my people were waiting for an opportunity to take the seals that were about it; and if not able to take them themselves do something to frighten them away. They would say and do all in their power to irritate and vex my people, in order to cause them to do something that was reprehensible. I had to use all my authority to keep my men under subjection; telling them that I would apply to the governor at Port Jackson, and as I had business there unsettled, it would not do for them to undertake to redress their own grievances. My people were certainly under as good discipline as any merchant ship's crew whatever. I kept clear of an open rupture for some months; during which time some of my people left me, as they said, "because they would not be tied down to such close orders as to be obliged to put up with any insults from such villians." At length the time arrived when I was ready to dispatch the Pilgrim for Port Jackson. I wrote to the governor general of New South Wales, whose name was Philip Gedney King, the following letter.

To His Excellency Governor King.

Ship Perseverance, Cape Barren, August 4th, 1804.

Sir,

The bearer, my brother, who commands the schooner Pilgrim, will hand you this, he comes to settle some little business, and if

it should meet your excellency's approbation, to purchase some necessaries for our subsistence on board the ship.

"I came to King's Island on false information, with the hope of procuring a cargo of seal skins; I was much surprised to find people on that island from Sydney, and very much disappointed at not finding any seals on it of any consequence. The information I had of the place came to me second handed from the French commodore, that was recently on this coast on survey and discovery. After finding myself disappointed at King's Island, I ran down into the straits in hopes of finding something there worth our attention, but was still unsuccessful. We here found the Integrity cutter, which was lying in the passage, and before we came up with her she made a signal of distress, we came to an anchor near her, went on bo rd and learnt she had lost her rudder. The next morning I ordered the Pilgrim to take her in tow, and assist her in getting into Kent's Bay, where she was brought safe. I then offered any assistance in my power to fit the rudder for her, but the spare irons we had on board the Pilgrim were so long they would not answer. Governor Bowen then agreed with me to carry the passengers, and other articles to the Derwent, for the sum of £400 sterling. We unloaded the Pilgrim, took the freight and passengers on board, conducted and delivered them safe. He then gave me a draft on your Excellency for the sum, which I hope will meet your approbation; my brother will present it.

"It is with extreme pain that I trouble your Excellency with any complaint whatever; but as it may prevent future misunderstanding, I think I cannot do less than to make your Excellency acquainted with it. There is a man in this place by the name of Joseph Morril, who has a little vessel belonging to Messrs. Kable and Underwood, and has a gang of men with him; he has taken it into his head that we have no right to procure seals in these straits, and has been for a long time trying to drive us out of them, (as he says,) and I believe that the man would have accomplished his design if it had not been in the winter season; and myself something of an old weather beaten sailor, that dreaded going out in such extreme blowing weather, (as we have had here,) without the probability of profiting by it on my part. I at first thought the man too insignificant to take notice of, but I was mis-

taken; he made interest with so many of my people to run away from me, that it has distressed me very much. He has carried six of them out of this bay at one time in his vessel, notwithstanding I had forbid him receiving or harbouring them in the presence of several respectable witnesses. I took two of them out of his vessel one morning after they had been some weeks absent. He still holds a number of them, and articles that have been stolen from me, or I am very much deceived. There has been so many impositions practised by this Morril, and his accomplices, that I can only satisfy your Excellency by refering to the persons on board the Pilgrim, and wish they may be examined, that you may be satisfied as to evidence. On my part I think as I ever shall, it is a very delicate affair to commence a quarrel between the citizens or subjects of any two nations, but I will candidly say, that I do not think one of my countrymen out of an hundred would pass over so many insults and injuries as I have done under similar circumstances, purely from motives of delicacy, on account of his being of another nation. I beg you will have the goodness to order an examination of the persons on board the Pilgrim schooner, and favour me with a few lines, making me acquainted with your Excellency's opinion on the subject. Any civility shown the commander of the Pilgrim, will be very gratefully acknowledged.

By your Excellency's most obedient,

and very Humble Servant,

(Signed,) AMASA DELANO."

The above letter was delivered by my brother; but as governor King was out of health, and had recently been put out of temper by some false representations that had been made to him by the same description of men that I was complaining of, respecting some American captains that were in these straits before my arrival; from

which causes he did not seem disposed to do any thing towards giving me satisfaction for the injuries we were daily receiving. But he gave my brother permission to purchase any provisions or necessaries we might want, and in all other respects treated us well, except the grievances as stated in the letter, and forgetting to answer it, although he promised my brother repeatedly that he would. The Pilgrim returned, and made a report of the proceedings at Port Jackson; not having effected the object of the visit to that place, I ordered her back with all possible dispatch, my people growing more dissatisfied every day.

In the absence of the schooner this time, an affray took place between our people and those of the convict cast; they being on a small island, ten or twelve miles from the ship, waiting for some seals to be drove up by an easterly wind, that were lying on that side of the island, too near the water to be taken; and the convict people finding that they were watching an opportunity to take them, contrived to frustrate their plan. Fourteen or fifteen of them went to a point near the island on which about twelve of my people had lived, who were then watching the seals. Morril, the head man of the gang, ground his cutlass on our grindstone, and loaded two or three old muskets. He told a lad who was left to take care of their houses on the point, "that he should make his sweet lips do its duty on the present occasion, kissing his old cutlass repeatedly." When they had got all things prepared, they pulled over to the island, directly against a law they had made themselves, and had more than once put it in force with my people, by presenting their loaded and cocked muskets to their breasts, obliged them to abandon their pursuit, when their object in landing was to look for some runaway men, whom we had certain knowledge of being secreeted at the place. When Morril with his party arrived at the island where our people were, they were asked by them, what they wanted. They were answered, 'that is our own business.' They were then told that they certainly could not come with an intention of getting seals, as they were so near the water that it was impossible to get at them before they could get off the shore; and that it was well known to them that they had been watching there a number of days, sleeping on the rocks at night, waiting for an easterly wind to drive the seals up on land, so as to ena-

ble them to get between them and the water; and that they could have no other object than to defeat them in their plans, by frightening the seals away. They also told them that it was a law of their own making. that neither party should land on an island where the people of the other might be placed for the purpose of sealing; and that under these circumstances they forbid them coming on shore. On this the Port Jackson men shoved their boat in, and attempted to step out of her, when they were met by our people armed only with their sealing clubs, and a battle ensued. The other party could not make their guns give fire after snapping them several times at our people, who wrested the muskets out of their hands with their clubs, and the fracas ended by throwing at each other clubs, sticks, stones, and every thing they could get hold of. The result was that Morril and his party got worsted; and they afterwards came to me with a complaint against my men for their conduct towards them. Four or five of them had their heads, legs, and arms so maimed that they were unable to do their duty. I asked them what they wished me to do. Their answer was, that if I should punish my people, and give orders that they should not do the like again, they would be satisfied. I expostulated with them, and tried to reason them into a principle of justice, setting forth the necessity of mankind's treating each other with more propriety. I promised them that my people should use them as well as they were treated themselves. They left me apparently with a disposition to do better in future; but it lasted only for a short time, as the first opportunity that offered they took the advantage of it to do us injury, and other difficulties took place.

About this time the Pilgrim returned the second time from Sidney, and we made preparations to leave the straits. Three or four days previous to our sailing, the people went on shore early in the morning with an intention, as I afterward learnt, to settle some old grievances with the Port Jackson men; but it was without my consent. They landed and took Morril, with two or three of his men who had been foremost in doing them injustice, tied them up to a tree and flogged them, giving them one or two dozen lashes each, with a common cat o' nine tails. It must be understood that every one of the people so punished was a convict that had been transported to New South Wales for crimes committed in England.

One thing took place that I very much regretted. While they were giving Morril his quota, the convict-cast of men rallied to attack our people, who left him to defend themselves, and drove the assailants off. Morril took the advantage of this, and loosed himself from the tree, and run. Our people followed him, and one of my Sandwich Island men overtook, and struck him with a stick on the arm. The blow, falling lengthwise on the part of the arm between the elbow and the wrist, was so heavy as to cause the flesh to burst open.

When I went on shore they again came to me to make their complaints. Morril shewed me his arm; I told them that I was very sorry they had sustained such injury, but they must bear in mind that when they imposed upon, and insulted any description of men in the manner they had mine, they must expect something would be done in retaliation. I dressed Morrill's arm from my own medicine chest, and supplied him with salve and other necessaries for dressing it until it should be well. I have been particular in the statement of what took place in New South Wales and its vicinity, with the government and people of that colony, on account of its causing considerable talk in that part of the world at the time; but I assure the reader that I have told to the extent of all that was done by my people, which could be considered as bad; and that I have not noticed all the causes of complaint on our side.

After mentioning one material incident more, I shall take my leave of this country. On the 1st of July, (answering to our January,) a piercing wind blowing from the south east, which is a very cold quarter, I undertook to go on shore in the moses boat, belonging to the Pilgrim, with a number of barrels of fish that our men had caught with the seine, and pickled for the purpose of smoking on shore, in a house that we had previously built for that end. The men who went in the boat with me were two midshipmen, namely, William Delano and Nathaniel Luther, the armourer, and two seamen. The Perseverance and Pilgrim were at the same time moored within one hundred yards of each other, about two thirds of a mile from the nearest land, to where we were bound with the fish; both having their sails unbent, with their yards and topmasts down. We set out from the Pilgrim, with one of her boats, as before stated, where out of seven that I had belonging to

the ship and schooner, six of them were as much as ten miles from us, gone in different directions in pursuit of seals, and of course could not render us any assistance in case any accident should happen to the boat we were then in. About midway between the Pilgrim and the shore, while crossing a horse market, (a sailor's phrase for a rough irregular sea, the waves rising all in a heap, occasioned by two tides meeting,) the water rushed so rapidly into the boat, that in less than two minutes she sunk like a stone to the bottom, leaving us floating on the surface. I soon found that the weight of the fish had immerged our only support too far to render us the least assistance, for I had contrived to keep my stand on the gunwale until she fairly sunk below my depth. I then began to consider the perilous situation we were in, and looking round, saw all my people heading for the shore; I called to them, but the moment was too urgent for my authority to be heeded. My motive in calling them to stop, was to consult about getting the oars together, that we might with them mutually assist each other to weather this more than ordinary calamity. But this proved totally ineffectual, as every individual was too much engrossed in his own imminent danger to think of any judicious means of mutual preservation. I myself began to despair of ever escaping a watery grave, as no succour from either of our vessels could be expected, when it occurred to me that a Mr. Vose had a boat lying a little way up a creek near to where we intended to land; and that his people were building a new one in a small cove at some distance off. I accordingly hallood and called for help, successively repeating Vose's name, and, as may readily be supposed, used all the force of articulation I could muster to give the alarm. No man, perhaps, ever displayed stronger lungs, or made more noise than I did on this emergency. The people, upon whom our whole salvation depended, were at this time eating their breakfast in their hut. They all heard the sound of our distress, but were some time conjecturing what it might arise from, until at last Mr. Vose, concluding it could not be without some important cause, left the table and ran across a small point to where he had a view of the two vessels, and observed them making signals of distress. Seeing no boat, he looked attentively towards the part he heard the cries come from, and at length discovering our heads above the water, he imme-

diately ran towards his boat, giving his own men the alarm as he passed the hut, who instantly joined him with hearts and hands. No men perhaps ever exerted themselves more for the relief of their fellow creatures, than they did on this occasion. They hauled their old water-soaked boat out of the creek more than one or two hundred yards over dry sand; and while they are making their appearance round the point, we will return to the melancholy scene of our sufferings. On fairly realizing the situation we were in, I found myself encumbered with a tight pair of thick pantaloons, thick heavy boots, and a short tight jacket, without any thing in my hands While moving my legs in the water, endeavouring to keep myself up, I hit them against a bundle of small sticks that had been cut for the purpose of stringing the fish on; I got hold of it, and placed it under my breast; although it did not swim buoyant, it prevented me from sinking suddenly between the waves. I was just heading for the land, when looking to the left, I saw one of my faithful sailors, a Swede, by the name of John Fostram, making towards me with all possible exertion. I turned my head from him, and used every effort to prevent his reaching me, which I greatly apprehended he would; but the poor fellow finding his attempts fail, relinquished the oar he had grasped in his hand, his head gradually lowering, until his strength being entirely exhausted, he gave up, and sunk. I never until then had experienced any satisfaction at seeing a man die; but so great is the regard we have for ourselves when in danger, that we would sooner see the whole human race perish than die ourselves. I remember but few incidents in the course of my life, that were more gratifying to me than that of Fostram's sinking; for I was not only relieved of the dread of his involving me in his own fate, but had likewise the oar he relinquished within my reach, which I immediately seized, and headed again for the land. Very soon after I observed another of my poor distressed sailors, a native of Nova Scotia, named William Thompson, making towards me on the right hand. I pulled from him, though he did not give me so much uneasiness as the former, as he was at a greater distance. This poor fellow soon met his fate in a similar manner with Fostram. I likewise made shift to procure his oar, and placed it under me, and then once more headed for the land.

I began to feel for the moment a little safer, finding myself considerably supported by the two oars, together with the bundle of sticks, and out of all danger from others, as the remainder of my people were all ahead of me. I recommenced my calling for assistance, which I had suspended during my exertions to avoid Fostram. I kept constantly looking for my companions in distress, and saw the remaining three to my great satisfaction, keep their heads pretty steadily above the water. I had the greatest reason to be most concerned about my brother William, as he was but a youth and born hurl-footed, which inconvenience still remained with him, as bad as I ever saw with any person, and he was likewise incommoded with a sailor's jacket, but much less in proportion to his body, than mine was. I kept my course right before the wind, which blew towards the nearest part of the shore; still hallooing so loud that the people on shore afterwards declared, they had never heard a voice so strong or to continue for so long a space of time. At intervals I kept watching my brother William, who was struggling very hard with his lame feet and confined arms. The time hung very heavy on our hands, as no probability of relief was in view. Whilst jogging on very slowly with the blades of the oars out behind me, a wave forcibly struck them; being off my guard, I was tripped up and hove from my supporters; it was not without some difficulty I replaced them again in their former situation; I had hardly got once more under way when I was again thrown off from my supporters. My strength being by this time very much exhausted, I had to use my utmost exertions to replace myself again, which enfeebled me so much that I was obliged to desist calling and hallooing, and use the greatest precaution not to get misplaced again. After waiting a little while in this situation, I saw the boat that was coming to our relief just turning the point; the sight of her so animated me, that forgetting for a moment my own danger, I exerted my remaining strength to encourage my people, telling them that I saw the the boat coming to our succour, to keep a good heart and all would yet be well; but being at the time off my guard, a sea struck and threw me quite clear of all I had to support me. This last disaster nearly overcame me; it was with the greatest difficulty imaginable I gathered my oars and bundle together, and still

greater trouble to replace them again under me. I laid my head to the wind, not daring to look towards the shore, for fear the sea would again strike me unawares, as I was well assured I never could recover myself if I had the misfortune to be once more misplaced. In this state of inactivity, I had time for meditation and to observe what my other brother was about on board of the Pilgrim. By his going from one mast head to the other, with almost the swiftness of an eagle, to learn, as I could perceive, as much of our situation as possible, his anxiety fell evidently but little short of our own, who were in the water, at being compelled to view our sufferings without having it in his power to render us the least assistance; besides I knew his generous feelings too well to think it were not almost as bad as death itself for him to be a witness of our calamity, when he could do no more than remain an inactive spectator. I could only judge in imagination of the fate of the brother behind me, from the motions of the one before me; for as the female species of whale when her young is struck stays braving all the harpoons and lances that can be used for her destruction, until her offspring has breathed its last, and not till then the mother disappears; so I conjectured would the brother before me do, if the one behind me should be drowned. I then began to reflect on the consequences of my not surviving this disaster, and to those I should leave behind; for them alone I felt; as for myself I could not perceive that life was of such great importance as I had already suffered a great many hardships and privations, besides many heartrending scenes of injustice, ingratitude, and disappointments, all of which I must again be liable to experience.

If the reader is curious to know my thoughts on futurity on this occasion, I can only say they were, that if I survived, I should hereafter find more favour with God than I had found amongst men, and was not terrified at committing my spirit to him who gave it me; ever confiding in his infinite goodness; but to say I was not affraid of dying I cannot, as I considered it a very great precipice to leap down in the dark. In this unpleasant state of suspence, I remained more than half an hour, which seemed the longest and most irksome I had ever spent in my life. As I never once looked over my shoulder to see if the boat was advancing,

from the time I was last misplaced until the people in her took hold of me; nor did I hear them making any noise to give me notice of their approach until a few minutes before they relieved me from my perilous situation. When I was taken into the boat I looked round and saw my brother William, Mr. Luther, and the armourer lying in the bottom of the boat, all of them too much exhausted to keep their heads up. Thus ended our misery for this time, after living upwards of an hour in the cold water, and suffering both in body and mind as much as any human beings possibly could. We were carried on shore to a convenient house, where our wet clothes were taken off, dry ones put on, and a comfortable fire made, which soon reinstated us in health and strength again.

The bad weather continued for two days before an opportunity offered to search for the bodies of the two drowned men and the boat, which had sunk in three fathoms water. A calm succeeding the storm, two or three of my boats returned to the ship. As soon as the people heard of the accident which had taken place during their absence, they came to us immediately and assisted in searching for the boat, which we found lying on the bottom as stedfast as a rock, with all the barrels of fish in her, just as she sunk; and near her the body of Fostram was found and taken up by means of a long pole with a hook to the end of it; but we never got the body of Thompson. The boat was recovered, Fostram decently interred, and the funeral services read in a more than ordinarily solemn manner. The meeting of the three brothers, after our being so timely and fortunately relieved from danger by Mr. Vose and his people, was as the poet says:—

> "Long parted friends, who after an easy voyage of cares,
> Receive but common gladness at their meeting,
> But when from Shipwreck saved they mingle tears,
> And with embrace, they hail the happy greeting."

It is worthy of being remarked, that in the performance of the present voyage, my brothers William and Samuel had a similar escape together, the circumstances of which were as follows: I left the Pilgrim on the coast of Peru in 1806, fitted for sealing one year longer, the two brothers being left to perform that

service. After the time had expired, they bent their course towards Canton, and on the 14th of December 1807, in entering the China sea with a stiff gale from north east, and a heavy sea, course west-north-west, a sea struck the vessel and hove her on her beam ends, so that her mast heads were under water; they lost three men overboard and sustained many other damages. After lying in that situation some minutes, the vessel's head swung round before the wind, when she righted again before she filled with water; a circumstance that seldom happens to a vessel at sea after being once fairly overset.

In the month of October we made preparation for sea, and on the 24th, got under way and sailed out to the eastward through the narrows, shaped our course for the south west cape of New Zealand, found the weather very boisterous, and the wind mostly from the westward. I shall here make some remarks upon the Snares, which we run for and made on the 3d of November 1804, after giving captain Vancouver's account of them, who was the first discoverer. I know of no other person, except him and myself, that has ever seen them.

"The mainsail and close reefed topsails, all the sail the ship would bear, were now set, and keeping the wind on the beam, we steered south-south-east, when about eleven o'clock to our great astonishment land was discovered, bearing east four or five leagues distant. We knew of no land nearer than the south cape of New Zealand, and by the course we had steered, there was scarcely a possibility of our being within eighteen or twenty leagues of the cape; but being flattered with the prospect of a meridian observation for the latitude, our decision was postponed until that could be ascertained. Noon brought us nearer the land, which by compass bore north east by east, at the distance of three or four leagues only, by a tolerable good observation, in latitude 48° 5′ south. It was clearly proved that this land could not, from its situation, be any part of New Zealand, as it was nearly three fourths of a degree to the southward of the most southerly promontory of that country. Our longitude by the chronometer was at this time 166° 4′, which situation was eighteen miles more south, and thirteen more east than the log gave. The weather, though very hazy, being something clearer than before noon, we beheld as we

passed this land at the distance of two or three leagues, the sea breaking upon its shore with great violence, and discovered it to be composed of a cluster of seven craggy islands, extending about six miles in a direction north 70° east, and south 70° west. They appeared destitute of verdure, and it is more than probable they never produce any. The largest, which is the north easternmost, I should suppose to be in extent equal to all the rest. It is about three leagues in circuit, sufficiently elevated to be seen in clear weather eight or nine leagues off, and is situated in latitude 48° 3′, and in longitude 166° 20′ east. The latitude was ascertained by three sextants which nearly agreed, and the longitude reduced by the chronometer from Dusky Bay, by three sets of altitudes in the afternoon, viz, one set before we passed the meridian, another under it. and the third after we had passed it. As these severally corresponded within a mere trifle, when reduced to the same point, I should presume the longitude above stated is not likely to be materially incorrect.

"It was a matter of some surprise how these islands could have escaped the attention of captain Cook; but on laying them down in his chart of New Zealand, I found that his track had not at any time reached within ten leagues of them. From the south cape they bore south 40° west 19 leagues, and from the southernmost part of the Traps south $62\frac{1}{2}$° west, twenty leagues distant. These islands, or rather rocks, (for they appeared perfectly sterile,) I have named, on account of their situation, and the sort of weather there is reason to expect in their vicinity, the Snares, as being very likely to draw the unguarded mariner into alarming difficulties. At four o'clock in the afternoon the Snares bore by compass north 30° west, five or six leagues distant, and at day light the next morning we hauled to the north east."

November 3d, 1804. At three o'clock, P. M. we discovered the Snares, bearing north east by east, eight or nine miles distant. At six, P. M. we came near to them, and it blowing strong from the westward, we did not have so good an opportunity to examine them as we could wish, but from what we could ascertain there was no safe shelter for a vessel any where amongst these islands. If there is any, it must be on the south or south east side of the large one, which had some appearance of smooth water under its lee. I think

if the weather should be pleasant enough for a boat to go in and explore the cluster, that an anchoring place might be found; but the weather here is so bad, and the winds blow so strong and constantly from the westerly quarter, that it would be difficult to keep in a station for a sufficient length of time to effect this object. We found them, as captain Vancouver says, "a cluster of craggy islands," and they did not appear to be capable of affording any thing except it might be a few seals, which I think probably they do, as we saw a number swimming in the water near the ship. If it were the case that seals are on these islands, it would be very difficult to obtain them. We did not observe any dangers any where near them. We saw seven small islands, and found them to be rightly laid down by captain Vancouver.

After we had examined the Snares as much as the weather would permit us to do, we proceeded to the eastward with a strong westerly wind, and visited Bounty Islands. These islands were discovered by lieutenant Bligh, commanding his Britannic Majesty's ship Bounty; and for the information of navigators I shall give his account of them.

"On the 19th September, 1787, we discovered a cluster of small rocky islands, bearing east by north, four leagues distant from us. We had seen no birds or any thing to indicate the nearness of land, except patches of rock weed, for which the vicinity of New Zealand sufficiently accounted. The wind being at north east, prevented our near approach to the isles, so that we were not less than three leagues distant in passing to the southward of them; the weather was too thick to see distinctly. Their extent was only three and a half miles from east to west, and about half a league from north to south. Their number, including the smaller ones, was thirteen. I could not discover verdure on any of them. There were white spots like patches of snow; but as captain Cook in discovering the land of New Zealand, near Cape South, says, that in many places there are patches like white marble, it is probable what we saw might be of the same kind as what he had observed. The westernmost of these islands is the largest. They are of sufficient height to be seen at the distance of seven leagues from a ship's deck. When the easternmost bore north I tried for soundings, being then ten miles distant from the nearest of them, and found

bottom at seventy-five fathoms, a fine white sand; and again at noon, having run six leagues more to the south-south-east, we had soundings at an hundred and four fathoms, of a fine brimstone coloured sand. The latitude of these islands is 47° 49′ south; their longitude 179° 7′ east; which is about an hundred and forty-five leagues to the eastward of the Traps, near the south end of New Zealand. The variation of the compass here was 17° east. While in sight of the islands we saw some penguins, and a white kind of gull, with a forked tail. Captain Cook's track in 1773 was near this spot; but he did not see these islands. He saw seals and penguins hereabouts, but considered New Zealand to be the nearest land. I have named them after the ship, the Bounty Isles."

November 7th, 1804. At six A. M. we made the Bounty Islands, with an intention of examining them. It may be expected that we might have had a better opportunity to examine and describe them than lieutenant Bligh had; but when we made them it was blowing a strong gale from the westward, with a large sea, and by no means clear weather; under which circumstances we made the islands about four or five leagues distant, and run down within about one mile of them. We discovered broken water close under our lee bow, and immediately luffed to the southward of it; but as we passed, it fairly broke, and convinced us that there was not water enough for our ship on it. The breakers lie about west south west from the body of Bounty Islands, and will not always show themselves.

We saw several other breakers on the south and west side, lying off from the main group; but we were convinced that it is a very dangerous place for a ship to come near to. The above description given by lieutenant Bligh is very correct. They cannot afford any kind of vegetable production. We saw shags and gulls, and a few seals round them; and I believe they are all they afford. It will be proper to observe, that we had soundings three or four leagues to the westward of these islands, and had good reason to think that they could be had at that distance all round them. It would be very dangerous for a ship to fall in with these islands in the night, or in thick weather, although she will have the advantage of soundings, which will apprise them of approaching danger, if due attention is paid.

After passing them, we continued our course across the South Pacific Ocean for the coast of Chili, steering in a north east direction one hundred and fifty leagues, all which distance there was discoloured water. We tried for soundings repeatedly, but did not obtain any with one hundred and twenty fathoms of line We saw seals, penguins, and several other kinds of birds, that indicated land very near; but the weather continuing bad, with a thick heavy atmosphere, we could not see a mile distance for a whole day together. The most of this time we considered ourselves in danger of falling in with some islands or rocks, which induced me to give over our search for land. I have not the least doubt but that there are some islands or rocks lying within a short distance of our track.

We kept decreasing our latitude till we were down to 40° 00′ south, when we were in longitude 154° 00′ west. We then altered our course, making some southing till in latitude 45° 00′ south, and longitude 135° 00′ west, where we saw kelp and rock weed, and some other signs of land. I continued on to the eastward, keeping nearly in this latitude, till in the longitude 110° 00′; and then decreased our latitude again to 40° 00′; when we were in longitude 92° 00′ west. All the run to this period, the prevailing winds were from the westerly quarter, between north west and south west, but with more frequent turns to the eastward, than we experienced in our run from Tristian de Cunha to the coast of New Holland. I saw nothing to cause an apprehension of there being land near, except what has been already noticed. We concluded to make the best of our way for Juan Fernandez, and Massa Fuero. We had the winds variable, but mostly from the easterly quarter till we made the former.

On the 19th of November when in latitude 41° 30′ south, and longitude 156° 00′ west, we separated from the schooner Pilgrim, she being ordered to run in a lower latitude than what was our intention. I shall here copy a few remarks from her log-book.

"Four degrees to the north east of Bounty Islands saw a number of albatross and sea hens. In latitude 43° 00′ south, and longitude 161° 00′ west, the variation of the compass 8° east, saw some bunches of rock weed, sea kelp, and a number of birds of the kind called by captain Cook, mother Cary's geese. We had been accustomed to see something of this kind, which indicates the

proximity of land, nearly every day since leaving the last mentioned islands. In passing the longitude of Pitcairn's Island ten degrees south of it, observed a great number of small birds, which were all the signs of land that we saw, till our near approach to Massa Fuero. Our variation of compass being about 6° east, nearly, all the run to the longitude of 110° 00′ west, having kept in the latitude between 35° and 37° south. After passing below the last described longitude, the variation gradually increased to be about one point, when we made the island of Massa Fuero, which was the place appointed for our rendezvous with the ship Perseverance, and where we found her as soon as we drew near in with the land."

Having now arrived on the coast of Chili, a particular description of which has been given in the former part of this work, and coming in contact with the narrative of my preceding voyage, I shall omit saying any thing more on this part of the world, and proceed to the coast of Peru, giving some account of such parts of it as we visited during this voyage.

We anchored in a bay on the coast of Peru, which lies in latitude 23° 6′ south, and in longitude 70° 20′ west. The latitude is correct, but the longitude is taken from a Spanish chart, and I believe can be depended on within a very few miles. The moon was not in distance while we were in the bay, at any time when we could get an observation, which prevented our ascertaining its longitude. This bay does not afford any wood or water, and has nothing to recommend it to notice except its being a safe place to anchor in to overhaul a ship's rigging. It is not however a fit place for a ship to heave down in by any means, being too much exposed to the sea. The bay is about six miles deep, and about the same in breadth; and has a sand bank all round its shores. It may be easily known by the north head or point that forms the bay, which lies in about 23° 00′ south latitude, and has a large island rock off its north point. After passing this rock, it is requisite to sail into the southward quite to the head of the bay, which runs in that direction; otherwise the water will be too deep to anchor in. On getting into twelve or fourteen fathoms the vessel will be near the shore and in good ground for anchorage. I know of no danger in the bay whatever. There is plenty of fish there; but they are

very difficult to be caught; some birds may be shot about the shores. Our boats made two excursions, one to the southward, and the other to the northward, twenty or thirty miles each way. The boat that went to the southward reported that they found a good safe harbour about twenty five or thirty miles to windward, under what I called the weather head. It is formed by an island lying to the west of it about one mile and a half, and cannot be seen without going close to the land. The weather head is high, making off to the westward from the north side of a large bay. The island above mentioned is on the north side of this head and the entrance into the harbour is to the south of the island. The boats discovered nothing to the northward of where our ship lay, only a few natives who were fishing about twenty miles north of us; and all the shores north and south of us as far as the boats went were nothing but sand next the shore, and back of it a ridge of barren mountains, without a tree, bush, or any grass. We saw no kind of wild animals here; but by the tracks that we saw concluded there must be plenty in the mountains. We saw many paths they had made to the sea. The tracks were of different kinds, but mostly like that of a fox. One kind in particular that was nearly as large as a man's hand and appeared to be either a lion or tiger's track, although I never heard of any of these animals being on any part of this coast.

The birds that we found here were principally of the carrion kind. We saw none but got their living out of the water. There were two or three kinds of turkey buzzards, one of which would weigh thirty or forty pounds, and resembled our turkies very much. After we got into the bay some of the people from aloft said they saw men walking on the plains of sand some distance back from the water. I went aloft into one of the tops to see them, and by looking through my glass I could plainly discover that they were nothing more than the largest kind of turkey-buzzards walking about; they appeared to the naked eye, in consequence of the glimmering of the sand, larger than what a person can conceive of. There were some rooks which were like those on the islands near this coast. The pelicans here are larger than any I have seen. Shags are found here in great numbers, together with many other kinds of oceanick birds, all of which

cannot be eaten unless it be to save life. The fish here are in shoals, and consist of several kinds. One kind of them resembles the bonetos very much. A smaller kind come into the bay in such numbers that I have hauled on shore fifty barrels at a time, with a seine which had meshes large enough to admit half a dozen of them abreast at a time through one of them. They were so plenty and thick in the water that they often choaked themselves in the seine, and lay like a bundle of hay in it. The larger kind of fish would often surround a shoal of the small ones and devour them, in doing which they make the water appear like tide ripples for acres together. We found the only way that we could catch the large kind, was by baiting a hook with the small ones whilst alive, when we could get them, and towing it in the water.

This bay has a beautiful water prospect, being always tranquil; but the shores are very barren. The north, south, and east parts of it were plains of white sand, which extend from the shores towards the mountains, and are commonly six miles and upwards broad, running from north to south as far as the eye could extend. They are as white and as level as some parts of the deserts of Arabia Felix, which I saw on my passage to Bombay. Beyond these sand plains the mountains begin to take their rise, one tier of rocks above another, until they joined the Cordilleras. There is no kind of vegetables to be seen any where near this place, and I am informed, that for many degrees north and south of it, and for many leagues back from the sea, there is none. This bay affords at times some hair seals; but it has been so much visited for the purpose of killing them, that it is very difficult to get near them, should there be any to be found. The land on the westerly side of this bay, and especially towards the north head, is high and lies to the westward of the long skirt of sand that runs back to the mountains. The extent of this high land north and south is not more than ten or twelve miles and its width not more than half that distance.

From this bay to the northward the coast trends in nearly a north direction, till near the latitude of 18° south; and on all parts of the coast, between the two latitudes, it is like the land to the eastward of the bay, all a mountainous range of land a little back from the sea, and sand near to it.

In latitude 18° 28′ there is a small town called Arica, which has some trifling trade, on account of the mines that lie back of it. It has a small fort, with six or eight guns. The anchorage is safe, though there is not much of a harbour; but as there is never any wind from the sea, there is no danger on that account. The place is not very well supplied, as I have been informed, with vegetables. This is not to be wondered at, as the whole coast is so barren that it would not be supposed it could produce any thing. Although I have been within three leagues of this town, I never anchored in the roads or harbour; but I should have gone into it had I not spoke a Nantucket ship, the captain of which informed me I could obtain no refreshments if I went into the port. I know of no town or village on this coast between Guesco and Arica, from which the coast runs nearly north and south; but soon after passing to the northward of the latter place; the coast trends out to the westward as much as north west by west, and runs in that direction nearly down to the latitude of 14° south; differing a little from the last described coast, by being a more grateful soil, and producing in spots some verdure. There are a few inhabitants along its shores, though not enough to traffic with to gain any advantage by. All this coast is very safe to navigate, by giving the land three or four leagues birth. There are some islets and rocks hereabout, which afford a few seals, I believe mostly of the hair kind. Fresh water is an article that is very scarce all along the whole of this part of the country, from latitude 30° 00′ south down. The water is deep on all the windward and leeward coast; no soundings can be got with a hundred fathoms of line one league from the land. The sea is in general well stocked with all kinds of deep water fish. Spermaceti whales are found on these coasts in plenty. Near Arica is a good place to cruise for them, keeping so far from the shore as to be just laying the land. All the Pacific Ocean, from the equator to thirty degrees south, to the distance of a thousand miles off shore, is always tranquil. There are no bad winds, rocks, shoals, or dangers, but a constant south east trade wind. From thirty to thirty-five degrees is fine pleasant navigation in summer; but in winter is subject to very rough winds from the north and westward, and above this latitude there are strong winds from the westward the greater part of the time.

There is an anchoring place or harbour in latitude 14° 20′ south, to which we gave the name of Blow-hole-bay. It lies in the form of a half moon, with the horns to the westward, and a large island lying between the horns, which affords a very good shelter from the westerly winds and sea. The natural form of the land breaks all sea, but as for the wind I cannot say much in its favour. There is a kind of funnel in the south east part of the bay which has the advantage over any thing that ever I saw contrived by nature or art to produce wind. This funnel is formed by two stupendous mountains that have a deep valley between them, or rather gully, which runs across the southern point that forms the bay, and opens to the sea again to the southward and eastward. The wind passed through it while we lay at anchor in the port, equal to any gale that I ever experienced. We were lying in the very south east part of it, where we did not feel the least motion of the sea, and had the best holding ground for an anchor that could be found, yet I expected I should be drove to sea by the wind every moment for three days together. If a harbour be made in this bay, the land should be kept close on board to the southward and eastward of it. On approaching it the island that lies between the points of the bay will make its appearance; but it is not more than two thirds of a mile from the island to the main land, at the southerly entrance of it. We went between the island and the south point as we passed into it. There are some small island-rocks to the south and east of the large island, which make the passage very narrow. The way that we went in is not very safe; but the passage to leeward of the above mentioned large island has a fine clear entrance, though it will be requisite to beat up, in order to anchor in the same place that we did. I have been informed that there is good anchorage in the north part of the bay, which I make no doubt of. The large island must lie nearly in the same latitude with the place we were at anchor in. We parted from our anchor in less than half an hour after we came to in the focus of this funnel, and anchored the next time a little to the westward out of the range of the spout, or I presume we should have parted again. The reason why we lay so long here was to recover the anchor we had parted from. The shore consisted all of sand beaches, and the hills, like the rest of the country, were barren.

Some half Indian sort of men came over the hills from Pisco by a kind of road; and when we first saw them coming down the mountains on horses, at a considerable distance, they appeared like men coming down out of the clouds: most of the hill they were descending being of white sand, gave it that appearance. There were several small fishermen's huts at the head of the bay, in which they occasionally slept and stored their fish when they caught them. I found it to be a common practice for these people to come here for the purpose of catching fish, of which the bay affords them a great plenty. The men, after descending the mountain, came on board our ship without hesitation, on my sending a boat for them, and gave us all the information in their power. In the north part of the bay there is salt to be got, at most seasons of the year; and I do not think the winds blow with such violence there as in the weather part. The salt makes in ponds not far from the beach. I have been informed there are some seals to be got at the islands, and on the shores in and near this place. I believe there are no inhabitants nearer than Pisco. We found, on going out, that there was a good clear passage to the leeward of the island that we came in to windward of, many miles in width. It will naturally be remembered that the south east trade winds blow constantly on this coast; but they are stronger I think in June, July and August than at any other season; and the coast lies here in a direction that these winds blow, and the land is so high that it does, according to my calculation, cause it to blow strong, and is a proof how much the high lands attract the winds. We had good reason to believe that although the wind was so severe in Blowhole Bay, yet at the same time a ship, ten leagues from the land, could carry her top-gallant-sails very comfortably.

The bay of Pisco is large and as clear of all dangers as any that I ever saw. It has regular soundings all over it of a moderate deph of water, and fine clear ground for a ship to anchor in. The bay is a crescent in the land, and has a number of islands lying before the entrance to the westward of it, which breaks all the sea, or wind, if there should be any from that quarter. The islands are called the Tinkers, and are considerably large. They have good anchoring under the lee of them, and there are many seals on them. The most common way to go into

Pisco, is by coming from the southward, and sailing between the Island of St. Gallons and the main land. This island lies in latitude 13° 52′ south, and has a passage between it and the main, about two miles in width, which is very clear of all kinds of danger. As soon as it is passed the vessel must be hauled round the point of the bay to the eastward, and sail into the northward and eastward, leaving all the islands and rocks to the left hand, for the purpose of keeping to the windward. After having passed to the eastward of all the islands in the bay, Pisco will come into view lying in the easterly part of it, in latitude by our observations (though we had not a very good oppertunity to observe,) 13° 42′ south. The anchor may be cast in four, five, and six fathoms, to the westward of the town, though in reality there is good anchorage any where to the southward of Pisco, with a better riding place than off to the westward. The shore or landing place at Pisco is not very good, owing to a bar that lies before the town; but at most times one can land with a good boat, and always procure plenty of refreshment if the governor will give permission. The town is much larger than the other small ports on some parts of the coast; but it is an inconsiderable place. It stands on a plain which is low and runs for some miles back before it borders on the mountains, and appears handsome in comparison to any place south of this till you get to Coquimbo. It is tolerably well supplied with all kinds of provisions, vegetables, and fruit; but the fresh water is not very good. The houses are built after the style of Conception and Valparaiso. The habits and customs of the people are likewise similar. The country back has a much better aspect (on account of the level ground before you come to the mountains) than any place to the south for many degrees. The bay would accommodate any number of ships, and afford them good shelter. The islands to the westward of it are large and afford nothing but seals, eggs, and birds manure. The latter is a great article of trade on the coast of Peru. I should estimate the tonnage of vessels employed in that business at seven or eight thousand. They are in general brigs, from one to two hundred tons each. They go off to the Tinkers, and other islands that offord it to load, and then carry it to the best market. It sells for more than one dollar per bushel. I have seen eight or ten ves-

sels lading at a time at the last mentioned islands, and have been on shore where they were at work. The manner they get it on board is by hauling their vessels into any snug cove they can find near to where the manure is, and begin as near to the shore as it can be found, which is in many places very near; they carry it on board on hand barrows and in baskets, taking it from the ground as carefully as if it were corn or grain. I have often seen them dig more than twenty feet before they got to the bottom of the heap, and it lies in that thickness in some places for more than a hundred yards in breadth and a mile in length. The appearance of it as they take it up is very much like white lime, and but little different in smell. By what information I have been able to obtain on this subject, it is the best mannure for most kinds of land, that ever was used. I was informed whilst on different parts of the coast, that they should never be able to make the land produce any thing were it not for this manure. The vessels in this employ often make eight or ten thousand dollars in a trip; but the Spanish are not a very industrious people, and do not make such great dispatch as some men would, otherwise they might make money very fast. The quantity of this manure that is on many of the islands in those seas, and near the coast, is beyond belief; and the value of it to the tiller of the land is great. It seems as if every thing turned to good account, and all the bounties of nature fell to the lot of the people of these two kingdoms.

In going out of the port of Pisco, the bay is all open to the north west, and can be run with safety any where that water is to be seen. The navigation is safe, and the coast from this port to leeward grows better on account of soil, till you get to Lima. It trends not much to the westward of north-north-west In all this distance there is not any danger in sailing within three miles of the land, until coming in sight of the city of Lima. It will be seen making to the northward at the head of a bay that makes in, in that direction, standing from three to six miles from the water. The land all round it is so low, and the domes and steeples show so high, that the city is very plain to be seen long before the vessel gets so near as to keep off to go out side of all the islands that lie off Callao, which must without fail be observed whilst

entering the port; and it would be best to haul off shore when within seven or eight leagues of St. Lorenzo, or the largest of the islands that lie off to the westward of the harbour.

Six or eight miles in a south-south-east direction from Lima, is a pretty little fishing village, where gentlemen and ladies often go from that city on parties of pleasure. It is situated on the southern extremity of the south bay of Lima. This bay is formed on the east by the land that lies between t e above village and the city of Lima, on the north by the land near the city, on the west by the point of Callao, and on the south west by St. Lorenzo and other islands. It is sufficiently large to hold several hundred ships; but I know nothing of the depth of its water, or the dangers in it. It is exposed to the south wind which blows directly into it. A ship must never run to the northward of the fishing village, when bound to Callao, until hauling outside the islands, for if she does much difficulty will be found in getting to the westward.

CHAPTER XXV.

Description of the Port and City of Lima—Some Remarks on the People, Soil, Climate, Public Places, Mint, Inquisition, and other curiosities.

THE port or citadel of Lima is called Callao. It is very convenient for all kinds of shipping business, and has a very good market for meat, fish and vegetables; and is very convenient for procuring fresh water. There is a great deal of business done in this place separate from Lima. The harbour is excellent and safe from all winds except the north west, and from that quarter I was told they never blow. On entering the harbour the vessel must keep to the westward of all the islands off it, until passing to the northward of St. Lorenzo Island, then hauling into the eastward, and steering to the east-south-east for the port of Callao. The north west head of St. Lorenzo, is three leagues from the port, and is in latitude 12° 4′ south, and in longitude 76° 59′ west. It will always be known when the right way is attained on passing to the leeward of that island, it being to the westward of the group to the south west of Callao, and leaves the whole bay clear to the eastward of it whilst working into the harbour; but it is necessary here to caution a stranger who is bound to Lima, not to go between the islands and Callao. We went in this way in consequence of the information that we obtained from the Naval Gazetteer, and came very near losing our ship. A ship that is bound to Lima as she comes from the southward, must preserve a sufficient distance from the main land and islands, until she comes near the Island of St. Lorenzo; which will be known by its being much larger than any other island hereabouts, and lies much further out to the westward than the main trend of the land.

The port lies in the south east part of the bay or cove in the land, which forms the harbour; to the westward of which projects a point of land running due west half the distance to the island of St. Lorenzo, behind it, or to the south east, there makes a deep bay that runs further to the eastward than the city of Lima. It was this bay alluded to as seeing Lima above its head when coming from the southward. Callao lies just at the head, or above the point mentioned before. Old Callao, as it is now called, was situated lower down on the point, and was destroyed in the great earthquake that happened in the year 1746. I have been several times with the general of the marine, and the commandant, to view the ruins of Old Callao. We went down on the point till the water was not more than half or two thirds of a mile from us on either side of it; but I was informed that the earthquake had sunk considerable of the southerly part of it under water. The ground on which it stood is not more than twenty feet above the level of the sea, and is now nothing but a coarse, gravely sand beach. When that fatal catastrophe happened which destroyed it, the sea receded so that the ships were left dry at their anchorage; the flood then returned and carried some of them upon the land more than one mile above high water mark. At the return of the water Callao was entirely swept away, and the sea broke over the ground where it stood for several days successively after it happened. This so entirely destroyed the soil that it has never collected since so as to produce a spire of grass. The sight was shocking to a man of sensibility to see the piles of human bones that lie here. The principal remains, or signs of a town were the brick arches, and stoned cellars which were not destroyed by the earthquake. My companions informed me that some of the arches were the ruins of prisons where all the foreigners as well as the lower order of the Spanish people were confined. These arches were filled with human bones, as were also most of the cellars, without any kind of covering over them. The reason, as I was informed, that the arches were so filled with the bones, was, that there were people employed to pick them up as fast as they worked out of the gravel, and put them into these cellars and arches; but they had not yet put them all in. I presume we saw many cart loads strewed all over the ground, besides those that

were already picked up and deposited. The whole of these ruins viewed together, by a person on the spot, was, I think sufficient to put all the powers of the mind in motion.

I saw two persons in Lima who were living at the time of the fatal event, and were old enough when it took place to remember every circumstance. They were in the city and had several of their nearest kindred buried in the wreck of buildings that were destroyed at the time. One of these survivors was a man, and the other a woman. They were considered persons of veracity, particularly the woman. She told me that there were but few persons saved in Callao at the time, and that the tide flowed to within one mile of the gates of Lima; that there were near 20,000 people at the time in Callao. I had many other particulars from other sources, whilst at this place at the different times I have been there.

Callao is six miles from the city of Lima, and there is a very handsome road laid out between them; but it is not finished. This road was began by the celebrated Don Ambrosio Higgins, who died Vice-Roy of Lima. He came to Callao by water from Chili; where he was president before he received his new appointment of Vice-Roy. When he was riding from the port to the city, which was a very bad road, he was heard to say, that before his reign was ended he hoped he should have a better road. He began it accordingly on a very handsome plan. It was laid out nearly on a strait line from the city to the port, and was sixty feet wide. The ground over which it passed was level; some parts of it being loose, sandy ground, on which he caused to be placed a covering of large round stones like those used to pave streets. Over these stones it was his intention to have a layer of gravel; which would make a smooth road on a solid foundation; but as he died before it was completed, a part of the large stones was left uncovered, and of course it is very rough and bad travelling over them for horses or carriages. On each side of the road there is a brick wall about eighteen inches thick, and high enough to afford a convenient seat for passengers; the top being made smooth and even for that purpose. It was a beautiful road as far as it was finished; but in many places it had received considerable damage from a practice that the passengers got into of turn-

ing out from the main road, and causing gullies to form, which was injurious to the beauty as well as couvenience of the road. The port, as it is at present, contains eight or ten thousand inhabitants, and has every thing commodious for shipping, except docks and wharves; and it is very difficult to erect them, on account of the swell that sometimes rolls in, and the trifling rise and fall of the tide. This swell commonly comes in just before and during the shocks of earthquakes, which are very frequent. I have seen the tide rise in ten minutes, when they happen, four times the usual swell of a flood tide. I have been in Lima, Callao, and the ports of Chili, when there has been more than thirty shocks of earthquakes. They are very common at particular seasons of the year, for a week together, and often occur several times in a day. It is always calm when they happen. The noise ever seemed to begin from the north east, which is about the course of the shore for some way to the northward of the port, and the mountains in that direction are not so near as they are to the eastward or southward. These mountains appeared to have a valley between them, in which the noise seemed to me to originate. It first commenced with a sound like some very distant rushing of water, and as it approached it became louder; and by the time the shock is felt, the noise resembles the rushing of a shoal of fish, or when near the falling of a large body of water over rocks. The shaking begins moderately, and continues to increase till it seems to pass by, and proceeds to the southward, when the trembling and sound continues to diminish until it entirely ceases. I have been in houses during the shocks, at which times all the males run out into the street as soon as they feel it. The females are generally too much frightened to run, and will commonly lay hold of any one who is near them. The first shock I ever felt was at Valparaiso, while sitting at dinner at a friend's house. His wife was sitting near me. I observed something was the matter by the behaviour of the company; the woman caught fast hold of me, and I could not understand what the matter was, until I heard the noise and felt the trembling.

Being at a gentleman's house at Lima in the first of the evening, my two particular friends, the general of marine and Colmanares the commandant, being of the party, we heard the noise which

precedes the shock of an earthquake; the company all started up and went out of doors, except Colmanares and myself, who did not go out. After the shock was over they came into the house, when we had some sport with the general and the other gentlemen of the order of Mars. We asked them what they run for. They asked us if we did not hear and feel the earthquake which had just happened! We answered, yes; but we thought that soldiers and sailors never run from any thing. The general said he was looking after his horse, expecting he might be frightened. The general was a very affable, jocular man, and one that liberties might be taken with without giving an affront. After this, if any thing happened which produced an alarm, we used to rally him, by asking if his horse would not be frightened. These kind of jokes were always received by him with good humour, and in return he would often give a repartee that was equal in smartness to any I have ever heard. The terror into which the people of this part of the world are thrown, at the shock of an earthquake, is incredible. At the least noise that they hear and do not understand the cause of, they are heard calling out *tombelore*! *tombelore*! The reason why they run out of their houses when the shocks take place, is owing to the calamities which have happened to them at different times, when the shocks have been so severe as to cause the houses to tumble down and bury in the ruins all that were in them. The relation which the old lady gave me of the distressing situation of the people at the time of the great earthquake in 1746, was very interesting, and would excite the astonishment of every one who might hear her.

The city of Lima, as I was informed, is twelve miles in circumference, and contains between seven hundred thousand and a million of inhabitants. It lies on an extended plain, from twelve to twenty miles broad, and lies much further to the north and south. There is a beautiful river that runs through the city, which comes down from the mountains through this extensive plain, and empties itself into the bay or harbour, to the north east of the port, about one or two miles distant. They have turned a part of this river, so that it runs through Callao, a little back of the town. A part of the stream is sunk under ground, and comes out close to the salt water, at a bay where boats can fill with ease. The city of Lima

is laid out in squares. The streets are rather narrow; but as they do not use many carriages or carts, they require less room than otherwise would be necessary. They ride mostly on horseback, and carry all their merchandise on the backs of horses, mules, and jack-asses. All the streets have a drain in the middle of them, the water in which can be set running at discretion. I never saw a place so well supplied with water as this city is.

The river above the city is confined into a narrow focus or aqueduct, by which the water is raised in a fountain of bronze, adorned with an image of the goddess of fame, which is in the royal square facing the palace. This fountain spouts the water ten or twelve feet high, so as to fall into a square reservoir, from which it continually runs, through about twelve copper pipes into a basin of sixteen or eighteen feet diameter, and has a conductor through which the superfluous water runs off. The rim of this basin is just high enough for the people to step over and fill their kegs, which vessels are the most common in use for that purpose. These kegs are of the common size except being somewhat longer and will contain about eight or ten gallons. Two of these kegs are placed endwise in a pannel, slung across an ass's back and fastened with straps of leather. This is the most general method of conveying water, made use of by the people in this city. Besides this fountain there are many canals, or streams running through different parts of the city, to most of the houses, and serve in cases of fire and to water their gardens, as well as for other uses.

The royal square is very handsome, and is situated in the center of the city. On the east side of it is the palace and other public buildings belonging to it, which are all well built. The south side consists in a very spacious, rich, and handsome church, with other buildings belonging to, or connected with it; the north and west sides are occupied by merchants' shops, who deal chiefly in dry goods. On these two sides of the square, the houses are all in one range, and are built only one story high, on account of the frequent earthquakes. They have a gallery projecting from the upper part about eighteen or twenty feet into the square, and supported by pillars twelve feet high, with regular arches from one to the other, the entire length of the square.

Under this piazza is the side walk for foot passengers, who are at the same time well guarded against the heat of the sun.

The spaces between the pillars of this colonade are filled up with stalls or work shops, occupied by different mechanics, such as watch makers, goldsmiths, lace, cord, and chenille makers, silk and taffeta ribbon weavers, and venders of all other kind of small articles, whilst business of greater importance is carried on in the shops behind them. This square measures from two to three hundred yards each way, and serves for a market place, in which I have seen the finest vegetables, meat, poultry, and tropical fruit, and in greater quantities than I ever saw in any market before, and at very reasonable prices; but fish is rather scarce, and but very indifferent.

The palace is one of the greatest curiosities in the city. It is a handsome and spacious building, the interior of which is so singularly constructed, with so many turnings and windings on going to the vice roy's office, or appartment in which he personally transacts business, that it would be difficult for a stranger to find his way through them without the assistance of a guide. Although I have been more than fifty times to the vice roy's office, yet I greatly doubt whether I should now be able to find it without a conductor. One of the structures adjoining the palace, and built within its walls, is called the royal chest, in which the treasures belonging to the crown are deposited, as also all other disputable property, either in merchandize or money, similar to that of the court of chancery in England.

The streets throughout the city are handsome and are in a strait line. The houses are in general only one story high, but make a very agreeable appearance, being well adorned with galleries on the front, and trees planted round them as a shelter against the rays of the sun. Many of the buildings make up in length and depth for their deficiency in height, some of them being two hundred feet long and proportionably broad, and have ten or twelve large apartments on the ground floor. The roofs are formed chiefly of reeds, which afford a sufficient shelter, as there is never any rain of consequence known to fall here; but some of the rich inhabitants have their floors covered with handsome matting and cotton cloths. The churches and monasteries are

extremely rich, and decorated with many images of saints made of solid gold, which are adorned with jewels and trinkets of immense value.

The first time I had an interview with the vice roy, he very politely gave me the privilege of coming to his apartment at any hour between eight o'clock in the morning and nine at night, on any day, hollidays not excepted, on account of my business with Don Bonito Cerino. His excellency is a man of a very dignified and commanding appearance, without any of that stiff formality so peculiar to the higher class of his countrymen; for he possessed too many natural abilities to require any stiffness to assist him in keeping up his consequence. His dress was in general plain and neat; but I saw him at one time dressed in the most superb style that I ever witnessed. On a Sunday morning when I had something particular I wished to impart to him, and as he had several times sent for me on that day for no other purpose than to ask me some triffling questions on common topics, I did not think it a breach of politeness to wait on his excellency at that time. I accordingly entered the palace, and a person attending as door keeper conducted me as usual into a room next but one to the vice roy's office, where two of the life guards are always in waiting. I told them my business, and they informed me that his excellency was just going to church; that the carriage was already sent for, and they thought it would not be very well received were they to acquaint him with my request. I felt a little confused, thinking I had trespassed against the rules of good breeding by coming at church hours, and requested them not to mention it to the vice roy, as I would come again at some more convenient time. His excellency was walking in the next room, and hearing what I had said, came to the door and requested me to walk in. I made as handsome an apology as I was capable of in the Spanish language, for coming at such an unseasonable hour; when he very graciously desired me not to be the least uneasy on that account, and not to forget he had given me the liberty of the palace at any time of day between certain hours, hollidays not excepted, and that he was glad to see me, as he had something he wished to communicate. I was struck with the majesty of his appearance and behaviour. He was dressed in a full uniform of blue silk vel-

vet, laced in the most modest and rich manner that I ever saw. He walked and conversed with me for nearly an hour, there being no person present but ourselves; the carriage and his suit were waiting for him all the time.

After I had been so honoured at several interviews, it became a common saying, that the king's favourite was coming; they sometimes give him the title of king, that and excellent-issimo is all the title he has in Lima, when out of his presence.

He was called from the command at the River of Plate to the vice royalty of this place. In his former station he was a great military character, and was considered the first disciplinarian in Spanish America. The inhabitants of Lima trembled, as I was told, when they were informed of his coming there as vice roy; but he put off the character of a soldier for that of a civilian, in which capacity he has acted with moderation and wisdom to the universal satisfaction of the inhabitants. The conversation with and the order he gave Don Benito, concerning my business, was almost the only time he had ever been known to show anger during his vice royalty. The palace is not so elegant as it is spacious. The dress of the body guards makes the most elegant and extraordinary appearance of any thing I have seen about it. I had read a description of them in Bank's Geography. but I did not fully believe the account until I saw them myself. On entering the palace the first thing I thought of was to satisfy my curiosity respecting this guard. I saw six of them standing sentinels in different parts as I went through the several turnings leading to his excellency's room; every one of whom was dressed in a superfine blue broadcloth coat, waistcoat, and breeches which were as handsomely laced with gold as a captains in the navy. They are about sixty in number, and I was informed they never do any duty out of the palace. They have only to attend about his excellency's person, and ride out with him. The vice roy most commonly rides in a very elegant coach, drawn by six handsome mules, followed by two other coaches, one for his secretaries and any other person he might wish to be of the party, and the other for his body guards; both coaches being drawn by six mules.

I was once very closely questioned in the palace, when there to settle some business of my own, where I found the general

of the marine and a person they called the *councillou*, who was at the head of some department, but what his station was I did not learn. They had just received the information of Miranda's expedition, and of his being in the bay of Mexico, from the vice-roy of that kingdom. They asked me if I knew any thing concerning this expedition. On my answering in the nagative, they read to me some part of the information they had received on that subject, and had some of it interpreted. I saw they were all very thoughtful on this occasion; they conversed much, and asked me many questions, some of which I did not much like.

The inquisition is the next thing I shall mention. This religious tribunal has been represented as being tyrannical and cruel, and the mere name of it strikes the people of protestant countries with horror. A court founded upon the principle of trying and punishing people for their religious opinions, is inconsistent with reason, and the ideas of liberty of conscience entertained at the present time; but it must be recollected that the people of all countries are governed more or less by some species of priestcraft, and as long as society remains in its present state, there can be no doubt but those possessed of power will make use of it as the best means they can adopt to control the bad passions and propensities which a large portion of their subjects possess, and which cannot be governed by any other means. The Spanish people, perhaps, have been kept more under the influence of superstition and bigotry than most others; but I have had an opportunity of knowing something of them, and am ready to confess, from what I have seen, that they enjoy as much liberty of conscience, and converse as freely on religious, as well as all other topics, as any people with whom I have had intercourse. My feelings and opinions respecting the inquisition were similar to those of other people who knew nothing of it except what they had received from those who were as ignorant as themselves, and were governed more by prejudice than by facts; and when I arrived in this country my curiosity was very great to learn every thing I possibly could concerning it. I had a very good opportunity, during my several visits at Lima, to obtain correct information on the subject; and from what I saw and the accounts given by those who I had the most perfect confi-

dence in, I was convinced that it was not so terrible as has been represented.

I shall relate an affair that happened a short time previous to my arrival at Lima, which will give the reader a better idea of the proceedings of these inquisitorial courts, than what could be communicated any other way. A Spanish woman had married a man who did not believe in the Catholic faith, which description of people are called heretics. This man died, and the woman being left a widow, she formed a determination to live up to her husband's faith, let the consequences be what they would. He never had during his life time expressed any opinion upon religious subjects, or troubled himself about them; but after his death the woman boldly and openly made her husband's religious sentiments known, and expressed her own belief in them. This was not long in getting to the ears of the clergy. They paid her a visit, expecting that they should be able to convince her of her error by arguments, and persuade her from the determination she had taken; but they found themselves very much mistaken. She told them that the clergy were impostors; that they were oppressing the people under a false doctrine; that every one was greatly aggrieved by their villainous influence; and called them liars, robbers, and murderers. On which they took her into the court-house, or prison of the inquisition, and held an ecclesiastical court to try her for heresy. She was found guilty, and sentenced to be placed astride on an ass, with her back towards his head, and clogs fixed to her feet, and conveyed in that situation across the bridge to the common place of execution, which was on the other side of the river, and there to be beheaded, and her body burned; with a proviso, that if she would repent before crossing the bridge, and make a humble confession of her fault, and ask forgiveness, she should be pardoned.

They placed her on the ass agreeably to the sentence, and proceeded towards the place of execution, making the animal go in a manner to jolt and hurt her as much as they possibly could, with the intention of making her repent of the determination she had formed, and to renounce her principles. They frequently stopped, when the clergy would try to convince her of the consequence of her stubborn and obstinate conduct, in hopes that they could per-

suade her to repent; but all was to no purpose, for she continued to abuse them with all the epithets she could make use of to disgrace them and their religion. When they came to the bridge, they made a long stop, and expostulated, begged, and prayed to her not to "die as a fool dieth." They repeatedly told her that after she had crossed the bridge, all the repentance she could make would avail her nothing. She told them to move on, which they did, after finding their entreaties were of no avail, and she died a true martyr, if any one ever did, if by sticking to her faith can be called martyrdom.

The inquisition at Lima is a spacious and handsome building. I have often passed by it, and always intended to have viewed the inside. The priests frequently offered to go in with and show me every part of it; but something more than common always seemed to happen to prevent it whenever I fixed on a time. I always had a strong desire to see all extraordinary places, and particularly this which I had heard so many wonderful stories about; but I left Lima without being gratified with a thorough view of it.

As many of my readers may be curious to have some information concerning the inquisition, I will endeavour to give them all that is in my power. The priests, who were my friends and confidents, and likewise many other gentlemen of rank and high standing here, were the sources from which I gathered my information. They informed me that the house of the inquisition was a court and a jail-house, and that the ecclesiastical court sat in the same building where the prisoners were confined. The court consisted of priests, and sometimes a high officer or officers of state. It is conducted publicly, the prisoners being admitted to call any evidence they choose in their defence. This court does not meddle with any thing except infringments upon their holy religion. If, say they, these were to be passed over and let go with impunity, our church and state would fall to the ground. As to this part of the business I will not undertake to defend; but from what happened previous to my arrival at that place with the woman, leaves it in my power to know pretty well how that case was conducted. I was informed by Americans, Englishmen, and Swedes, as well as the authority quoted above, that the trial of this woman was as fairly and openly conducted as in any court whatever; and that the priests

interested themselves as much in her behalf as any men could, and show respect for their religion. This story was the most constant theme of conversation on my arrival, as it had taken place but two or three weeks before. To attempt to justify this or any other proceedings of courts, I would by no means think of; but I am ready to admit that the inquisition is a rigid court of justice, established and continued to maintain their religion.

The next curiosity here, that is worthy of mentioning, is the mint; which I visited and was shown every thing worth my attention in it. Two or three gentlemen accompanied me to see it, first having sent to know when we could be admitted, and the answer being returned appointing the day. When we went we were received with every degree of attention that could be shown. The master or conductor went with us over all parts of it, and shewed us all that was worthy of seeing, and explained every thing to my satisfaction. The building forms a square, one part of it fronting on the street. It has a strong wall on all sides of it, which forms a large square that is about one hundred and fifty feet each way. The gate is in the middle of the front side. We entered a row of buildings on the left hand after passing through the gate, in which the process of refining and separating the ore is performed; and as we proceeded on the left hand side, we came to where they were melting and casting gold and silver in iron moulds. It was cast in a proper shape to be drawn down cold. The process with the gold which was performed in my presence, was by bruising the ore fine with mauls, and then wetting it with some liquid, and working it over in the same manner as lime mortar is prepared in this country. This is done on the floor of the room, which was all paved with smooth stones, or bricks. This labour is done by negroes, who tread it over with their feet and kneed it like dough, after which they put quick silver amongst it, as I was informed, which separates the ore from the other metals that are mixed with it. It had the appearance as they worked it, of yellow mortar, or dough. After it was separated, it was cast into ingots or bars. The silver is separated previous to its being brought to the mint, and cast into pigs that weigh from eighty to one hundred and sixty pounds each. Many tons of these bars I saw piled up like cord wood.

There was another method by which I saw them separate gold dust (so called,) which is by putting it into a little trench, that runs through one part of the mint. It is made serpentine, and is about one foot wide and two feet deep, with a little descent. Its sides and bottom are made as smooth and even as possible with stone and lime cemented together. In each of the turns of this trench a small ragged iron wheel is sunk, like the sunk wheel of a watch, in the cement at the bottom of the trench. This wheel has a shaft, or spindle in the middle, which comes above the top of the trench, and has another wooden horizontal wheel on the top of this spindle; to which were fixed bands that were brought from the barrel of a large wheel, which being put in motion moved all the small ones. The gold dust, sand, and all together as it was taken up, was put into the upper part of the trench, and a gate hoisted that set the large wheel going which moved the horizontal sunk wheels. The water running likewise through the trench carried the dust down, and at every sunk wheel it got a scouring; and by the time it had passed through the trench, the sand and other particles of matter lighter than gold were swept away, and the gold dust left in the basins formed for the ragged wheels to move in.

The next process is the melting of the metal. The method for this was to have crucibles made of a kind of clay which will stand fire. These are made in the form of a tub as large as a half hogshead, with the top a little contracted, which were suspended by axles fixed to their sides, and placed in a frame similar to the method that blacksmiths hang their bellows; by which means they can tip them backwards and forwards. They then have an iron crutch, or brace, which hooks into two eyes like crane eyes, put into the side of the crucible for the purpose of commanding it. The crucibles are filled with charcoal, after a fire being kindled in them, and two or three hundred weight of gold or silver put on the coals. Two large bellows of a curious construction, worked by hand, were brought up to the front of the crucibles, and their pipes introduced into two holes made for that purpose, which blows the fire with great force. The fire is constantly fed with coals until the ore is sufficiently melted for casting. Whilst it is running into the moulds, it can-

not be destinguished, the gold from the silver, both being as red as blood. When the ore is sufficiently heated, the bellows is moved back by means of something similar to cogs or rollers; the crucible is then tiped backwards on account of the holes made for the bellows pipes, until the metal rises above the top of a little spout like that of a pitcher, but it will not run until it is touched with a small stick with a piece of cloth round the end of it and moistened with some kind of oil; this when touched to the spout where it is wanted the metal to run from, will flash in a blaze like powder, and immediately the ore will run in a small stream not much larger than a pipe stem, into moulds cut in small flat iron bars, about twenty inches long, one inch and a quarter wide, and half an inch deep, with woolen handles to them. After the ore is drawn off in this way in bars, according to the dimensions of the mould, they are taken to a room further to the right in which the grand water works are fixed; in this room were more than ten pairs of rollers arranged very much like those that sugar cane is run through in the West Indies, made horizontal, and gradually decreasing in space. The bars of gold and silver are run through between these rollers, from one to the other, until they are laminated to near the thickness of a dollar, and the gold to that of a doubloon, having by that time the requisite width. By the time they are nearly reduced to a right thickness they are more than four feet long, the silver having a similar appearance to iron hoops. They are then taken to another room still to the right, and run through a plate which brings them to an exact thickness, at which time they are wide enough to cut out the dollar. After this they are passed under a sharp steel trepan of a roundish figure, hollow within, and of proportionable diameter to shape and cut the piece at the same time. This instrument is fixed at the lower end of a screw which is made with a very large worm; this causes it to descend very forcibly, and when the laminated bar is held under it, every time the screw is turned it comes down and cuts a piece out of the silver the exact size of a dollar; but when a gold laminated bar drawn to a proper thickness, is placed under it, the screw is supplied with another instrument to pierce out a piece the exact size of a doubloon. They are next milled by means of running them through a machine that is only the

thickness of a dollar, which is confined edge ways, so that by turning a crank it will roll the dollars through, putting at the same time the mill on the edge. The next process is the weighing; the person who performs this has a little square box containing silver pins that are no longer than the thickness of a dollar, and of different weights and sizes; the dollars are thrown one by one into the scales, but seldom any of them are too heavy, when they are they generally pass them without notice, but if any are too light a pin is thrown into the scale, which brings it to the standard weight; the dollar is then put under a screw that has a pointed instrument in the end of it, which is screwed down and pierces a hole in the dollar sufficiently large to receive the pin; then it is placed under another screw, with a smooth end, which completely fastens the pin in the coin; they are then passed into another room and scoured. That process is performed by putting one or two bushels of them into a wooden bowl made for that purpose and lime juice poured into it sufficient to wet the dollars; when a man, supplied with strong leather gloves to prevent hurting his hands, rubs and scours until they become bright as silver can possibly be made. After this operation they are passed to another room, which is the last in the square, and the first on the right hand on entering the gate, which is the apartment where all the money is coined.

The master set the people to work at coining dollars and doubloons, to shew me the last process, as I had previously seen all but that. The method is, the two impressions are cut on two pieces of steel, about the size of a blacksmith's sledge hammer, and not very unlike it in shape, the impressions being cut on the face of each; these two pieces are fixed, one in a frame made of wood and iron on the ground, fastened very strongly with screws, with the impression upwards; the other piece is fixed at the lower end of a large screw, five inches in diameter and four feet long, with the impression side down, and placed directly over the one that is fixed on the ground, all parts of the machine being framed together in a remarkable strong manner. An iron tiller, or large bar, is put on the head of the screw in the same manner a boat's tiller is put over the head of the rudder, the hole for the screw being in the middle of the tiller, which is twelve feet long, having each end of

it loaded with about fifty weight of lead, and ropes four or five feet long fastened to each end for the men to pull by, who sit down and take hold of the ropes, being from five to seven in number. The man who puts the dollars under has a hole sunk on one side of his work for him to sit in. When the men were all called to their stations and a thousand dollars emptied near the work, the master stepped to the pile and took a handful which he brought to me to inspect, and shewed me where the pins were put in to make up the weight, which were very plain to be seen. One man who stands up at one end of the tiller throws it back and raises the screw. A piece of wood was taken out from between the two impressions that serves to keep them apart and a dollar put under in its stead, on which the screw is turned forward with the full strength of the men placed at the tiller, by which it comes down with incredible force on the dollar. The man at the opposite end of the tiller then heaves it back and raises the screw. The dollar is brushed off by means of a piece of iron twelve inches long, of the thickness and width of an iron hoop, which he constantly holds in his hand, and another dollar is put under. They were handed to me to see how fair and deep the impressions were made, and how completely the pins were pressed in; but I could see on some of them where the pin was. This may often be seen in Spanish dollars, if closely inspected. After showing me as many as I wished to see, they set the screw to work as fast as possible. They could easily finish fifteen in a minute, or one in four seconds. The process with doubloons is the same as with dollars. The pressure of the screw when it comes down on the coin I should imagine to equal a great number of tons, perhaps one hundred. When we had gone all over this remarkable building, I asked the master many questions, which he answered with frankness, seemingly pleased to inform me of any thing that I might wish to know. On taking leave of the mint, I asked the master how much money they commonly coined in a year in that mint. He informed me that they coined from six to eight millions of dollars value in gold and silver, and also that the mint in Mexico coined from fifteen to twenty millions, and St. Jago, in Chili, from one and a half to three millions, which was all the money that was coined in these three kingdoms. He told me that the bullion I saw belonged to different

people, and was brought to be coined in the same manner as corn is carried to a mill to be ground, and that as fast as it was coined it was taken away by the respective owners. He gave me much information concerning the regulations of the mint too numerous to be here related. Almost all the heavy work was done by water. There seemed to be as many wheels and bands going in it as in one of our cotton factories. Water works can be carried on in Lima with as much convenience as in any place I ever visited. The reason I had so much attention paid me at Lima was on account of the different services I had rendered. as many great men think it an honour to notice a person who has done well by his fellow creatures. This cause may be assigned for the viceroy's noticing me, and among other marks of respect, gave me liberty to examine any curiosity in or about the city; as also to visit the prisons, to see any person in them I chose, and take out of confinement any Englishman or foreigner, and take him on board my ship. Many similar favours were granted me during my stay at that place.

The churches in this city are worthy of some remark. There are between thirty and forty of them, some of which are the richest perhaps of any in the world. They are very large, and were, as I thought, high; but the priests told me they would have been built much higher were it not for fear of earthquakes. I have been in the inside of many of them, and never saw any thing that could be compared with them for richness. The gold and silver about the altars is immense. The pillars in some of them are of solid silver, six inches in diameter, and ten or twelve feet long. Many of their vases are of gold, and of an extraordinary value. The rich silk furniture, such as curtains, cushions, and tassels, are all of crimson damask, which gives the whole a very rich appearance. The flooring is marble of different colours, placed in a variegated manner in regular diamonds, and has the highest polish immaginable. People that are not used to such a flooring, whilst walking over it are struck with an awe by its magnificence, that can hardly be described. The yards round them are spacious and paved with large regular shaped flat stones. The stone steps ascending to the door as well as the railings round the yard, are all very neat specimens of architecture. The bells in these churches are the larg-

est I ever saw. There are as many as from twelve to twenty in each church. The domes are large and splendid; the vanes on some are images of men, in reverence to the saint the church is dedicated to. An image of St. Peter is fixed on the top of the church dedicated to that saint, much larger than a man, and is fixed so as to always face the wind. It appears from the ground not larger than a boy of six years old; but it makes the handsomest appearance of any thing of the kind I have ever seen. The churches are all built of stone or brick, and bound together with iron ties or braces in the strongest manner they possibly could be made, to prevent them from being shaken to pieces by earthquakes.

The houses of the inhabitants are built in a plain manner; on the side next the street, they have a smooth fair wall twelve or fifteen feet high, so that a person walking by can see no more of them than the gates or entrance. When inside of the wall they have rather a mean appearance than otherwise, seldom being more than one story high. The amusements of the citizens of Lima are like those of the inhabitants of other great cities. I have seen very elegant performances on the stage at the theatres in this city. The actors had voices resembling the notes of melodious singing birds. In all the languages that I ever have heard spoken, there was nothing so musical as the voices I have heard on the stage at Lima. The clergy here have great power, and bear great sway. This is the case in all catholic countries; but I could not see that they much abused their power. They are some of them very good companions. They are affable, cheerful, obliging, and humane. I should as soon choose a Roman Catholic priest for a companion and friend, as almost any man. I was always fortunate enough to be on good terms with them, and we enjoyed ourselves very well together, excepting when they came to beg for some church or charitable institution. It will be hardly necessary to inform the reader that they are most intolerable beggars; on which subject we did not very well agree. I commonly told them that I had to help support the church in my own country, and it was not fair to ask any thing of me; and this in general satisfied them.

I will relate an anecdote which took place here with a priest who used to go about begging for St. Maria's church, which caused considerable diversion. He had a little image representing the Virgin Mary, about two feet long, in a box with a glass front, so that the whole of it could be seen; which was dressed and ornamented in a very beautiful manner. He had been several times to my chamber with it. I had often told him that I was not pleased with his coming there with it; but he was very troublesome and importunate, and would frequently insist on my kissing the image through the glass, which was considered as binding the person to give something. One day he came to my room, at a large hotel, and began with his usual kind of impudence, and insisted on my kissing the virgin. I represented to him my displeasure at his conduct, and some of the company told him that he treated me very ill; after strutting about for a while, he set his image down behind something in the room, and went into another part of the hotel. As soon as he was gone, we placed the virgin in my bed, and covered it over with the clothes, so that it could not be easily discovered. The priest soon returned, and missing his virgin, looked diligently about, but could not find her. He was patient for some time, but after he began to think that he had lost her, the fellow showed much distress. He said that, he should never dare to go back to the church of the blessed Lady, if he could not find her. After thinking him pretty well paid for his impudence, one of them told him, that as he had been so urgent for the captain to kiss her, it might be possibly that she had got into his bed. When he had found her, he was in a worse situation than before, if possible, to think, and have it known, that the blessed virgin had been in the bed of a heretic; but after many promises that we would not divulge the secret, and the particulars of the transaction, he went off and was not seen there again. I had some doubts however, whether he would not bring us into trouble, if he had been so disposed.

The inhabitants are similar to those of the coast of Chili, only having a little more mixture of the negro blood than the latter, on account of the great number of African slaves that have been imported here. The children I have taken notice of in Lima, are as healthy and sprightly, as any that are born in low latitudes; and

they have great care taken with their education. The people appeared to be as much refined as in any place I am acquainted with. There are persons of both sexes in Peru who have titles. I was acquainted with several of the title of Marquis and Marchioness, as well as a number of those of lesser titles. They were taking some measures to improve the militia, but they did not succeed very well. Among the different animals that I have had the opportunity of seeing here, there are not very many that are uncommon. The Guanacs is a native of Peru, and is numerous at this place. Several kinds of other quadrupeds have wool, some of which is finer than any I have ever seen. I had a hat that was made of the finer kind, which exceeded any I ever had. Other kinds of quadrupeds, which are common to other places, are likewise very common here.

The plains on which Lima stands are rich and fertile. It is beyond belief how many mule loads of grass they bring into the city in a day, to supply the cattle in Lima with, as they never make any hay. I was informed by a gentleman of veracity, that there were three thousand mule loads each day brought into the capital during the year. I do not vouch for the truth of it, but am satisfied they do not give any thing but grass for food to any of their cattle. As to curious birds, I never saw any here, and believe that there are not many to be found in this part of the world. Reptiles are not very plenty in this vicinity. It is not so famous for fish as the coast of Chili.

It is a great place of trade, and has a number of ships passing to and from the bay of Guiaquil, gulf of Panama and Spain, besides the great number already spoken of between the coast of Chili and this place. There is likewise much land transportation to and from the country. The seasons here are pretty much the same the year round, seldom very warm and never cold. It is very uncommon to have rain here, although the atmosphere is generally heavy laden with water. This is occasioned no doubt by the Cordelleras. The mountains evidently attract the moisture, as the clouds always hang heavy about them; yet I have seen it rain there moderately for nearly a whole day together; and at the same time it falls in torrents on the coast of Chili. The dews are generally so heavy as to water the earth sufficiently to make it fertile.

It is allowed that Lima enjoys as many of the bounties of nature as any place whatever, (the earthquakes excepted, which are a counter balance for a great many of their advantages.) The city was a great part of it shaken down previous to 1746. In the year 1687, according to record, it was almost entirely destroyed. A historian says, "they would be too happy if it were not for earthquakes, for the adjacent country is a perfect paradise; producing plenty of corn, wine, oil, sugar, flax, and fruit. The heat of the climate is constantly moderated by cool sea breezes, or the land winds from the mountains of the Andes. This city was founded by Pizarro the Spanish general who conquered Peru in 1534, and is by far the greatest mart in the Pacific Ocean on the American side, for all the merchandise of China and the East Indies, as well as Europe, and for the slave trade, as many of the inhabitants of Africa are imported and sold here."

At the different times that I have been at Lima I took out of prison nearly fifty English prisoners, or those that the Spanish considered as Englishmen, which included pretty much all foreigners. Amongst them was an English captain, whose ship was taken in the port of Valparaiso, and he was sent to Lima and confined. I got him out of prison on parole by giving my bond for 10,000 dollars for his good behaviour, and took him away with me. To let a captain of a ship out of prison and go home on his parole of honour is a thing that seldom or never happened before at Lima; but as I found favour in this city, I made the best use of it I could to relieve the distresses of my fellow creatures. This captain's name was James Bacon, a native of London. He got safe to England and wrote me a lettle expressing his sentiments on my conduct, as well as that of the government of Lima.

There was another English captain by the name of Rowe confined there at the same time for whom I was not able to obtain a parole, owing to some ignorance or oversight of a man who was too self-sufficient, and who pretended to be his friend. He neglected to get a necessary paper made out in season to send in with the petition that was presented, and which obtained the release of captain Bacon; but the affair was so arranged at the time, between the general of the marine and myself, that captain Rowe was soon after liberated on the same conditions as capt. Bacon was, by the friend-

ship and assistance of a Mr. Baxter, whom I left at Lima, and who was suparcargo of the ship Herkimer at the time I took captain Bacon away.

For the satisfaction of the reader I shall here insert the letter which I received from captain Bacon.

"*London December 29th*, 1807.

"HONOURED FRIEND,

"Having made repeated inquiry after your welfare, I have at last the pleasure to hear of your safe arrival home, which I am happy to be informed of, with the hope that you still retain your health, and that your voyage has exceeded your expectations. Dear sir, accept of the greatful acknowledgments of a friend for past favours, whereby your generous heart gave great assistance—liberty and hospitality to an unfortunate man—who would still have suffered and languished in a prison, had it not been for your kind supplication and attention. My friend, when I breathe my last, and not till then, be assured I shall not forget the obligation.

"I am sorry to inform you that we have not had any account of captains Richards, Moody, or Burns, since I saw you; [alluding to three English captains I left at Conception.] The boy Joseph has got safe home, he came with captain Le Breton. I shall ever acknowledge your kindness towards him. I hope he behaved well after my departure from yon, [refering to a brother in law of his that I took out of prison.] I should have been happy to have seen Mrs. * * * * * when I was in America; but coming by the way of New York I could not have that satisfaction. I do not know whether I shall go to sea again or not; but rest assured I consider the obligation I am under, both to you and the Spanish government; and if I make another voyage I shall myself get exchanged first, which will cancel the bond we both lie under. Captain Rowe was liberated on the same terms of parole as I was, and he

has got himself exchanged and is on another voyage. I have but little more to communicate; but that health and prosperity may attend you in all your undertakings, is the sincere wish of

"Your ever obliged,

JAMES BACON.

No. 4, Marygold-Street, London.

CAPTAIN AMASA DELANO.

On the 17th of November, 1805, I received on board the Perseverance from the ship Victor, a Spanish privateer of twenty four guns from Lima, being then at the Island of St. Maria's, five American prisoners, who had been taken off the Island of Massa Fuero by a Spanish ship of war, for trespassing on the Spanish regulations then existing. It being contrary to them to allow a foreigner to reside in any of their territories, on or near the coast of Chili or Peru. The captain of the Victor happened to be an acquaintance and friend of mine. He was the same man that captain Thomas Folger in the Vulture had the action with and captured when in the Spanish ship; an account of which has been given in page 291. This Spanish captain observed to me on our meeting at this place, that he would grant me any favour that I should ask, provided it was not inconsistent with his instructions; as his employers had given him orders to assist me, provided we should meet. As soon as I saw the Americans he had on board, I told him that these men belonged to Mr. Joel Root of New Haven in Connecticut, and that he was a friend of mine, who had together with captain Moultrop, commanding his ship, the Huron, supplied me when off the Islands of St. Ambrose and St. Felix, with such articles of provisions as I was very much in want of, and had treated me generously at a time when I stood in great need; to whom I had made a promise that I would recover their men if it were possible for me to effect it; and that if he would have the

goodness to let me have them, it would please me very much, on account of my gratitude to Mr. Root and captain Moultrop, as well as being peculiarly gratifing to my own feelings. He told me I should have them; and they accordingly were all sent on board my ship; I soon provided them an opportunity to go home on good wages, where they all arrived safe, as I have since been informed. They all belonged to New Haven or its vicinity.

I shall here make a few remarks upon the prisoners of war on the coast of Chili and Peru. Perhaps many may have read some accounts of the treatment they have received in time of war. The Spaniards are ever jealous of foreigners in that part of the world, on account of being robbed by them of their treasures, as well as other advantages taken of them, which have caused an excitement to use severity. They are not a very sympathising people, and feel very little for the suffering part of the community and that they have treated prisoners of war in general unfeelingly by keeping them confined in close, and many times unhealthy prisons cannot be denied; but of late it is not so bad, and I have reason to think what I have said and done in their favour in that part of the country has done some good. I have invariably used all the arguments in my power, whenever an opportunity offered, to have the miseries of the prisoners here alleviated as much as possible, and have used it with the prisoners likewise, admonishing them to behave with order and decorum so as not to make it absolutely necessary to treat them with rigor.

The prisoners that were delivered to me from the city of Lima, were taken out of jail with their hands tied behind them, and drove by the dragoons in the same manner that they drive hogs to the port. I have followed the prisoners who have been thus liberated several times, and as soon as they were outside the gate, I have often prevailed with the horsemen (by giving them a trifle) to untie their hands and let them walk at their ease. The provision made for them whilst in confinement was somtimes tolerably good, and at other times very bad: but a person who never saw a place where prisoners of war are confined in foreign countries, cannot judge of the hardships attending them. Some have been in a habit of exaggerating, and making it worse than it is; but it may be believed that it is bad enough to be confined within the walls of a

prison for years together, and not have the privelege of once breathing the fresh air in the whole course of that time.

Before I take leave of Lima, I shall mention a few more useful and interesting subjects, part of which I had from the best authority.

The lamas have been so often described both by naturalists and travellers, that I shall pass them over in silence, and only mention a few words about another animal of the same species, called the vicuna, which supplies the vicuna-wool; the animal is wild, and hunted down and killed for the sake of its wool by the Indians, who by their frequent havock amongst these animals will most probably destroy the whole race in Peru in a short time. Many of the intelligent natives assert, that the vicuna can be tamed and domesticated as well as the lamas; flocks gathered of the animal might open a new speculation to the cultivator, and afford great commercial benefits to the whole community.

In the viceroyalty of Peru, there are eight intendencies, viz. Lima, Farma, Fruvillo, Huamange, Cuzco, Arequipa, Guantajaga, and Huancavelica, which contained in the year 1791, sixty nine serviceable gold mines, seven hundred and eighty four silver mines, four of quicksilver, four of copper, and twelve of lead; at the same time, twenty nine gold and five hundred and eighty eight silver mines, by various accidents and casualties, had been rendered unserviceable.

During ten years from the first part of the year 1780 to the end of the year 1789, the above mines yielded thirty five thousand three hunded and fifty nine marks of gold, twenty two carrots fine, which are estimated at one hundred and twenty five piasters, and three million seven hundred and thirty nine thousand and sixty three marks of silver, at eight piasters, which make in value 34,337,978 Spanish dollars. In the year 1790, the silver mines yielded four hundred and twelve thousand, one hundred and seventeen marks of that metal; being an excess of thirty eight thousand one hundred and forty seven marks over the average produce of the ten foregoing years.

To give the reader an idea of the condition of the miners, and the internal economy of the mines, I shall here insert an extract of two letters, the first of which was addressed to the Academical

Society in Lima, from an individual of the above mentioned profession, who stiles himself Egerio Chrysoforo; both these letters were published in Lima. The first is to this effect. "Mexico has constantly flourished by her mines; while Peru can scarcely maintain herself by hers, notwithstanding they are richer and more numerous. This diversity of successes, in the same order of causes, proceeds solely from the different estimation in which the pursuit is held in each of these kingdoms. In Mexico, a merchant or an adventurer advances on the bare word of the miner, from fifty to a hundred piasters, towards the exploring of a mine, and receives without abandoning the speculation, the information that the vein has been missed. In Peru on the other hand an habilitador, (a speculator who advance money and other articles to the miners, and generally resides near a mine,) has scarcely advanced a sum of twelve piasters, if he can even be prevailed on to supply so much, and he wishes the miner and his mines to be ground in the mill, for the pulverization of the ores, to the end that the pina (silver after it has been freed from the mercury with which it was amalgamated without having been fused) may be secured to him, and his eventual profits ascertained.

"The enemies of the body of miners seek to justify themselves by the assertion that the individuals of that profession are in general cheats and impostors, from whom punctuality in the discharge of their debts is not to be expected. I do not deny but that in our corporation, as well as in all classes of which society is constituted, cheats and impostors are to be found; and that in despite of the vigilance of the supreme authority many improper persons have been admitted into the associated body of the miners.

"Among the apostles a Judas was found; but on that account the punishment due to the atrocity of his crime, was not inflicted on his brethren. It oftentimes happens, that the most upright miner is obliged in a manner to depart from the integrity of his principles. He cannot find protection when he speaks of his mine without exaggerating the advantages it presents. When he shews the ores, they are depreciated; and physical securities are required of him, when he can merely urge a probable prospect. Finally he is sensible that avarice dictates the succours which are afforded to him. It must be acknowledged that these are powerful temp-

tations to induce him to begin by exaggeration, and to conclude by falsehood.

"Relatively to the accusation brought against the miners of a want of punctuality in the discharge of their obligations, much is to be said. Nature at times enriches them; and at times they are oppressed by the cruelty of men. Among those who tirannize over them, the habilitadores, or money lenders, are the most conspicuous. In payment of the sums they have advanced, they receive the pina at the low rate of six piastres four reals, and occasionly at six piastres two reals, although in proportion to the price of the fused metal, it is worth seven piastres three reals; thus gaining eighteen per cent in the short space of three or four months, when the credit expires. They are notwithstanding loud in their complaints, if the miner is in arrears in the smallest degree. Furthermore, the latter requires, I shall suppose, two thousand piasters for the current expenses of his mine, and makes his arrangement accordingly with the habilitadore. In such a case the latter never supplies the whole sum at one time, but in small proportions, accompanied by fair promises. Thus it happens that the unfortunate minor is prevented from taking advantage of the seasons and opportunities in laying in his supply of necessaries. But this is not all; of the two thousand piastres I have mentioned, the whole is not paid in specie, but a great part in baize, and other commodities of a similar nature, charged at a very high rate. As the miner is under the necessity of distributing these commodities among his Indian labourers, the latter are by the debts they contract, frequently led to desert. He is thus not only defrauded but deprived of their valuable services.

"Finally, the reply to the too antecedent charges may be reduced to the following propositions. Whenever impossibilities shall no longer be expected from them, the conduct of the miners shall be more correct. Let them be treated with equity and candor and there will be few amongst them who will fail in the punctuality of their payments.

"With respect to the accusation of prodigality, it can only have been argued against us by those who confide in the assertions of the collectors, and obscure dealers in the produce of the mines. Men mounted on mules on which they have wearisome journeys

to perform over their grounds; eternally clad in a wretched poncho; habituated to a coarse and sparing diet; lodged in wretched huts; and unceasingly exposed to the inclemencies of the weather, in climes of unusual rigour;—men I say of this description are stiled prodigals, if they celebrate their saint's days with the harp and the guitar, or put on decent clothes when they pay a visit to the capital. The times are past when the flourishing and adventerous miner was wont to stake a bar of silver, of the value of a hundred marks, on the hazard of a die, and when the simple overseer entered the mine with a flute and violins. The passions which in the city absorb a capital, are gratified in a mine by a sack of potatoes, and a jacket of English baize."

Reply of Thicio Antropophobo: "I do not know whether I ought to announce myself, by saying I have the honour to be a miner, or whether I should pronounce, with all humility, I am a miner, craving your pardon. By the different degrees of estimation in which the world hold those of my profession, it would appear that the two phrases are equally appropriate. Not an opulent merchant is to be found who does not speak of us with the utmost contempt. The poor envy our lot, and the prospects which lie before us. The man of letters treats us as uncouth rustics. We are flattered by the courtier, and by the ladies. In Europe we are considered as the arbiters of the riches of the earth; while in America we are regarded as a species similar to that of the negroes at the mint, who sweat and grow old in coining for others, the gold and silver of which they are themselves denied the enjoyment. Amid so many contradictory judgments, I fancied that your society would pronounce a definitive opinion, so as at once to fix the true estimation in which we ought to be holden. I was persuaded that the miners would be covered with laurels and encomiums, by the means of your panegyrics. It appeared to me that you would load us with honours; and, in short, I entertained a thousand other ideas of the same description, of the futility of which I am now persuaded. I perceive, gentlemen, that, with a determination to have a pluck at our mantle, you set out by revealing our necessities, and endeavour to oblige us to obtain relief, encouragement, and wealth, by the rugged path of first exposing our miseries, and the deficiencies which are to be noticed in the fundamental princi-

ples of our association. The letter of Egerio Chrysaforo, which was published, has electrified my spirit. At first sight it appears to be a simple vindication of the miners, in whose favour it offers an emphatical apology; but being examined with more circumspection, it turns out to be a relation of their calamities, and a detail of the multiplied obstacles by which their progress is impeded. I, at least, suppose it to have been directed to such an aim; and on this supposition, I find in it a palpable defect, which I shall endeavour to demonstrate and supply in the best manner possible.

"Policy, or it may be fear, or self love, has occasioned Egerio to avoid the explanation of the sentence in his letter, in which he observes, that the miners are oppressed by the cruelty of men. The same principles may have inspired him with the idea of pointing out, as the cause of the backwardness of the miners in fulfilling their payments, the avarice and exactions of those by whom the advances are made. I, who have the satisfaction to address myself to a learned and unprejudiced body, such as that of the academical society of Lima, do not consider these reticences to be requisite. I am aware of the merit of Egerio's letter, and am free to confess that his complaints are well founded. They are, however, of a trivial description. The first principle, and most vital cause, of the little success which attends the working of the Peruvian mines, is the want of labourers, and the precarious system of labour which has been introduced.

"If it were necessary to have recourse to rhetoric, to prove this proposition, I should set out by an elegant exordium, describing, with every minuteness, the different operations, which the refining of the metallic substances requires. I should analize the degrees of heat and cold; the elevation of profundity; the nature of the works; and all the other circumstances, whether adverse or favourable, to which the labourer in the mine is subjected. I should venture my conjectures on the proportion of physical strength which is required for this task, and on those who are best qualified to discharge it with efficiency. But as, in this letter, I am to speak from my experience exclusively, on the testimony of that experience I assert, without hesitation, that Indians alone can be employed in the internal labours of the mines.

"This is my mode of thinking; and I shall proceed to adduce proofs in support of my assertion. It is beyond a doubt, that the advances made to the miners are the blood of their enterprizes. But what should we do with that fluid, if we were to want the arteries and veins by which it is vivified and made to circulate through every part of the body? Of what import is it that a miner has money in his hand, if those belonging to the labouring class flee from his possessions, or cannot be persuaded to work on them? Under similar circumstances, I think I see a skilful and valourous general, provided with ammunition, and entrenched in an advantageous position, but without soldiers. In such a case what is he to do? He is unquestionably either obliged to surrender to the enemy, or to take himself to flight.

"The negroes in Peru are absolutely unfit for the labours of the mines. A residence alone in the rigid climates of the mountainous territory, renders them even incapable of domestic service. Their complexions undergo a change, and becomes of an ashy paleness. The greater part of them fall sick and die. A thousnnd attempts have been made to employ negroes instead of Indians in the gold mines, even in the province of La Paz, &c. where the temperature of the air is warm and benign; but the results have been invariably fatal. Whether it be that the particles of antimony which float about the mines, operate more forcibly, and with a greater malignance, on the temperament of Africans; or that the mechanical labour of ascending and descending, with heavy loads by the orifices of the mines, is more painful to them; or, lastly, that this employment is repugnant both to their strength and inclination; it is certain that this class of individuals cannot be resorted to, when it is intended to people a mine.

"The Spaniards are as little qualified for this task. I have seen many robust young men, the greater part of them deserters from the sea-service, who being actuated either by necessity or by avarice, to apply themselves to the different labours of the mines; but who were in a short time forced to discontinue the pursuit, through a failure of their health and strength, and in consequence of the sufferings to which they had been exposed. A few years ago a Peruvian undertook to harbour and conceal deserters from the Spanish ships, and to send them to the mineral territory of Huaro-

chiri, where, by his directions, they were immediately lodged and engaged in the operations of the mines. Not one of them was able to exist for the space of four months; those who did not perish were forced to abandon their employment overwhelmed with diseases. The mestizos, whether through pride or for reason of physical impossibility, do not apply themselves to this painful career, in which, to conclude in one word, the Indians alone are able to maintain themselves. The Indian, I say, accustomed to the rigorous climes and bad qualities of the country in which the mines are generally situated, is alone calculated to work them. His arm is what we need, and in him consists the true prosperity of the miner's pursuit.

"I think I have proved my assertion, and thrown a new light on the letter of Egerio. In mine, it may have happened that the rules of logic have not been well observed, but it is within the comprehension of every one.

"I could wish that the sub-delegates would not allow idle and vagrant Indians in their provinces; and that those who after having been once solemnly admonished, should be found to have relapsed into an indolent mode of life, should be apprehended and sent to the mine territories. I could wish that those who supply the funds, should make their advances in specie, and not in commodities at an exorbitant price, to the end that the miners may be enabled to pay their labourers daily in current money, instead of reducing them to a kind of slavery by an opposite procedure. It is my ardent desire that the miners should be persuaded how truly it is a paralogism, an egregious mistake, to believe that the Indians are the children of rigour only, and rebels to kind treatment; and that they should, consequently, act with more humanity and charity, when the welfare of this unfortunate class of beings is concerned. Finally, if there be any mineral territories, in the case of which, neither the allurements of prompt payment and a progressive increase of stipend, nor a wise and courteous treatment combined with a benevolence which experience has confirmed, suffice to attract the Indians to the laborious operations of the mines, it is incumbent on the proprietors to submit to the determination of heaven, and to wait patiently for that epoch when a remedy for their

necessities may be fallen on, which may be compatible with the liberty and inclination of those by whom alone they can be efficaciously served."

The population of Lima is, according to a late enumeration, as follows:

Belonging to all the classes of the secular establishments	males	23,182	47,796.
	females	24,614	
Total of all religious votaries	males	991	1647.
	females	656	
Living in communities without having made the vows	males	1564	3184.
	females	1620	
Total of the population of Lima	males	25,737	52,627.
	females	26,890	

The civil communities are included in the preceding table of population.

The enumeration from which the above statement of the number of inhabitants of Lima is made, was taken in the year 1791, and from that period to the time I was there in 1806, there was probably a great increase, which will in some measure account for the difference between that and my own statement; besides which I have good reason to believe that many people of the lower classes are not included in the above enumeration. From the length of time that I was in Lima, and the opportunity I had to form a tolerable correct idea of its population, I am led to believe, that if all descriptions of inhabitants should be included, it will fall little short of one hundred thousand.

N. B. It becomes my duty here to apologise for a very important error which was passed over without being discovered until the sheet containing it was struck off. In page 490 it is stated, that the city of Lima contains *from seven hundred thousand to a million of inhabitants;* which ought to have been *from seventy to one hundred thousand.* I cannot account for this error in any other way than by its being copied from my minutes, where the numbers were written in figures, from which circumstance it may easily be perceived that a mistake of this kind might happen through carelessness in transcribing, the difference being only that of a cypher.

There are three colleges for male students, viz: the royal college of St. Charles, the college of Santo Foribio, and that of the Princes of the Caciques, these three contained two hundred and eleven individuals. There are also two colleges for females, viz. Dela Caridad, and the college of Santa Cruz for female orphans, containing sixty-six individuals. It contains three alms houses, viz. the Inclusa, for foundlings; the Spittal and the Retreat for poor women, containing one hundred and thirty-nine persons. Its hospitals are eleven, viz. St. Pedro for the clergy, St. Andrew for Spaniards, Espiritu Santo for seamen, St. Juan de Dios for convalescents, Bethlemites for ditto, Incurables, St. Lazarus, Spanish Charity, Camilas, St. Anne for Indians, and St. Bartholomew for merchants; containing about nine hundred and forty-seven individuals. It has three jails, that of the court, of the city, and of the inquisition, containing one hundred and eighty-one persons. In this enumeration are included all the officers, attendants, and slaves belonging to the respective institutions.

The following meteorological statement gives about a fair average of the temperature of Lima throughout the year, by Farenheit's thermometer at mid-day, in the open air and in the shade.

January, 77° 5′; February, 79°; March, 78°; April, 76°; May, 70°; June, 70°; July, 67°; August, 66°; September, 64° 5′; October, 68°; November, 70°; December, 73° 5′.

This statement will sufficiently serve to give the reader an adequate idea of the temperature, and is subject to but few exceptions; although it sometimes rises to 84° and falls to 62°, which is a variation of 22°, it is still thirty degrees above the freezing point.

Cock-fighting is a very favourite amusement of the inhabitants of Lima. There is a particular building erected for that diversion in the little square of Santa Catalina, near the walls of the city, surrounded by beautiful gardens and extensive prospects. The building itself forms a handsome ampitheatre of a regular shape, with ranges of seats and galleries. This amusement is permitted on Sundays and festivals, besides two working days in the week. On particular days this amusement draws a great concourse of people of all kinds, for the purpose of betting. In doubtful cases the decision is left to an appointed judge, who, with a party of military are always present to prevent disputes and quarrels.

There are several beautiful walks about Lima, which are much frequented; one of which is called the Alameda, and is mostly visited on Sundays, new-year days and other holidays. The multitude of coaches and calashes of different shapes and colours, and the neatness and elegance of the dresses, particularly those of the ladies, make a pleasant appearance. They have likewise frolicking parties, which commence on St. John's day, the 24th of June, and end at the close of September. These excursions are mostly to the hills near Lima, where they often pass several days.

The kingdom of Peru is bordered on the north side by the river Guayaquil, which divides it from the new kingdom of Granada; the depopulated territory of Atacama separates it on the south side from the kingdom of Chili; a large and horrible desert, of more than five hundred leagues extent, separates it on the east side from the provinces of Paraguay and Buenos Ayres, and by the Pacific Ocean on the west. Its extent from north to south is from four hundred and twenty to four hundred and fifty leagues, from two to nearly twenty-three degrees of south latitude; the greatest breadth from east to west is from one hundred to one hundred and twenty leagues. It has a chain of barren and rough irregular mountains, and many sandy plains, some of which are fifteen leagues in length, and five or six in breadth. These plains form a part of the sub-delegation of Parma, and are about forty leagues distance from Lima to the eastward, and run from the extremity of one coast to the other. All the vallies and plains, excluding the above mentioned sandy plains, are replete with cities and towns; are extremely fertile, and have a delightful climate. The elevated parts of the country are extremely cold, some of which are calculated to be fifteen thousand feet above the level of the Pacific, and several of the peaks and promontories are positively asserted to be above twenty thousand feet.

The Indians of Peru are in general quick of apprehension, penetrating, and very fond of study; the females exceed the men in the lighter branches of learning, and are remarkable for their wit and vivacity. The mestizos, or children of Spaniards and Indian women, chiefly apply themselves to the liberal arts and sciences, and make great progress both in painting and sculpture, considering that in the prosecution of their studies they are deprived of those

models which are deemed so requisite by the European student. The inhabitants are all lively, sociable, and polite; which, along with a good taste, seem to be the hereditary qualities of every Peruvian. The Indians are very well skilled in the use of medical herbs and plants, of which the country abounds; but are very fond of keeping their science a secret. Many people have left Lima after their physicians had given them over, and were cured by the Indians in the neighbourhood of that city.

The roads in the interior provinces of Peru are perhaps the worst on the whole globe. The passes are on the brinks of precipices, up steep ascents, and over stone quarries; but these are considered safe and convenient to pass, to those called barbacaos, or steps, consisting of cross poles fixed in the rocks, without any fastening, from one craggy point to another like a bridge, trembling and bending under the passenger. On one side of these is most commonly an inaccessible hill, on the other precipices of a league and a half extent, mostly terminating in rivers. A man passing over one of those tottering bridges the first time, must think it safer to navigate round Cape Horn than to travel from Huanuco to Cuzco.

The Indians of the mountains are clad different from those in and about the city; the first simply wearing a cotton shirt, reaching to their knees, but the latter add an outer garment. either of cotton, coarse baize, or a stuff made of flat straw, interwoven with thread, in the shape of a poncho. The women wear a long cotton gown reaching to their ancles, and a mantle of baize over their shoulders; on festivals and other occasions, they dress in imitation of the Spanish. The small pox makes the greatest havoc of any disease among them. It has struck so much terror to them, that when the slightest symptoms of it appear, they immediately disperse and flee into the mountains, and remain there until they are persuaded the disease has subsided. The Cholones Indians are rather inclined to corpulency, but are well made and industrious. Their chief occupations are agriculture, fishing and hunting, while their wives spin and weave, to clothe both husband and family. These Indians are remarkable for their economy, but are not very hospitable.

The Habitos Indians are not so corpulent, their wives are comelier and cleaner than those of the former, and are more liberal. These Indians are in general strangers to ambition, avarice, theft, and dissensions, but are much addicted to intemperance. Their diet chiefly consists of wild bears, monkies, salt fish, plaintains, mani, yucas, and wild fruits; their favourite drink is called massato; this beverage is made of boiled yucas reduced to a paste, and left to ferment for three days, then pouring water on it, it becomes a strong and intoxicating liquor. They likewise chew the leaves of a plant called coca, which they mix with a kind of chalk or white earth called manbi, this is very nourishing, and enables them to labour for entire days without eating or drinking; but when they can no longer procure it they feel their strength gradually exausting; it likewise preserves the teeth and fortifies the stomach. The Indians constantly bathe before sun rise, with a view of preserving their health, of which they are in some respects very careful.

The most beautiful and fertile place perhaps in the two Americas, is said to be the celebrated plain of Pampa del Sacramenta, it is three parts surrounded by branches of the Amazon river, which empties itself into the Atlantic ocean, and has communication with the principal parts of the three vice royalties; from this central situation might be carried on a most flourishing commerce with any part of the globe; it contains about eight thousand square leagues. The fertility of this plain is equal to its advantageous situation; it abounds with animals and melodious birds of the most beautiful colours, the rivers and streams that run through it afford plenty of rare and delicious fish, the sand of the banks of the rivers is mixed with grains of gold that has been washed down from the mountains, and is said to be the finest in South America, together with hard flints in which diamonds are found, and shells containing pearls, some of which are fished at the confluence of the river Mayabamba and are very large; among the fish the most remarkable is the sea cow, which generally weighs from eight to ten quintals. The tortoise is likewise very plentiful, more particularly on the banks of the river Ucayali, where the female frequents to lay her eggs, which often amount to two hundred. Insects and reptiles are numerous owing probably to the country's

not being cultivated. The most formidable among the reptiles is a snake called oazadoras, from the various stratagems it uses in attacking and surprising its prey; it is likewise reported that a small species of dog has been seen on the mountains and banks of the Huallaga, which illumine the country on the darkest nights with a light that it emits from its forehead, similar to the light of the glow worm, but is so shy that it conceals the light on the least noise. The forests abound in majectic trees, covered with the richest fruits and flowers. The places between the forests are but sparingly inhabited by the savage tribes of the Sipibos, Setebas, Rinos, and Casamas, who there enjoy the blessings nature has so amply provided for them.

The Indians throughout Peru believe in one supreme being, who, after he had finished the creation of the world, retired to some very distant place, and does not trouble himself much about them, only sometimes coming to see how many of them are still alive. They believe the earthquakes to be occasioned by his walking on the earth; for this reason as soon as they hear the least noise they cannot account for, they precipitately run out of their huts jumping and stamping about, crying as loud as they can, *here we are! here we are!* They likewise believe in a malicious being who lives in the center of the earth, and is the cause of all afflictions and misfortunes; many of the most cunning among them, make the rest believe they are the emissaries of this being, and are consulted on all particular occasions. The missionaries have found the Indians in general very docile, and by all accounts the christian religion is propagating very fast among them.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Departure from Lima—Description of the Lobos Islands—Gulph of Guayaquil—Tumbez—General Remarks on the Coast of Peru—Passage to the Gallipagos Islands—Sandwich Islands—Description of Wake's Island and Rocks—Arrival at Canton—Some observations on the different Embassies to the Emperor of China, and Manners and Customs of the people.

ON the 27th of March, 1806, we took our final leave of Lima, and steered our course to the northward, down the coast as far as the Lobos Islands. We saw no dangers, or any thing worthy of mentioning during the passage. The southern Lobos Island, which is called by the Spaniards Lobos de Mer, (dog of the sea) lies in latitude 6° 58′ south, longitude 80° 40′ west, as taken from the Naval Gazetteer, and I believe it correct, the latitude is our own. It has a good harbour on the north west side. If wishing to make this harbour it cannot be missed by keeping to the southward of the island, and running to the westward round its south end, then hauling to the northward until the bay opens, and beat into it and anchor in eighteen or twenty fathoms; but a look-out must be kept for a rock that lies in the northerly part of the bay, and has not more than eight feet of water on it. I have seen the sea break on this rock, which lies nearly between the two outer points of the bay on working in, but nearest to the north side; I consider it very dangerous if a ship should happen to strike on it. This harbour is very safe after being once in. It would be best to warp high into the bay if the ship lies any time, and anchor in fifteen fathoms. This island is divided by the inlet that forms the harbour, which the water goes through, and I think that it is deep enough for a ship to pass, but is too narrow. A ship should keep off from

the easterly part of the island as she passes, for I have seen it break in several places in that direction, when blowing fresh. There is a number of small islands and rocks lying in all directions round the large island; but I do not know of any dangers that I have not here mentioned, except what show themselves. There is plenty of good fish round this island; there are likewise eggs and some seal on it, which is all it affords.

The northern Lobos, or Lobos de Terre, (dog of the land,) is in latitude 6° 30′ south, and longitude 80° 48′ west from the Naval Gazetteer, which I think to be right. There are several kind of bays round this island that are good to anchor in, but the bottom is very foul. I think a bay on the very northerly part of the island is the best place to anchor; it is formed by a considerable long island to the west of it, which very nearly connects itself with Lobos de Terre. Its south end forms the south and west parts of the harbour, and it may always be known by a large rock, or small island, lying to the north east of it; and is the north extremity of this island. On wishing to anchor in this bay, the vessel must be worked well into the head of it, and then care must be taken to find the clearest place to moor the ship in. The bay is delightful, being smooth water and the beach level and pleasant; but the outer part of it is very foul ground, in which it must not be thought of letting an anchor go unless it be to prevent a ship from running on shore. This island is much larger than the other Lobos, and more level, and has not so many rocks and islets lying round it. It affords seals, eggs, and fish, and all other advantages that the other island does. There are two or three other anchoring places that are tolerably safe. One a little further to the south west than the first place described, which is just to the westward of the long narrow island. Its longest way is from north to south, and as before stated lies a little to the westward of where we lay. On the south side of Lobos de Terre is one or two little sand bays where vessels may anchor.

These islands lie about seven or eight leagues from the main land of Peru, and are always plain to be seen in clear weather. The native Indians go to these islands from the main to catch fish. They go over on what is called a cattamaran, which is formed by a number of large logs lashed together; being of a light kind of

wood, it swims very buoyant. These logs are from twenty to forty feet long, and from fifteen inches to two feet diameter; and secured by small spars lashed across, which keeps them a little distance apart. There is a crib work raised in the middle, four feet high, to secure the mast which are stepped in the bottom logs. There is also a short bowsprit rigged out at one end, and a large square sail a little narrowest at the head, which is set by means of a yard made fast to it, and the halyards attached to the yard one third of the distance from the end, the longest part of the yard above and abaft the mast; the foot of the sail being wider than the head; one corner, or the tack of it, is hauled down to the end of the bowsprit, and the other corner is hauled aft in the manner of a ship's main sheet. They are steered by means of large slabs that are put through between the logs, that hold the water like lee boards. In this kind of craft, they beat to windward for many degrees up, sail down the coast, and stretch off from the land sometimes thirty or forty miles. This is the principal craft that the Indians have to transport any thing by water with. They have likewise a skin which they fill with wind, on which they sometimes go off to catch fish. Two of these skins are fixed by lashing them together, and placing a small board acros them, on which they paddle off a mile or two, and catch fish quite comfortably; these are always called bollsys, and the large kind made of logs, are sometimes called by the same name. The Indians go over to the Lobos Islands at particular seasons in great numbers with their bollsys on a fishing trip, stay one or two weeks, and always behave with the greatest propriety and civility. They were very kind to me, and would often bring vegetables from the main. They were obliged to bring fresh water for their own use, as these islands do not afford any, or any kind of vegetable; all their surface being sand, sun burned rocks, and thousands of ship loads of bird's feces. There are here, as on many other islands, vast numbers of different kinds of oceanick birds, the most of which are fit for no other use but that of eggs and manure. There was one kind however, that I never saw before, which were an excellent eating bird; we called them razor-bills, as their bills resembled that instrument more than any thing I could compare them with; the upper part of it was seven or eight inches

long, the under one two inches shorter, shaped like a two edged sword, and the two edges when brought together, came exactly edge to edge, so that any thing could be held between them as well as with a pair of shears. At the upper part next the head, they are so shaped as to form a mouth like other birds. The colour of this bird is black, and are a sand bird. They are always in flocks, and are shy and not very plenty. They are as large as one of our teal.

The land is moderately elevated, having large plains of level white sand, on which the larger birds form rookeries, which to view with a spy glass at a distance had a pleasing appearance, and gave rise to a comparison that was made use of by our people ever after, viz. Bonaparte's and Suwarrow's armies. One kind of them are called boobies, and always keep together in rookeries. They have a very white breast and neck, and also round the fore part of its head, running round by the eyes. The back part of its head and back is black, which gives it a millitary appearance at a distance: these we called Bonaparte's army. The other kind were pelicans, extraordinarily large, which keep likewise together in rookeries, although the pelicans in general lay their eggs in nests on trees and in bushes; these we called Suwarrow's army. They move about, holding up their heads, making a droll and majestic appearance, sometimes in perfect order. The sight of them was very amusing, and helped to beguile a dull moment of anxious thoughts.

All the coast from Lima down to these islands is more sun-burnt and barren than that nearer the city, and has a white appearance whilst sailing by it, which ever denotes barrenness. The course is about north west by north, running along nearly a strait coast, keeping four or five leagues from the land, on account of a number of small islands that lie along the coast near the shore. To the northward of the Lobos Islands there makes off a point of land to the westward, as far as any land on the west coast of America, from its most extreme south cape to the latitude of 6° 40′ north. The nearest latitude of this point is 6° 10′ south. After passing it to the northward the land turns directly round to the eastward and forms a deep bay where there is some very small Indian settlements; but it is not a good place to anchor, or to procure any refreshments.

On passing to leeward another point makes its appearance out to the westward in latitude 5° 10′ south. Behind it to the northward stands the little town of Paita, in latitude 5° 00 south, on the south side of the bay, which sometimes affords supplies of fruit and vegetables; but not very plentifully, as all this coast is barren, not having much soil. On passing down to leeward the next projecting land to the westward lies in latitude 4° 40′ south, nearest, and after passing it the gulf of Guayaquil opens,which is a deep bay that makes in to the eastward fifteen or twenty leagues, and is two degrees wide from north to south, making into a river at the bottom of it, on which stands the town bearing the same name with the gulf. It is the first port for ship building on all the west side of America. It furnishes a great quantity of cocoa, and many other articles of produce for exportation. It is a growing country, as the rains begin hereabouts, on passing along the coast to the northward. The north side of the gulf is formed by a point of land that runs off to the westward a long way, and is called Point St. Helena. It lies in latitude about 2° 12′ south, and is the same latitude with the town of Guayaquil. The town and river of Tumbez lie on the south side of this gulf, but it is not much of a port for any kind of business, or any great place for refreshment. All the bay is like the rest of the coast safe as to navigation.

Before I take leave of the coast of Peru I will make a few general observations on it. The coast is generally very barren land, affording verdure only in patches, and fresh water is difficult to be obtained in most parts of it. It is very thinly inhabited in most places, and wood is likewise extremely scarce. There is enough salt to be found here to load all the ships in the world,which is found in mines to the northward of Lima. It is very convenient loading with it there, as a vessel can go in and get it on board without much labour. They cleave of large pieces from the side off the mine, which weigh many tons each; and it is commonly broken or hewed into square pieces, three feet long and one foot square, for convenience in handling, and to load on the backs of mules. It is sent several hundred miles into the country of Chili. I have seen them discharge many ships loads of it; and I never saw so handsome looking salt at any place that I have ever been. This is good

ground for whaling, as it is always pleasant weather, and on almost all parts of the coast whales are very plenty.

Before leaving the west coast of America, I will take the liberty here to remark, that having been in the port of Arica and other places on the north coast of Chili, the longitude of which is east of Boston; and by returning by the way of Canton and the Cape of Good Hope, the reader will readily perceive that we circumnavigated the globe twice during the performance of this voyage, which, together with my preceding voyage round Cape Horn, from thence to Canton, and home by the Cape of Good Hope, makes three times that I have been round the world.

On the 21st of June, 1806, we left the coast, taking our departure from cape or point St. Helena, and steered towards the Gallipagos Islands, where we arrived on the 27th. A particular description of these islands having been before given, as well as of the Sandwich Islands, I shall omit making any further remarks on either of them at this time, but merely mention them to show the course of our passage from the coast of Peru to Canton.

We sailed from the Gallipagos Islands on the 27th of July, after having fitted and provisioned the Pilgrim, with orders to remain another season, for the purpose of procuring a cargo of skins. She was left under the command of my brother Samuel, and with him my brother William as first officer, and twelve men. She remained on the coast until the 4th of September, 1807, during which time they experienced many hardships and privations; but they procured between twelve and thirteen thousand skins, with which they arrived safe at Canton, though some of the skins were damaged by being wet, in consequence of the schooner being upset while entering the China seas. After discharging the skins at Canton she was sold, and my brothers safely returned to Boston, after an absence of five years, during which long and tedious voyage they encountered many dangers and vicissitudes of fortune, and William was again upset on his return to America in the brig Peacock, off the Straits of Sunda.

The Pereseverance proceeded on her voyage towards Canton, and arrived at the Sandwich Islands on the 8th of September, where we took in fresh provisions and water, and sailed again on the 30th. There are several islets and rock, which lie directly in the track

of vessels bound from the Sandwich Islands to Canton, that are very dangerous if fallen in with in the night; two of which were discovered by captain Wake, and are called Wake's Island and Rocks. I did not fall in with them, but having received their latitude and longitude from a friend, I will here insert it for the information of those who may be bound on this voyage, although I do not hold myself accountable for its being correct. The latitude of Wake's Island is 19° 00′ north, and the longitude 193° 12′ west. Wake's Rocks are in latitude 17° 48′ north, and in longitude 186° 12′ west. I would caution every one making this passage, to pay due attention when coming near the latitudes and longitudes above mentioned, as there can be no doubt of these dangers lying somewhere near the place that they are described to be.

We arrived at Macao on the 10th of November, took a Chinese pilot and passport, and proceeded up to Canton. On going up we passed the English frigate Phæton, commanded by commodore Wood, with several other men of war under his command, moored below the Boge-a-tigris; we were boarded from the squadron, and treated politely; they offering us any assistance that we might be in want of. Shortly after my arrival at Canton, some misunderstanding took place between commodore Wood and the Americans at that place, which was in consequence of an American vessel passing the squadron with English deserters on board, and deceiving the commodore, (as he said) with false reports concerning them. This transaction caused much difficulty between the English commander and the Americans then at Canton, and several aggravating letters passed between commodore Wood and the American consul. The conduct of the Americans, in my opinion, was not very wise or judicious, as it is always a maxim with me not to engage in a quarrel without possessing some means whereby I could be able to redress myself when I had received an injury; but in this case there was no possible ground on which the Americans could maintain the position they had taken, as the English possessed the power if they had not the right on their side.

The Chinese empire is said by some to be the largest in the world, this however cannot be very well ascertained; but there is no doubt but that it contains the greatest number of inhabitants of any. When the Europeans first visited this

country, they were received by the Chinese with great kindness and hospitality, granting them every indulgence in the pursuits of commerce, which wasreasonable. They at first had full liberty to go where they pleased; but the strangers soon began to abuse this indulgence, and conduct themselves in such a manner, by taking liberties with their women, and other gross improprieties which a Chinese can never overlook, that the government were obliged to curtail their liberties and confine them to the port of Canton only, where they are permitted to reside for the express purpose of commerce. Foreigners are not admitted into the city of Canton; but are allowed the suburbs, to erect their factories and transact business.

There has been many speculative opinions and conjectures advanced by learned men concerning the origin of the Chinese nation; but I shall content myself with the belief that I know as much about it as as any of them, though I am ready to confess that my knowledge does not amount to but very little. I have often conversed with several Chinese, who were considered as men of information and credit, and have read many accounts of their origin; but all the information I have obtained, appeared to me to be so contradictory and unreasonable, that I cannot but view it all as fabulous, and set it down along with other wonderful accounts of the dark ages of the world.

China in modern times has been found to be foremost in the arts and sciences and in agriculture. It is one of the best regulated governments in the world. The laws are just, and are maintained with such strict impartiality, that the guilty seldom escape punishment, or the injured fail to obtain prompt justice. In punishing with death, there is no people on earth more scrupulous than they are. Under certain circumstances, if a man is accused of a crime by which his life is forfeited, he has the advantage of fifteen tribunals before he can be sentenced to death; but there is one law of China, which will be condemned by the people of countries where there is more freedom enjoyed; which is, that if a person kills another, the laws require that his life should be taken as the only atonement. There is no difference made between the killing with premeditated malice, or by accident, or through the influence of passion. For smaller crimes they are

not very ceremonious as to the punishment. Flogging is very common, and frequently very severe. Imprisonment is considered by them as an impolitic measure; for, say they, men are only made more wicked by confinement, and those that are free, have to work to maintain those that are in prison; and if people cannot be made to do right by flogging, let them be banished to the cold northern regions of China for life.

Merit is rewarded by the emperor of China, in some cases very liberally, and as far as I have been able to know generally, where it is deserved and he can be informed of the fact; but this is frequently very difficult, on account of the jealousy which exists among the officers, who are always envious at seeing others rise into notice with their sovereign, and this of course will keep them from letting him know of any thing that might tend to lessen their own importance.

Marriages are very much respected by the Chinese, and are celebrated by them with great solemnity. It is the custom of the country for every man to marry one woman who is his equal in rank, and one that his parents think suitable for him. "A man can have only one lawful wife, and her rank and age must be nearly equal to his own; but he may receive into his house, on certain conditions, several concubines or wives of the second rank, who are wholly subject to the lawful spouse. Their children are considered as hers, they address her as mother, and can give that title to her only." I have known some of the Chinese to have four or five wives, but it is uncommon for them to have more than one. The marriage is first contracted between the parents, when the likeness of the woman is shewn to the young man, and sometimes that of the man is sent to the woman; but the women do not have so much attention paid in this respect as the men, for there is seldom much difficulty in gaining the consent of the woman, if her parents approve of it. Neither the man or the woman ever see each other till after the marriage is consummated, and the wife is never permitted after marriage to see any man except her husband.

The last time I was in China, in 1806, the son of Conseequa, my hong-merchant, was married; in consequence of which I had the privilege, which is not common, of knowing how the court-

ship and marriage was conducted; as both the father and son were very intimate with, and friendly to me. The bridegroom was about twenty years old, and the bride seventeen or eighteen. Conseequa informed me that the father of the bride was a particular friend of his, and likewise well known to me; and that he was a man well disposed, and very generally esteemed in Canton; that he had fixed upon the marriage with his friend, and when the contract was drawn between them it took place, as soon as the parties were reconciled to have the nuptials celebrated. The bridegroom told me that he never saw his bride till after all the writings were signed by the parties, when he received her at his door; but that he had before had her likeness sent to him for his inspection, which he said was very handsome.

I have been often informed that it is not a common custom with the Chinese to put two wives into one house, as it is not agreeable to them to live together; and also that a Chinese man cannot have more than one wife, unless he gives satisfactory evidence that his circumstances enable him to maintain them. The customs of marrying their children at a very early age does not prevail in China, as it does among the Hindoos, who marry theirs when not more than five or six years old. The former permit their children to arrive at years of puberty before they are married, and make use of very different arguments on the subject from what are used by the latter; who say, that the male and female who are destined to pass their lives together as man and wife, cannot be too soon introduced to each other, and be made constant companions.

Having not before made mention of the marriage ceremonies among the Hindoos, and being considerably among them and having seen many of their customs and manners, besides being acquainted with the parents of several couples who were married while I was there; it may amuse the reader by giving some account of it. The marriage contract is concluded on by the parents, in the same manner as in China, excepting that the young couple are married at the age of five, six, or seven years, and are always allowed to see each other, or any other person, either before or after marriage. The ceremony of marriage is performed but once in a year, which I think is in June, as I was in Bombay in

that month, and saw it take place. The father of one of the parties was my circar, which gave me an excellent opportunity to get information on the subject. All parents who have sons or daughters that they wish to have married at each annual festival, make preparations for it by providing all the carriages they can procure for their relations and friends; and also young white cows, for the bride and bridegroom to ride upon; though cows of other colours are sometimes made use of for the purpose. They take great pains to have the bodies of the animal decorated, and gild their horns with gold. It will be recollected that the Gentoos worship these animals.

When the day arrives that the ceremony takes place, all is rejoicing and feasting; the brides and bridegrooms are seen riding on the backs of cows, with persons sitting behind them to take care that they do not fall off; and every coach in or near the town attending with all the splendid appearance they could make. At the time I saw the ceremony, there was not less than thirty or forty couples married, not one of whom was more than seven years of age. I was curious to know how these young couples conducted themselves after marriage, and on asking Nassa-Vanga-Monacha, my circar, or country merchant, was informed, that they were made acquainted, and instructed that they were to be friends to each other in preference to any one else; and that they were kept together frequently, at one or the other of their parents houses, and every pains were taken to cement a lasting friendship and good understanding between them; that they are never put under any restraint towards each other on the subject of love. The Gentoos hold that the sexes should be early accustomed to be together, as it will tend to habituate them to each others temper and manners, and will be more likely to cause them to live happily together, when they come to be of maturer age.

The funeral ceremonies in China are very solemn and splendid. Nothing is held more sacred with a Chinese than the death, the funeral obsequies, and the place of deposit of the remains of a parent. The mandarins that hold high offices expend large sums of money on such occasions. They make splendid feasts, and clothe a great number of people in white, which is the colour of their mourning; they form a column of people, of half a mile

in length, to attend the corpse to the grave, most of whom receive in a direct or indirect manner some present or consideration. Their tombs or places of interment are always chosen in places that are not public, and on land that is not fit for cultivation; it being a maxim with them not to occupy for any other purpose than agriculture, land that is capable of producing any kind of verdure. The tomb is shaped according to the fancy of the owner, though they are generally round; but sometimes square, sometimes oblong, and sometimes oval. Those that are round have an elevation in the center of the circle, raised two or three feet, being shaped like the top of an oven, and the door by which they enter them, are made in the same manner as that of an oven. The platform is twenty or thirty feet in diameter, with the floor level and smooth, and round the outside they are raised one or two feet. They are built with a cement of stone and lime mortar, and the outside covered with a coat of handsome white chenam, which gives them a very singular appearance, and attracts the attention of travellers. One tomb serves for a family for many ages, and they are scattered singly over all the barren grounds. There are several of them on Dean's Island, which forms one side of the river below Whampoa. Some of the mandarins and wealthy people have soil placed round their tombs, and trees planted which gives them a very pleasant, appearance.

Lord Macartney's famous embassy to China took place about the time I left there, in 1793, and the Endeavour, snow, one of the vessels which I was in on the voyage of survey and discovery with commodore McClure, having been sent with dispatches to the Yellow Sea, and remaining with the squadron during the continuance of the embassy, and the circumstance of my ascociating with the officers belonging to her when on our voyage of discovery, together with many other sources from which I obtained knowledge on the subject, gave me an opportunity to gain much information of the manner in which the embassy was conducted, and of the customs and manners of the people who inhabit the northern part of China.

After the news that this embassy was on their way was received in China, and was every day expected, orders were sent by the

emperor to all his sea ports, to supply them with every necessary that they might stand in need of, and to furnish them with pilots when wanted. They arrived on the coast of China, passed up the Yellow Sea, and proceeded to the nearest port to Pekin, that would admit large ships, when they took small water craft and proceeded up to that city. On their arrival there they found that the emperor had gone over the great Chinese wall into Tartary. The embassy then by permission followed, and paid their respects to him in Tartary; after which they all returned to Pekin together: an interesting account of which is given by Sir George Stanton.

Lord Macartney was received with great respect, and his presents were graciously received by the emperor; but I believe he did not obtain any one privilege to the English nation, that they did not enjoy before. He returned to Canton by the way of canals and land carriage.

My fellow officers informed me, that while the negotiation was going on, the ships were constantly crowded with all kinds of refreshments, and that when they were first boarded by the Chinese they received every attention from them that could be shown; and that the presents received by the different officers belonging to the embassy, were of immense value. That the natives of this part of China were of different complexions and manners from those in and near Canton; their colour being nearly white; and in their manners were much more free and candid; and that they were of a larger stature, and more athletic than the southern Chinese—they were much more sociable, and not so particular respecting their women being seen by the men. And were even fond of receiving the officers into their houses, when on shore, provided it could be done without the knowledge of the mandarins.

One or two years after the English sent their embassy to Pekin, the Dutch government sent one, and the persons appointed by them to conduct it came from Batavia to Canton, where they were joined by young Van Braam and Mr. Blatterman, two supercargoes at Canton. They were allowed to proceed to Pekin by land and by the canals. When I returned to Canton and Batavia on a succeeding voyage, being intimately acquainted with Van Braam

and Blatterman, they gave me a particular account of the Dutch embassy. Their statement was, that they left Canton in beautiful covered boats, and proceeded on through the canals. Some of the party would go on shore, and walk near the water whenever they chose, along by the side of the canal, while the others remained in the boats. When they came to a place where the canal did not carry them in the most direct course, or to where it was frozen, they left their boats and proceeded on horse-back. It was in the winter season when they made the journey, and the country of course did not appear to so much advantage as it would had it been in the summer. The mandarins, who accompanied them, indulged them in every thing they asked that was reasonable, and shewed them every curiosity worthy their attention, and that they seemed very desirous to please their guests. They told me that the face of the country and the canals, were exceedingly well described by Sir George Stanton; and that the greatest part of the country through which they passed was beautiful, and the land very fertile.

When the embassy arrived at Pekin great parade was made, and they were received with all the attention and politeness that could be shewn them. It was said in Canton, that there was more attention paid to the Dutch than there was to the English in their embassy, which was thought to be in consequence of the Dutch not asking any favours of them.

The account which they gave me of the northern Chinese, very nearly agreed with that which I had before received from my fellow officers, who were with Lord Macartney; that they were more hospitable, and more refined in their manners, than those inhabiting the southern parts of China. Their amusements in which they joined, consisted of a kind of theatrical performance, and skating on the ice. These theatrical performances I have frequently seen at Canton. They put boys into the skins of different animals, and sometimes dress them up with feathers, with the wings of birds attached to them, to make them resemble large birds, when they are introduced on the stage, where they perform very amusingly. I have seen lions, tygers and ostriches represented on a Chinese stage, which appeared nearly as natural as life. My Dutch friends informed me, that

while their embassy was at Pekin, parties were frequently formed to skate on the ice, in which the emperor always joined, and seemed to be much amused by the diversion. Of the Chinese who formed the parties for skating, some were archers, and performed some very extraordinary feats, both on their skates and with bows and arrows. One of the exploits which they performed on skates by shooting their arrows through hoops suspended in the air, was described to me in the following manner. They suspended hoops about the size of those on sugar hogsheads, from fifteen to forty feet high, by means of long poles, which were placed about twenty feet distance from each other, three or four in a line, so that an arrow correctly aimed would pass through all of them. These archers would pass the line of hoops on their skates with the greatest speed, and shoot their arrows with such correctness that it would pass through all the hoops. My friends, above alluded to, informed me that these and many other exploits which they performed on skates, exceeded any thing of the kind that they had ever seen in Holland, and it is well known that the Dutch in that country are great proficients in the art of skating. They were likewise entertained with Chinese musick and dancing. Their musick however is the most disagreeable to the ear of an American or European of any thing that can be conceived of.

The information that I obtained from my Dutch friends was the same as what I had from the English officers that I associated with, concerning the northern Chinese being more athletic than those in and near Canton, and likewise of the freedom of the women. All their accounts were much more favourable of the northern than of the southern Chinese. I likewise conversed with them upon the probable event of another embassy to China, when the English officers expressed it as their opinion, that at some future period an embassy from the English would succeed and obtain for their nation some privileges that they did not now enjoy; but my Dutch and Chinese friends were of a different opinion, asserting it as their belief that another embassy would never be received at the emperor's court.

It appears by late accounts, that the English have sent another embassy to China, and it is reported that they were not received, the truth of which however I know but little of; but from the

information that I have been able to obtain on the subject am led to believe that they have fixed upon a plan to force their way, and compel the Chinese to comply with their wishes. How far they will be able to succeed in this policy, I will not undertake to say; but consider myself at liberty to conjecture and form an opinion of my own. The Chinese would unquestionably shut their ports against all Europeans and Americans, and deprive them of all privileges of trade with them, were it not for fear of their disaffected subjects; such as the Ladroons (pirates) who have thousands of vessels of different descriptions that have infested their coasts of late years at particular seasons; and the merchants and others near Canton, who have been refractory for a considerable length of time; which is probably owing to their intercourse with foreigners, and catching some of their spirit of liberty and equality. Situated as they now are, taking all circumstances into view, I consider it very uncertain what course the emperor of China will take. If they overlook what the English have already done, and do not deprive them of their trade altogether, I think much greater privileges will be allowed to them, if not to all other nations, than has been granted for many years, as respects commerce; but should they shut all their ports against Europeans and Americans, the probability is that it would shake the Chinese empire to its center, and be likely to cause a revolution in their government.

The English possess great power in Asia, both by sea and land; and although they might not be able to make a successful attack, or take and hold any strong position in China at first; yet by joining with their disaffected subjects, and putting the government to great expense, and causing the nation to make extraordinary exertions, I think it would end in the dissolution of the present government of China; though they have it in their power to call to their assistance millions of Tartars who inhabit countries north of China, and who are a much more warlike people than the Chinese are; but time will determine how this difficulty will be settled.

It has been asserted by writers, and possibly may be believed by some people, that the Chinese women are in the habit of drowning a certain portion, say one third, of their female offspring in the rivers; but from the information that I have had on the subject, am fully convinced that it is not correct. I have frequently

conversed with very respectable Chinese merchants on the subject, who appeared to revolt at the idea, and denied it altogether. The story most probably has arisen from the circumstance of the lower class of women in the suburbs of Canton having children by European or American farhers, and have exposed them in this manner to conceal it from their countrymen. I have in two instances seen infants floating down the river when at Canton, and on viewing them was convinced that they were of this description.

There is one law of China, which I will here mention, though it may be well known to many. It is a fixed and unalterable law of the empire, that no foreign woman can be admitted into the country, on any account whatever. The consequence of a violation of this law I do not exactly know, but am led to believe that if they were caught there, they would be put to death. A circumstance once took place at Canton, an account of which I had from good authority and believe to be true, and I shall relate the story to show with what strictness they enforce this law, and their shrewdness in detecting any deception that may be attempted to be passed upon them.

The captain of an English ship took his wife with him to Canton, disguised in man's dress; and managed the business with such secrecy that not one on board the ship knew any thing of it; but considered her as a young man that was a passenger on board. While lying in Canton the captain invited several of the supercargoes with others to dine on board his ship, and his wife was introduced to them as a young English gentleman, who had come from Macao as a passenger. While sitting at dinner, it being very warm, she imprudently took off the handkerchief from her neck and threw open her shirt collar; when in the act of drinking, leaning her head back, something seemed to excite considerable surprise among the Chinese attendants, and caused much interesting conversation between them, which the English captain, being ignorant of their language, could not find out the cause of, till one of them, who was his friend, asked him to step out, when he told him that the person he had introduced as an English gentleman was a woman; and on the captain's expressing his surprise at the discovery, the Chinese told him that they were certain of

the fact, for she had no protuberance in her throat, (Adam's apple) which men always have and women do not; and that there must be something done with her immediately, or the mandarins, who had already been informed of it, would cut off her head. The English captain ordered his barge to be instantly manned and armed, and brought close along side of the ship; in the mean time contrived to have his wife leave the cabin when not observed by the company, and go into the gun-room, when he put her out of one of the ports into the boat, and they started for Macao, which is out of the Chinese jurisdiction. The mandarins in the two boats which were guarding the ship, immediately pursued them with all the haste they could possibly make; but the Englishmen by their superiority in rowing were enabled to escape, and arrived safe at Macao; although the mandarins followed them for forty or fifty miles down the river before they gave up the pursuit.

There may be many reasons assigned why the Chinese do not admit foreign women into their country; but there is one that appears to me to be the most reasonable, and from the information that I was able to obtain from them on the subject, am inclined to believe is the true cause; which is, that their natural jealousy of foreigners induces them to believe that by allowing women to come among them with the men, they would naturally propagate, and their children being born and brought up in the country and inured to the climate, might in time become so numerous as to be troublesome, if they did not subvert the government.

There is one custom among the Chinese, that heretofore I have omitted to mention, which is the remarkably small feet of their women, caused by putting on to them iron shoes when very young, which prevents their feet from growing. They are so crippled by this that it is with the greatest difficulty that they can walk. The first cause of this custom, I was told by the Chinese, arose from its being inflicted on the women as a punishment, on account of an attempt made by them in some early period of the nation to interfere with the affairs of government. It afterwards became a mark of honour among them, and remains so to the present day. None of their women except those who are of pure Chinese blood are permitted the honour of having small feet. It is not a

custom among the Tartar women, that reside within the Chinese empire.

Many more interesting things might be said of China, indeed a volume might be written on the subject that would be amusing; but the nature of this work will not admit going much into detail on any one topic, and I shall finish my remarks by saying, that China is one of the most fertile and beautiful countries on the globe. It affords the fruits and vegetables of almost all climates; abounds with most of the manufactures that are useful to mankind; is favoured with the greatest conveniences by water transportation of any country; and finally, is the first for greatness, riches, and grandeur, of any country ever known.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Departure from Canton—Cape of Good Hope—Cape town—Hottentots—Caffres—Manners of the Dutch Colonists—Constantia Wine—Lion's Rump—Wild Beasts—Return to America.

ON the 27th of January, we left Macao Roads on our homeward passage, by the way of the Cape off Good Hope, off which we were beating from the first to the 12th of May following, before we were round to the westward of the cape. On the latter date and in sight of Table Hill, we were spoken by the celebrated captain Sieur Coof, who has been so notorious in the East Indies, for privateering out of the Isle of France, during the French revolution. He was then from St. Maloes in France, and bound to the Isle of France in a fine fast sailing new ship, mounting twenty twelve pound cannon and had two hundred men. Having been previously acquainted with him in the Isle of France, I went on board his ship and spent several hours, and was treated very politely. He gave me the false information that England and America were at war with each other, and advised me by all means to avoid all English ports. This was undoubtedly his policy to prevent my informing the English of his cruising about in those parts. I accordingly run down for the coast of America in latitudes between 20° and 30° south, to avoid St. Helena. I was very much alarmed at the thought of being taken prisoner and lose all my property, after such a long and tedious voyage, and consequently used

every requisite precaution during the whole of this course. We frequently met with westerly winds, that lasted for many days together, which is very uncommon in these seas.

Before I take leave of the Cape of Good Hope and the coasts north and east of it, I will give some remarks which I made at several times when I visited it and the coast around it. The cape is an exceeding good place to procure refreshments on a passage either from or to India. A vessel must only anchor in Table Bay, or on the north west side of the cape, in the summer season, which lasts from October until April, as that harbour is quite open to the north and north west winds. These winds prevail in the winter season, which in these latitudes answers to our summer; and very strong gales frequently take place from those quarters. In the south east, or False Bay, there is always good anchoring to be obtained, by running up into a small bay called Seaman's Bay, which makes up quite to the head of False Bay, and is sheltered from the winds nearly all round the compass. This bay can be made with safety in clear weather and in the day time, by making the land to the westward of the bay in the winter, when the wind is from that quarter, which is generally the case throughout that season; but in summer the wind is from the south east three quarters of the time. The port afforded every sort of refreshment of the very best kind, and at very reasonable prices before the English took possession of it; since then the maintenance of a numerous garrison and supplying provisions for the navy, has contributed to make almost every thing very dear: yet the inhabitants of Cape Town seem throughout better fed and housed than is generally the case in seaports. Cape Town is very regularly built, the streets being strait and spacious; the houses are genteel, most of them being white-washed, with their doors painted green, and are generally two stories high, flat roofed, with an ornament in the centre of the front, and a platform before the door. The established religion is the Calvinistic, or reformed. The Lutherans have a church, likewise the Moravians, and there is also a Methodist chapel. The Malay Mahometans being refused a church, perform their worship in the stone-quarries at the head of Cape Town. There are eleven hundred and forty-five dwelling-houses in the town, occupied by five thousand and five hundred whites, and ten thousand blacks.

The whole colony is estimated at twenty-two thousand Christians, who chiefly consist of Dutch, and have settled the country from six to eight hundred miles back of the cape. The native Hottentots are mostly domesticated, and are chiefly servants to the Dutch. The citadel, which is at present called the Castle of Cape Town, is a regular pentagon fort, with two ravelins, and outworks surrounded by a wet ditch; but is itself commanded by a rising ground, regularly sloped to the Devil's Hill. The English have since their possession of it, filled the entire space of this slope with redoubts, batteries, and block-houses, up to the perpendicular side of the Devil's Hill, beside many other improvements, by which the place is rendered very strong. A small battery commands the entrance of the bay, called the Mouille, and a bastion runs along the water's edge, within which are the powder-houses, ammunition, and other military store houses. The inhabitants are in general an idle and ignorant set of men, very gross in their manners and behaviour; and books are very seldom a pa t of their household furniture. I do not wish by this assertion to be thought partial; for although this is the general trait of the inhabitants of this colony, yet there ate many among them who would be an honour to any nation whatever. The inhabitants are composed of Europeans, mostly Dutch, Hottentots, Malays, and other natives of the East Indies. The proportion of slaves of both sexes to whites is two to one, but male slaves to male whites are five to one. The Dutch prefer the Malays and Caffres to the Hottentots for their service, which must arise from some unaccountable prejudice, as the two former are inferior in talents, and more capricious, cruel and revengeful than the latter. The free coloured people of the town are chiefly mechanics and fishermen, and are industrious, and support their families very comfortably. The Dutch inhabitants are very fond of dealing, and auctioneering appears to me to be carried on there by way of amusement. A person will buy in the morning, and put up the same article for sale in the afternoon, a great many of them spending their time sauntering from one public sale to another. The Dutch have retained their native fondness for gardening, and have transplanted almost every species of the fruit trees of Europe and the East Indies to the vicinity of the cape, with considerable success. As the climate is mild in the

winter, there seldom being any frost, the most they have to fear is the sultry outh east winds in the summer, which parches the soil and blasts all the leaves and fruit of the trees; to prevent which they plant oak fences round their vineyards, gardens and plantations. During the periodical winds the town seems to be abandoned, all the doors and windows being shut to keep out the particles of dust and gravel, which fly in suffocating clouds sometimes for twenty-four hours together, until they are all blown out to sea. These winds are likewise very detrimental to both man and animal; they weaken both body and mind, and deaden the power of energy and activity. The temperature of the climate being thus influenced by the winds, is very unequal. In the winter it rains in torrents, and in summer there is scarcely a shower to refresh the earth. An English officer remarked that the people who inhabited the vallies about Table Bay, "were either in an oven, or at the funnel of a pair of bellows, or under a water spout." The almond trees grow here in the most barren soils, and are reckoned very good; tobacco that is planted here, if properly prepared, would fall little short in goodness to that of Virginia. All the male inhabitants of every station, and almost every age smoke, for which reason the American tobacco is very dear, that of their own growth being only used by the most inferior classes of men. The colony is divided into four classes, namely, the people of Cape Town who are chiefly in the commercial line; the vine cultivators, who are of French extraction, (that nation having first introduced the vine at the cape,) this class has the best estates and houses; the grain farmer and the grazier. The two latter are called boors, and are a wretched set of slothful, indolent men, living in miserable hovels, one apartment being often occupied by the family, cattle and Hottentot servants, and serving at the same time for parlour, kitchen and stable. The boors themselves will not work any more than they can possibly help, but are very fond of hunting, and are generally attended by Hottentot boys to carry their muskets, in the capacity of squires, as the master boors are too lazy to carry any thing themselves, and wish to enjoy their pipes on the way. The women are great drudges, as all the domestic concerns are entirely left to them, but are very far from being neat and clean, either in their persons or households. The inferior kind of wine at the cape is but very indifferent

and unpleasant to the palate; but one sort called the Constantia wine, is not inferior for richness to any wine whatever. There is only one spot of ground which produces it. Several attemps have been made to transplant it, but to no purpose, for it lost that flavour for which it is celebrated, on every spot of ground that it has been removed to. They have all kinds of quadrupeds. The black cattle are very good; and the sheep are remarkable for the size of their tails, one of which will commonly weigh seven or eight pounds. I have seen boys of seven or eight years of age riding on their backs, four or five in a company: these droll cavalcades used to remind me of our country farmers riding to a town meeting. I was told this breed had been very good, but that the English had introduced the common kind among them shortly after they first took possession of the cape, during the last wars, which must have contaminated the breed, for I found the mutton to be coarse, and rather ill flavoured than otherwise, and the wool of an inferior quality. They use the skins chiefly to clothe their Hottentot and Malay slaves with. The town carries on some small trade with the inhabitants along the coast to the eastward and northward of the cape, though but very inconsiderable, as the natives in the vicinity of the town have but very few articles of traffic, and are savage and treacherous. They have plenty of fish about the cape, at a little distance off the coast. The whales that have been caught on this coast, were all females of a small kind, yielding from six to ten tons of oil each; the bone is small, and consequently not worth much. The trade of the cape consists, beside refreshments, in the exportation of dried fruits, ostrich feathers, skins of wild beasts and some ivory. This article has become rather scarce at the cape, as the elephants have been so hunted down within the limits of the colony, that there are but few remaining; and the sea-cow, by some called the hippopotamus, the teeth of which is the best ivory, is still more scarce. The people are very much in want of some of that enterprising spirit which signalizes the northern mercantile nations, to enable them to benefit by the many advantages which nature has given them. Education is very much neglected, as neither the civil nor ecclesiastical funds have as yet been sufficient to afford a public school. The lower class are destitute of any instruction, and the higher class send their children to be educated in Europe. Their

amusements consist generally in eating, drinking and smoking, and sometimes dancing and riding. They have been pretty free from taxes or assessments. On their first settling a tax was introduced, called the lion and tyger money, to pay the expenses of hunting down those animals, who were at that time very obnoxious neighbours, harrassing their flocks, and used frequently to come into the town at night and endanger the lives of the people; but since these animals have become scarce, the money is allotted for the building of streets, roads and public edifices. The boors, even from the most distant parts of the colony, generally visit the town once in a year to settle their business with their agents, and buy a supply of goods to serve them until their next visit. The Jews, who are numerous in the town, make a good business of taking the advantage of the credulity and stupidity of the boors, and often cheat them in the most bare faced manner. The inhabitants of Cape Town are very courteous and hospitable to strangers, especially to English or Americans, for whom they evince a great partiality. I have made several excursions with ladies and gentlemen of Cape Town, who never failed in making their society very agreeable, and shewing every advantage their vicinity afforded, especially their gardens, which were elegantly planned, and filled with the handsomest and most curious shrubs and flowers, and the choicest fruits, not even omitting the pine apple.

One of the most remarkable of my excursions was round the mountain called the Lion's Rump, in a waggon with two horses, by a road that runs parallel with the shore, in a south and west direction, and skirting round the mountain almost to the summit of it. Whilst proceeding up this serpentine ascent, I sometimes calculated myself to be a thousand feet above the level of the sea, which appeared to be directly beneath us, and that if we were to slip, we would seemingly have tumbled into it without stopping. In this manner the Dutch driver jolted us along, sometimes on the very brink of the mountain, and sometimes through openings cut through the rocks, several yards into the side of the mountain, like a platform, open on the outside. When we had ascended as high as we wished, I was extremely gratified by the extensive and majestic prospect of the ocean and the adjacent country, which appeared to the best advantage, and seemed more like a chart laid out under

my feet than reality. I could not help shuddering on looking down the steep road we had ascended, which appeared to be narrower and narrower, and towards the bottom to lose itself on the the side of a steep precipice. After spending some time in contemplating this sublime and awful scene, we made preparations to return to town. Down some of the descents the waggon would roll with great swiftness in spite of the exertions of the horses to prevent it, jolting at an incredible rate. Not being used to this species of riding, I got very uneasy, and told the driver to desist, as I would get out and walk; but he would occasionally tell me by way of comfort, that we had not yet come to the worst places. At last I got out of the waggon for fear of being thrown down the hill. The Dutchman then fastened the wheels with chains so that they could not turn round, and let the waggon slide slowly down the steepest parts, whilst I followed on foot; but I confess that this road was apparently the most dangerous I ever rode over. The Lion's Rump is so called from its resemblance to that part of this animal when lying down, and is a mountain of considerable elevation, and serves as a land mark to make the harbour by.

Excursions into the most distant parts of the colony, into Caffre Land, and the part of the country inhabited by the Bosjesmans, are the greatest felicities of the Dutch peasantry; to accomplish which they are at considerable expense to procure waggons sufficiently strong, and stout oxen, to cross the deserts, ford rivers, and go through all the fatigues of travelling the most wild parts of the country; their ambition consisting chiefly in having visited the most unfrequented places. The brutality with which they use their oxen on some occasions is unparalleled even in the most uncivilized nations; on ascending steep ascents, or when the wheels of the waggon is sunk in mud, or between fragments of rocks, if the oxen do not immediately extricate them, the savage and impatient boor deliberately takes out his knife and slashes away on the flanks and hind legs of the beasts, cutting scars of seven inches in length, laying almost all the ribs bare, until the poor animals, in convulsive agonies, start the waggon and proceed on their way, where many of them drop down dead, after having for three or four hours marked their tracks with blood; those that recover retain the scars of almost every cut they have received. This brutality is evident

on all their team oxen. Some even boast of their being able to start their oxen by only whetting their knives on the wheels, their cattle having so frequently experienced this brutal practice. A boor was recently displaying this experiment to some company he had in his waggon, the beasts started on hearing the knife clashing against the edge of the wheel and overturned them; one of the company had a leg broke, which unfortunately happened not to be the owner of the team. The dangers and difficulties of the roads even in the most frequented parts of the colony are but very little attended to; every one getting over them as well as he can, without troubling himself any further until he meets with them again, and never once thinks of making any improvements. This alone will show how little they think of public benefits and conveniences. They have among them other singularities; one in passing the river Breede, which is in its kind truly original. This is done by means of a flat bottomed tub about as large as a household bathing machine, which will hold no more than one passenger at a time, who pulls himself over by a rope fastened to two poles, one on each side of the river, tying the bridle of his horse to the stern of the tub. By this means they are often half a day occupied in ferrying their cattle and baggage over a small river of thirty or forty yards width, which with a few planks they might safely pass in five minutes.

The Hottentots, though very low in the scale of humanity, have often been misrepresented, and made worse than they really are. They are a mild, quiet and timid people, perfectly harmless, and though very phlegmatic, they are very affectionate to each other, and not incapable of strong attachments. They have little of the kind of art and cunning that most savage nations possess, and their indolence seems to be a disease, of which terror alone can cure them. Though they are very great gluttons, they stand hunger with patience; and when they cannot procure victuals they console themselves by sleeping, of which they are passionately fond. The external appearance of the Hottentots is far from being prepossessing; their faces are very ugly, having high prominent cheek bones, and a narrow pointed chin, forming a triangle. Their eyes are long and narrow, at a great distance apart; and their eye-lids, instead of forming an angle at the extremity next the nose like

Europeans, are rounded into one another like the Chinese. Their colour is a yellowish brown, similar to that of a faded leaf; their teeth are very white, but their hair is of a very singular kind, growing irregularly in lumps on the head, and when cut short is not unlike a hard shoe brush; but when allowed to grow it twists into small curls, and hangs like coarse fringe down their necks. The rest of their bodies are well proportioned and slender; their feet and hands small. They have, when young, a weak and effeminate appearance, but grow old very soon. It is seldom the case that a Hottentot lives to the age of sixty. They are almost all within the district of the colony in the service of the Dutch peasantry, who in the remote parts use them in the most barbarous manner, flogging them most brutally with thongs of hides, and firing small shot into their legs and thighs on the most trivial occasions. Nor is it unfrequent that the boor punishes a Hottentot with death when enraged. Some have a very ridiculous manner of punishing them, by flogging not by the number of strokes, but by time, reckoning as many pipes of tobacco as he deems the crime deserves, which he deliberately smokes whilst inflicting the punishment. Those that hire themselves out from year to year as labourers, are not much better situated than those in actual servitude. Their salary is very pitiful, consisting in an ox or a dozen of sheep, of about six or eight dollars value for the whole year; and this trifle is detained from them on the most frivolous occasions. If an ox or a sheep is missing the Hottentot must replace them, and dares not leave the service until he has earned the value of it; and frequently a bill of tobacco or brandy is brought against him to the whole amount of his income. This treatment most naturally contributes in a great measure to their depopulation. Their marriages are scarce, and seldom produce more than two or three children, and many of their women are barren; and probably the time is not very distant when this wretched and oppressed tribe will be totally extinct. I was told that they are very voracious. After the animal they fix upon is slain, they cut it up into large steaks, into which they place the edge of their knife and cut in a spiral manner to the centre, producing strings of meat two or three yards long, which they coil up and broil on the ashes, this at the same time serves in lieu of salt. When the meat is hardly warmed through, each takes a

string in both hands, and soon gets through a yard of flesh. In this manner it is not unfrequent for ten of them to devour a middling sized ox, and after the meal highly improve the polish of their skin by wiping their hands on their bodies These frequent greasy baths, together with the dust and dirt they gather, at length covers the body with a thick coating of black, which entirely hides the real colour of the skin. The young peasantry very frequently make free with the Hottentot women; these illicit connexions have produced a very numerous and strong set of men called bastards. These are not ill featured, are active and industrious, and generally good drivers.

The Bosjessmen are very much like the Hottentots, excepting that they are more active and alert both in mind and body, and not so much inclined to idleness. Although they are in continual dread of being surprised and taken by the peasants, they are cheerful and lively, often spending their nights in dancing, and keeping close in their huts in the day time. They neither cultivate the ground or keep cattle, but show great sagacity in their manner of catching game. This they effect by digging pits and covering them over with small sticks and bushes, piling stones on each side of these traps, and place sticks, with black ostrich feathers in rows, to hinder the game from going any way than the one leading to the pit. The Dutch are greatly prejudiced against them; the name of Bosgessman seems universally to excite disagreeable sensations, and is the terror of the women and children. A peasant talks as coolly of shooting a couple of Bosjessmen as he would of a pair of partridges. I have heard them repeatedly boast of having shot many of them. These wretched creatures, when oppressed by hunger, sally forth in bodies, and at the peril of their lives, seize cattle to supply the wants of their little families, and often fight most courageously with poisoned arrows and darts, as they know if they are taken, they are put to death without judge or jury, whether guilty or not. Their plundering expeditions are conducted with regularity; they divide themselves into two parties, one to seize the cattle and the other to harrass the pursuers; and if the latter party is defeated, the former pierce as many of the cattle as they can get at with their spears and arrows. Both Hottentots and Bosjessmen are, like other savages, remarkably quick

sighted in discovering game or any thing at a distance. This may arise from continual practice, as the experienced seaman will observe and even distinguish a sail long before a passenger can see any thing of it.

The Caffres are very different from their neighbours both in colour and manners. They are of a glossy brown, verging on black, their face and head are as well proportioned as an European's; only they have thick lips and flat noses, and are a species of negroes. The men are tall, athletic and manly in their appearance, with open good natured countenances, indicating their being strangers to suspicion and treachery. Their women are shorter and stouter than the young female Hottentots, and not so delicately formed; but their lively and good natured faces, and sprightly manners make them by far the most agreeable. The people are warlike and industrious, and manufacture all their arms and utensils themselves, and even smaller articles; such as beads and trinkets, that would not disgrace an European market. They are very much attached to their cattle and dogs, with whom they converse very affectionately; these in their turn are very much attached to their respective owners. Their dress is similar to that of the Hottentots, consisting only of a skin hung over their shoulders, and some trifling ornaments, with a narrow belt, generally of a jackall skin; the women only wearing, beside a calf skin over their shoulders, an apron of about nine inches long and four or five broad, which is always adorned in their grandest manner, with brass buttons and trinkets; and on their heads they wear close leather caps, which they take great pains to decorate with buckles, shells and buttons. The men paint their faces with red ochre, and tattoo their skins. They are good hunters; but what is most singular, that though they inhabit the sea coast, they have not the least idea of building canoes or rafts for fishing or trade.

In 1796 a vessel from India was cast away on a part of the coast occupied by the colonists. The peasantry from all the neighbouring parts flocked to the wreck, not to assist the unfortunate sufferers, but to plunder every thing they could get on shore; and it is a fact that they even killed one of their own party who was striving to save a few things for the captain and officers.

In June, 1797, an American ship run ashore on the coast of Caffra. When the crew and passengers, about sixty in number, got on shore, they were surrounded by the Caffres, and expected every minute to be slaughtered by these savages; when, to their great astonishment, they gave orders for an ox to be roasted and distributed among the sufferers. But the Caffres could not withstand the temptation of cutting off their metal buttons, which they did without much ceremony. They then conducted them to the houses of the colonists, and never touched any of the rest of their property except a just demand of five rix dollars from the captain for their trouble, and an equal sum from each of the crew. It would be an object greatly to be wished that some of the more civilized inhabitants of sea coasts would follow this example of the Caffres; yet their generosity is not to be trusted any more than other savages. When I was in India I saw an account of the ship Grosvenor, that was wrecked on this coast on her return from India. She split on a rock, and the greatest part of the crew and passengers got on shore; among the latter were several ladies of distinction, who were returning to England. The Caffres stripped them of almost every thing they had on after some resistance from the crew, who were soon overpowered and cut to pieces by the Caffres, excepting four or five, who after many difficulties and dangers got to the cape, where they related the particulars of that unhappy circumstance. They said the ladies had tried to conceal their jewels in their hair, but the Caffres soon found out this stratagem, and cut every lock of their hair off; and after stripping them naked, dragged them off with them, probably to their kraals or villages, where they kept them to cohabit with. This usage to ladies of delicate feelings, and educated so tenderly as they most certainly were, excited general compassion. Several waggons were fitted out from the cape to go in search of them, but all their inquiries and searches were in vain, for they were never after heard of. I have since heard that about fifteen years after the Grosvenor's shipwreck, several grown up mulatto boys had been seen about that coast, and it was strongly conjectured that these lads were sons to the above mentioned ladies by their Caffre gallants.

I have seen many wild beasts at the cape, such as lions, tygers, leopards, zebras, and several different species of the antelope, and

many others of inferior kind. I am told that the lion will single out a Hottentot from among a lot of people, and will follow him with the greatest ferocity, which may probably arise from the Hottentot's being naked, and the rest encumbered with clothes. Next to a Hottentot he is fondest of a horse; but sheep, because as I suppose he does not like the trouble of taking off its wool, he never condescends to put his paws on. The elephant, the largest and most docile of the quadrupeds, was once very numerous, but now they are very scarce within the limits of the colony. They generally keep in droves, each having its female to which they are very much attached. When a male or female is killed or taken, its companion becomes mournful, and even comfortless; it leaves the drove and rambles about by itself, and often dies of grief. These animals are chiefly caught in pits, covered with branches, and some of their favourite fruits or leaves placed in the center to entice them to walk over and fall into the pit. By this means they become a less dangerous game than by hunting them, which has often proved fatal to the hunters; for as soon as one is wounded, it faces round and furiously strikes about with its trunk, and though clumsy in appearance, is considerably active. They can likewise be taken by stratagem and domesticated, by letting a tame female go among a drove of wild ones. She will seldom fail of coaxing a male back with her to her stable, in which the visitor is immediately secured, and reduced by hunger to obedience.

When I was at the cape in 1795, the Dutch were making preparations to defend the place in case of an attack, and ordered the militia from all parts of the colony to the town, to perform evolutions, and to keep in readiness in case their services should be wanting; and after a short stay in and about the town, they retired and made room for other corps to go through the same process. This militia consisted chiefly of cavalry, some of which were from the utmost limits of the colony, and both men and horses made the most droll and ridiculous appearance that can be imagined. Those who have seen the picture of the celebrated Hudibras on horseback, have seen a complete likeness of a Cape of Good Hope light horseman. Through the medium of these people I learned more of the character of the Bosjessmen and Caffres, and got more information respecting the interior of the country from them, than

from any other source. They likewise gave several curious details of their different ways of hunting wild beasts. Their method of hunting the lion seemed to show the most prowess of any. Three of them on horseback, armed with muskets, sally out in quest of a lion, and choose as open a part of the country as possible for the scene of action. As soon as they get sight of one of these animals, they separate to a certain distance from each other; then the one nearest the animal dismounts and fires his piece, with as good an aim as he possibly can take, and immediately remounts his horse, and is furiously pursued by the animal; the second dismounts and fires, on which the first is relieved, as the animal always pursues the one that has the last shot at him; the third relieves the second, by which the first has time to reload his piece and relieve the third. In this manner they harrass the lion until he is at last covered with wounds; when exhausted by the loss of blood and his own ineffectual fury, he submits to his fate, and his skin is carried in triumph to the plantation. But this recital may be subject to some exaggeration, as nothing terrifies a horse more than a lion; for the former will fly through fire and water on hearing them roar, even at a distance. Whether these peasant's horses can be trained up to this method of hunting or not, I shall leave to the decision of those that are more acquainted with the subject than myself. The lion is the most lazy of all the beasts of prey, which is a fortunate circumstance for both Hottentots and peasants, as he will never give himself the trouble of pursuing his prey except he is pressed by hunger. There are still many of them in different parts of the colony, and for all their reputed generosity in not attacking a sleeping person, are very treacherous: lying in ambush like other beasts of prey, until his victim is near enough for his majesty to leap conveniently upon. The peasants frequently catch them with trap guns. They say the lion often fights with the buffaloe, and is generally victorious. This he effects by lying in ambush, and when he sees fit, leaps at the buffaloe, fixing one paw at its throat, and the other on its forehead, and turning the buffaloe's head, pins it fast with its own horns to the ground, and keeps him there until he bleeds to death.

I visited the vineyard of Constantia in one of my excursions into the country, and was very much delighted with the neatness and

elegance of the buildings, and the manner the lands were laid out, both for utility and pleasure. The vintners had all the appearance of opulence, were polite and hospitable, and knew better how to enjoy life than their fellow colonists, the grain farmers and graziers. I drank of the wine on the spot, and found it the most exquisite I had ever tasted. It is of an oily nature, so rich that more than one or two glasses would satiate, and can only be used sparingly as a choice liquor, and not as a beverage. This plantation, as I have remarked before, is celebrated all over the world for its wines, which is equalled in flavour by none whatever.

Wood is very scarce in the vicinity of Cape Town. Some families have two or three slaves constantly employed in gathering faggots for the kitchen, which is the only fire they keep in the house. This method, or buying it by cart loads, is equally expensive, and will amount in a moderate family from a hundred to a hundred and fifty dollars annually. But in the interior there are many useful sorts of wood and timber, growing in extensive forests; but it is very dear on account of the difficulty and expense of the land carriage. I will mention a few kinds, with their colonial names and qualities, for the benefit of those who might wish to make repairs at the cape. The autincequas geel-hout is not unlike deal, and grows from twenty to fifty feet without a branch, ten feet in diameter, and is very good for beams and planks. The zwart-yzer-hout and wit-yzer-hout are very hard, and are used chiefly for axles of wheels, ploughs, &c. The Hottentot's bourbonge is a species of lignum vitæ, but not applicable to the same purposes as that wood. The niest-hout is very hard, and stands water remarkably well. Wit-essen is close and soft, and is recommended for planks in boat building. Keur-hout and witte-hout are light and soft, and good for spars, rafters, &c. Roode-ells stands water well, and is commonly used in mill works. There are also buckan-hout, dann-hout, wit-peer, rood-peer, olyven-hout, hart-peer, and zwarte-hout, all of which are hard and tough, and are used for waggon wheels, ploughs and house carpentering, beside several other kinds fit for household furniture, veneering, and other purposes.

There is a little brown bird of the species of the cuckoo, called by the farmers the honey bird, from its pointing out and conducting people to the nests of bees, by a chirping and whistling noise;

flying from bush to bush, and fluttering his wings until the discovery is made, for which service he receives a part of the booty, which he could not procure himself. They say he also indicates with certainty the dens of wild beasts and noxious reptiles. In betraying the bees self interest is concerned, but discovering the approach of danger must proceed from some very different motive. This unaccountable bird is used with the same deference by the colonists as the robin red breast is with us, and appear to be conscious of this patronage, showing no timidity on the approach of a person. There is another bird which is held sacred both by the colonists and Hottentots. This bird is called the secretary bird, from the feathers on its crest, which they say looks like a pen stuck in the side of its head, like a merchant's clerk; which ridiculous comparison increases the dignity of the bird, as every thing relative to koopman or merchant, is deemed the highest in rank at the cape.

The snakes are numerous and more or less poisonous, and some are very large. When one of them has coiled itself around any thing, the Hottentots will dip the end of a stick in a dark brown liquid, extracted from tobacco, which they call tobacco oil, and hold it to the mouth of the snake, who always puts its tongue out when enraged, and as soon as it takes the liquid it falls into convulsions and dies, appearing shrunk and hard as if dried in the sun. The Hottentots say the strongest poison may be extracted from tobacco, but they do not rub it on the points of their arrows as it loses its strength by being exposed to the air.

The poison with which the Caffres and wild Hottentots envenom the points of their arrows, is extracted from a spider of a very large and ugly species, which lives in the holes that it makes in the earth, and covers it over with a strong web, like a trap door, which it opens to watch for its prey, and shuts at the approach of noise; this spider they all agree contains the rankest poison of any reptile at the cape.

On our homeward passage, after being completely round the Cape of Good Hope, as has been before stated, we run across the South Atlantic Ocean in latitudes between 28° and 30° south; and when we had got on the American side we took a regular wind from the south-south-east, which continued till we had made latitude 2° north; we then had west and north west winds the greater

part of the time until we were to the northward of the island of Barbadoes. This is a circumstance that is rather uncommon in making this passage, between longitude 35° and 50° west.

The false information which I received from Capt. Sieur Coof, that there was war between the United States and Great Britain, caused me a great deal of anxiety, and kept my mind in such a perpetual agitation, that my spirits became depressed, and I lost my appetite to such a degree that I could scarcely eat any thing; and my limbs became so benumbed that they were almost useless. Our vegetables and fresh provisions were exhausted, and the crew were worn down with fatigue and suffering incident to such a long voyage; besides they were all sick with a very troublesome and alarming disorder, the nature and cause of which was entirely unknown to me, and they were in such a feeble state, that it was with the greatest difficulty that they could perform the common duties of the ship. My reflections at the time, and after my arrival home, were that I should rather prefer an honourable death, than to undergo such hardships and severe trials as I experienced during this passsage and had frequently before endured while at sea.

We attempted to speak with every vessel that we saw on the passage, to get information concerning the war; but they all appeared to shun us as much as possible, and we were unable to gain any intelligence till the 8th of July, when in latitude 26° 36′ north and longitude 51° 31 west, we saw a sail to the north east, standing to the westward; we at first thought her to be a Bermudian privateer and called all hands to quarters; but on coming up with and speaking her, she proved to be the schooner Eliza-and-Margaret from Teneriffe, bound to Norfolk; from her we obtained the pleasing intelligence that there was no war, which news enlivened and animated our spirits very much. The Captain treated us with every mark of politeness and humanity, and supplied us with a share of what little refreshments he had on board. We proceeded on our voyage in much better spirits from the information and relief we had obtained, and on the 14th of July, when in latitude 33° 2′ north and longitude 56° 37′ west, we spoke the schooner Hamilton, from Freeport, Maine, captain Luffden, who was very kind to us. He divided one bushel of potatoes with us, which was all he had, and gave us five or six pounds of butter, which was like-

wise half he had, besides supplying us with every article in his power to make us comfortable. For these and all other similar favours I shall always hold myself bound in honour and gratitude publicly to acknowledge.

On the 26th of July, 1807, we arrived safely in Boston harbour, after an absence of nearly four years. Myself and crew were so much worn out, that it was with the greatest care and attention that we were enabled to recover our health again; they all recovered however, except one, who died soon after he landed, with a languishing complaint.

When I arrived, as well as on several other voyages, I found the compass to be out of order, so that they would not traverse quick, and when the ship was lying in still water, they were so stiff that it was difficult to make them move so that the true point could be ascertained. Some navigators have attributed the cause to iron being put in the binnacle; but that I think is a mistake, as all the iron in that part of the ship is small. The experience that I have had has satisfied me of the true cause, which is, that the magnetic power by which they are moved is lost, and after a compass has been on board a ship one year it should be retouched with a magnet. I was entering Boston harbour in 1802, from Canton, in the night, in a gale of wind, when all our dependance was on the bearing of the light. I had two binnacle, one azimuth, and one cabin hanging compass, and an officer by each of them, when it was found that no two of them agreed. There is no way to remedy it but by a magnet, which ships commonly have on board, with which they can be touched—the process is very simple.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Remarks upon Embargoes and other Commercial Restrictions—Voyage to the Island of St. Bartholomews—The ship Perseverance seized by the government there, for an alleged violation of their revenue laws—Escape from the place and run out by the forts—Hurricane—Passage home.

A SHORT time before I arrived in the United States from my last voyage, the rencounter took place between his Britannic Majesty's ship Leopard of 50 guns, and the American frigate Chesapeake, which caused considerable fermentation in the minds of the people of this country, and produced a great stagnation in business. An embargo was laid on the meeting of Congress in December following, which was continued during fourteen months, and was followed by a non-intercourse law and other restrictions upon commerce. These measures very seriously injured me in my professional pursuits; and I, like many others who depended upon commerce for a living, was compelled to lay on my oars, and wait for better times.

I shall here take the liberty to introduce a few remarks upon the subject of embargoes. They have always been considered as impolitic among commercial nations, particularly when continued for any length of time. It disconcerts the whole system of navigation and throws it completely into confusion. An argument may be urged by those who are entirely unacquainted with the subject, that merchants and mariners do not know how to take care of their own property; and that by going to sea with it at an improper time would be liable to lose the whole; and that it may be neces-

sary to lay an embargo for the express purpose of saving them from ruin. Such kind of reasoning as this I will answer in the following manner, that merchants and mariners know what the risque is in sending vessels to sea, much better than legislative bodies do; it being a business that their profession makes them well acquainted with. By their knowledge and experience, and from the information possessed by insurance offices, they can very readily determine whether it will be profitable to risque at sea or not. If the exigency of the times, or the difficulties in our relations with foreign nations, is not sufficient to destroy the commercial interests of the country, the putting on an embargo will be pretty sure to do it effectually.

It would be, in my humble opinion, much more wise for legislatures to be very cautious in adopting any kind of commercial restrictions whatever, and if they intended to do any thing that would be a real benefit to the interests of their country, let them take measures in season to provide a naval force sufficient to protect commerce; and let the navy department be, like that of some other commercial nations, separate from the other branches of the government; to be conducted by a board of admiralty, consisting of the best and most experienced men in the country. Give this board the means and authority to increase and regulate the navy upon a prudent and frugal plan; and not interfere with the commercial concerns of the nation without obtaining their advice on the subject. By adopting this plan and pursuing it with an honest and proper zeal for the public good, I am very much mistaken in my calculations, if it does not make a nation respected abroad and prosperous at home.

In the year 1810, in consequence of having put some China goods on board the ship Perseverance, which was then owned by me, to save the debenture, I took a short trip to the West Indies, to dispose of them. On preparing for the voyage I was advised by my friends to engage some person to go as captain of the ship, in order to make it more easy and convenient for myself. I accordingly agreed with captain William Cook of Boston, who went with me in that capacity. The island of St. Bartholomews was the place we visited, and on our arrival there I found it to be in all respects a small place or port belonging to Sweden. I soon ascer-

tained that the people there had learned all those little mean dishonourable practices that are so common at the present day. All the West Indian produce they had for sale came from other islands, as this place does not afford scarcely any thing of itself, except a small quantity of fruit and vegetables. The kind of traffic which they carried on naturally made them sharpers. I found that the manner in which those that arrived there transacted business, was to enter and pay duty on but a small part of their cargoes, and to fee the different officers and smuggle the greatest part of it. I told the collector and the other officers, that it was not my intention to smuggle an article, as I did not like to be concerned in any kind of illicit trade whatever.

I conducted my business while at this place openly, and in as correct a manner as was possible, under existing circumstances. I I sold a quantity of dried cod fish to a captain Conn, who was an American from Connecticut, and was doing business there as a merchant. He agreed to pay me in St. Croix rum, provided I would wait thirty days, till it could be brought from that island, which I consented to do. During the time that I was waiting for the rum to arrive, I was in the habit of frequently spending the evening with the collector, and sometimes in company with the governor and judge. I repeatedly told them all, of my purchasing the rum of captain Conn, and that I was waiting for it to arrive from St. Croix. When it arrived I immediately called on the collector, and requested a permit for forty-five hogsheads of rum to be put on board the Perseverance. He told me that according to law it must be landed to secure the import duty; but he would allow it to be brought to the custom-house quay, where he would take an account of it, that the duties, both import and export, might be secured. Capt. Cook performed that duty and took the rum from on board the droger and carried it to the quay as ordered, and the collector took an account of each hogshead of it with his own hand, as captain Cook informed me.

When I was ready to clear out the ship, I desired a man named Shoemaker, who had assisted me as broker, to make out my clearance, and as he had knowledge of every article of cargo that was on board the ship, charged him to be very particular, and not to omit the least thing whatever; that as I had gone straight so far,

I was determined to finish my business with them, without making myself in the least liable to any kind of difficulty. The reason why I was thus particular, was on account of having been reminded by captain Conn and others, that as I had not given the officers any thing by way of a bribe, they would seize the ship on the most trifling pretence, if any thing should be left so as to put it in their power. The clearance was accordingly made out by Shoemaker, and the forty-five hogsheads of rum were omitted. I was very much engaged with other business, and did not examine the outward manifest careful enough to discover the mistake; but took the papers, and went with my broker to the collector and paid the duties in doubloons and light johannes, on which there would be a loss if brought to the United States. When I had settled the business, I asked him in the presence of several respectable persons, if I had complied with all the points of law, and if I had not begged of him that he would let me know, as I did not wish for any favour that the law did not allow of. His answer was, that I had done every thing the law required, and had conducted my business in a fair and honourable manner; that I had paid more duties than all the vessels that had been in the port during my stay there. In a day or two after we were ready to go to sea, and took measures accordingly. It is the custom of the place, that when a vessel is ready to go to sea, to hoist the colours half mast high as a signal for the searcher to come on board and examine the cargo, and see if there is any thing that was not in the manifest; if he finds an omission the mistake can be corrected any time before the colours are hoisted up to the mast head, without violating the law; but after that, the vessel is liable to be seized. This custom my captain and crew, as well as myself, were ignorant of; but the captain hoisted them up half mast, as he was directed, for the searcher to come on board, and when examining the cargo, he saw the rum and asked what it was; on being told, he said it was not in the manifest; but that it was of no consequence, as the owner was on shore and the collector being his friend, the mistake could be easily corrected, and ordered the captain to hoist the colours up to the mast head. The moment this was done the ship was liable by their law to be seized, and it was immediately put in force.

The first I knew of the transaction was, one of the officers belonging to the ship came on shore and told me that there were people put on board the ship and they were getting up the anchor in order to haul her up as near to the custom-house quay as she could lie, to unlade her. I immediately went on board, accompanied by captains Sanborn and Crocker, and found the harbour-master, several Europeans, soldiers, and seventeen negroes, who were employed, as the officer had informed me, in getting the ship up so that they could more conveniently unlade her. I inquired into the cause, and after being satisfied of their whole plan, I requested the harbour master to desist for the present, and go on shore with me and see the collector, and that I had no doubt but that I could settle the business in five minutes; that the mistake was so evident, they could not help viewing it as such, and permit it to be corrected without any hesitation; but if they see fit to fine me, as was the practice there, I had ten thousand dollars in specie and bills of exchange on board, and could settle it shortly. He did as I requested, and we went on shore, accompanied by the two captains, and stated to the collector the whole affair. He shrugged his shoulders and said it was by the governor's orders. I then waited on the governor and told him my story. He said that Shoemaker was a d—d rascal, and made use of much similar coarse language. I asked him what I was to do, and why he could not have been kind enough to have given me timely notice, that I might have avoided the difficulty; when he made answer that it was the collector's fault. I then told him that the collector said the ship was seized by his excellency's orders. He replied, that it was the judge's fault. I left him and went to the judge, and after telling my business, he shrugged his shoulders, and very coolly informed me that their law was violated; but that I should have a fair trial. I then attempted to reason with him, and told him how unreasonable it was to suppose I meant to smuggle, as the property in dispute had been carried and inspected at the custom house quay, in a public manner; that the ship and cargo was all my own, and by taking it from me would make me a beggar; and asked him to accept of five hundred dollars as a fine, or any thing else he chose to call it, and let me pay the duty on the rum. He smiled, and said, "not for five times that sum."

I then returned to the governor and asked him if there was no way that I could extricate myself from the embarrassment, short of a law suit, which I viewed with abhorrence. He unfeelingly replied, that the law must and should have its course, let the consequence be what it might, either to me or any other person. I had now become perfectly convinced, that they were determined to take every advantage of me that they possibly could, and expressed myself pretty fully and with some degree of warmth on the occasion; telling him what my opinion was of their conduct toward me, and the principles by which they were actuated. I took leave of his excellency and re-crossed the harbour in company with captain Sanborn and several other gentlemen, who were my friends, and were very much interested on my account. I looked around and asked a few questions, and found all who were near me were friendly. They said that their services were at my command and were ready to do any thing for me that was in their power. I duly considered all the consequences, and the importance it would be to me to lose the ship and cargo, and deliberated on the subject more than what had been usual for me to do. I concluded that there was no alternative left, but to go to sea with the ship in defiance of them, and that would be a very dangerous achievement to effect, as she lay under the guns of two heavy batteries. I made up my mind, however, to go to sea or perish in the attempt; my opinion was as Pope says, that "the mind is the standard of the man," and although my mind had been so frequently drawn upon, and so much impaired by troubles, yet I felt confident it would stand the charge, where the object was worthy of the attempt, and this occasion I thought called for such exertion. I made my determination known to three or four of my friends, who seemed much pleased to hear it. They said that nothing would gratify them more than for me to extricate myself from such an unprincipled and rapacious set as they were, and disappoint them in their hopes of robbing me of my property. I requested them to go on board and make the necessary arrangements with the crew, and to assist me in getting the ship out of the harbour, which we did in spite of all their efforts to prevent us, without sustaining but trifling damage.

I have been more particular in describing this transaction, on account of its causing considerable conversation at the time, and many reports concerning it may have got into circulation, which are not correct. I applied to captain Sanborn for the favour of taking from his journal the particulars of this affair, which I knew were taken down by him at the time, and received from him the following letter, which I insert in order that the reader may not depend upon my own story; but have the evidence of a spectator, who was well acquainted with every circumstance.

Bangor, November, 1816.

CAPT. AMASA DELANO.

DEAR SIR,

I FEEL reproved that I have delayed for so long a time to repeat to you the circumstances relating to the recovery of the ship Perseverance, when unjustly seized by the government of St. Bartholomews.

On the 10th September, 1810, as you was closing your business with your commission merchant, an officer from the ship came on shore and hastily informed you, that the searcher had been on board, examined the cargo book, found an omission in the clearance of forty seven puncheons of rum, and that the ship was seized.

You then requested me to accompany you to the collector, we instantly crossed the harbour to his office. You represented the case to him, and he acknowledged that it was evident enough from the contingent circumstances, that there was no design on your part to defraud the revenue. He replied that he was very sorry, but that it was now too late for him to remedy it; that the searcher had been there with the report and had gone to the office of the governor's secretary to libel the ship; and that it would be necessary for you to see him before he arrived there, or it would be too late to stop the libel short of a trial. We therefore set out to find this sable gentleman at his own house, but not finding

him there we proceeded to the secretary's office. The secretary then informed you that the ship was libelled, and all representation and all arrangement was unavailing with him. His reply was that "the trial must take place, and the ship they would have; but that you might for your satisfaction see the governor on the subject." The governor after hearing your statement, replied, that he did not doubt the truth of it, and after some severe invective against your merchant, said that "he could not help his mistakes, and this was not the first;" and that there was no way to get the ship unless you could make some compromise with the judge. You accordingly called on the judge alone, and as I then understood it, he thought that a salvo of twenty-five hundred dollars, about the worth of the rum, would be an inducement to him to use his influence with the governor to relieve the ship from her embarrassment; and that he thought that he should succeed. You then returned to the governor and after much dispassionate though unavailing argument and entreaty, you told him that you saw plainly that in the face of all justice and reason they were combined to rob you of your property; and that you was compelled to believe them a set of scoundrels, and quit the abode of his excellency. We then returned to the opposite side of the harbour, and learned, that in the mean time the government had put on board the ship the harbour-master, five soldiers, one or two white and sixteen black seamen, in order to warp her up to the king's or custom-house wharf, to discharge her.

After a half hours silence on your part, and hearing the various opinions of your countrymen present, I was much pleased to hear you say, that you was "*determined that she should go to sea in spite of guns or thunder.*"

You then requested or accepted the services of two or three gentlemen present, who went on board and made some little arrangements with the ship's crew. You soon came on board yourself. The captain of the port, Vixell, was then in the act of weighing the ship's anchors, to warp as abovementioned. Ten minutes had not more than elapsed when the negroes were all overboard, the ship's sails unfurled, and she before the wind. The fort commenced its fire upon you, *but you was master of your ship again.* I shall ever remember with much pleasure, and my heart will ever

applaud the decision, firmness and gallantry with which this affair was conducted.

The ship was under the guns and within pistol shot of a heavy battery, with more numbers on board and armed, than you had to oppose to them, at mid-day, when in full view of the fort, and indeed of the town; with all these disadvantages, to the astonishment of those who thought they had you within their rapacious grasp, as well as to multitudes who beheld you from the hills around with envious eyes, in less than forty minutes your ship was free from their power and out of the reach of their shot, with but little or no injury to the ship, and but one person wounded.

Thus far I have concisely related an affair which your enemies though mortified could but admire, and your friends behold with exultation.

In haste, I am your obedient servant,

GREENE SANBORN.

THE following is an extract from the log-book of the Perseverance, which was published in the Boston papers, after her arrival home.

St. Bartholomews, Sept. 10, 1810.

"FIRST part of this 24 hours, light breezes and pleasant weather. At 6 A. M. hoisted the colours half-mast for the searcher to come on board. At 8 A. M. the owner and passenger went on shore. At 11 A. M. the searcher came on board, and found 45 puncheons of rum, which, through mistake, had been omitted in the clearance; which mistake the searcher was convinced of, and ordered the colours to be hoisted up, as a signal for every thing being correct, and the ship cleared. At 1, P. M. the harbour-master came on board, (by order of government) with a guard of soldiers and seventeen negroes, in order to haul the ship to the king's wharf for adjudication. At 2, P. M. the owner came on board without the ship's papers. At 3, P. M. the harbour-master and crew weighed

the anchor, and, while endeavouring to haul the ship up. the warp parted; in consequence of which, through their ignorance and inability to conduct the business, the ship would have been lost on the rocks had not the owner (capt. Delano) taken possession, in defiance of their numbers, and conducted her out of the harbour, under the continual fire of two strong batteries of twenty-four pounders, which did us much damage in sails and rigging. At 6, P. M. got out of gun-shot, rounded to, and permitted the prisoners to depart. No person hurt on board, except one of the Swedish soldiers, who was badly wounded in defending the ship from being retaken. Latter part, fresh breezes and pleasant weather. At midnight, Dog Island bore N distant about three leagues. The owner further adds, that the abovementioned mistake happened in consequence of the gross blunder of the broker he employed on shore. whom he ordered to clear the vesssel out; that the said owner waited on the Collector, Governour, and Judge, and convinced them of the mistake, and that it could not be a wilful thing, as the rum was all publicly carried to the custom-house quay, and permitted, by the Collector, to go on board. After offering to pay the duties and any fine, the answers were, that his property must be forfeited, for their law was broke."

After the ship had got out of reach of the batteries, which had kept up a steady fire at her as long as she was within the range of their shot, without doing us any damage except in sails and rigging, we put the harbour-master and his companions into captain Crocker's boat and sent them on shore.

It may be interesting to the reader to give a description of the manner in which the affair was conducted, in clearing the ship of the negroes, and getting her under way. A warp had been made fast to captain Sanborn's vessel, which lay further up the canash than the Perseverance did, and the negroes were set at work in heaving up the anchor. Our people were ordered into the forecastle by their own officers, with instructions to stopper the cable, which ran through that part of the ship, as soon as the anchor was up far enough for the negroes to stop heaving. They were then by signal to sally out of the forecastle, with all the carpenter's tools and other instruments that they could get, and with threats to frighten the negroes overboard; but they were strictly ordered

not to strike a blow without a certain watchword being given.—The officers of the ship and others on the quarter deck, were to secure the harbour-master and his guard. When every thing was ready the signal was given, the warp *parted*, and every one of the crew sprang to do his duty agreeably to the orders he had received, and not one of them, from the captain to the cook, but what kept strictly to his instructions and did himself honour by his gallantry and good conduct. The ship was adrift and every thing on board apparently thrown into confusion; but while we were in this situation, the harbour-master and his guard were secured, the negroes overboard, and the men employed loosening the sails, sheeting home, and hoisting them up, and the ship was under way, sailing out of the port, when the batteries opened their fire upon us. Every thing was done with such promptness and regularity, that we sustained no great damage or loss, and left nothing behind, except the ship's papers, which remained in the hands of the collector as collateral security for the ship and cargo, which they had so unjustly and dishonourably seized.

My feelings will not permit me to neglect this opportunity of tendering my most sincere acknowledgements to those gentlemen who assisted me in this enterprize, and particularly to Mr. Daniel Atwell, a gentleman belonging to some place near Fredericksburg, Virginia, who rendered me every assistance in his power, which we thought prudent to keep clear of having difficulty with the government of the island. He was, however, prosecuted by them for being an accomplice with me in the transaction, and sentenced to suffer twenty-eight days imprisonment, on bread and water, and to pay a fine of fifteen hundred dollars, which he refused to pay and was kept seven days longer in the same manner, making thirty-five days he suffered in prison on my account. He was a brave, humane and honourable man, and it would be very gratifying to my feelings to have it in my power to make him amends for what he suffered on my account. To captain Sanborn I tender my most sincere thanks for the assistance he afforded me on the occasion, and captain Crocker, since dead, I shall ever remember with gratitude.

I cannot help at this time making some few remarks upon the custom of confining men in prison for debt, or for trifling offences. I was informed by those who were at St. Bartholomews after I

left there, that Mr. Atwell suffered extremely by his confinement, and that when released he was so much emaciated that he was almost helpless; his mind as well as his body was very much impaired. To throw men into prison, where they must suffer to such a degree as to injure their mental faculties and destroy their ambition and future prospects in life, without benefiting any one by it, is a practice that cannot be justified, either on the score of good policy or necessity. If those who may have the power to hold men in confinement and cause them to suffer in this manner, cannot be brought to feel for their distress, I think there ought to be a law to put it out of their power to hold a man in confinement merely to gratify an avaricious and revengeful disposition. I hope to live to see the time when some measures shall be adopted for the benfit of that class of men who may be by misfortunes and events not within their control, reduced to such circumstances as not to be able to fulfil their contracts; and put it out of the power of an unfeeling creditor to make his fellow creatures so wretched as often has been the case. Take into view the man of a noble mind, who has laid six or seven years condemned by law, to pay large sums of money that he never owed; who has had his property sacrificed, when it was out of his power to prevent it; and judge whether it be just or politic to allow him to be farther persecuted, especially if he happens to be "in the down-hill of life."—There are but few men, who possess any sensibility, but what will have their spirits broken by such usage, and become wretched and obnoxious to those about them. It is very frequent for men in this situation to take to some bad habits, which prove destructive to themselves and to the good order of society; for it is not common for men to make any exertions even to earn a livelihood, after being so broken down, much more to pay debts, whether just or unjust. To provide by law for such persons, that they should not be held for any greater length of time than three or five years, especially when there cannot be any probability of their ever having any thing to pay with, I think would be a wise measure.

After we got clear of the port of St. Bartholomews, and sent the people and every thing that did not belong to us on shore, we steered for what is called the Sambraro Passage, repairing the damages we had received as we proceeded on. It was a very fortu-

nate circumstance for us, that the king's schooner, which guarded the island, sailed the day before on a look-out to windward, and there was no vessel of force in the harbour to follow us. These considerations were taken into view at the time of fixing on the plan of going to sea. They, however, on finding that we had got clear of the batteries, armed a schooner in the best manner they could, and put on board her thirty-five men and sent in pursuit of us; but either by accident or by design, I do not know which, they missed us. This I viewed as a fortunate circumstance, as had we met, the consequence would most probably have been very serious, being situated as we were, and knowing the importance it would be to us, we could not have been taken very easily.

On the fourth day after we left St. Bartholomews we experienced a tremendous hurricane, which was more terrible to us than the fire of the batteries, that we escaped from. We were in latitude, between 24° and 25° when it commenced, the wind being at that time at eats-north-east. The gale increased gradually, and the wind hauled to the eastward and southward, continuing to freshen till twelve o'clock in the day, when it hauled to the south-east, and blew with such violence as to reduce us to a two reefed main-top-sail,fore-sail, and foretopmast-stay-sail; the ship right before the wind, and two good men at the wheel. The wind hauled, so that at four o'clock, P. M. it was south, and increased to such a degree that it was thought not safe to start tack, sheet, or brace; the fore-tacks had both been brought aft and made fast to assist the foresheets, and the maintop-sail lowered down, yard on the cap, before the gale had so much increased, About this time the ship took a proud yaw and the foretopmast-stay-sail was suddenly filled with wind and split into many pieces; this deprived us of the best sail we had to keep the ship before the wind. The wind kept hauling and increasing till sunset; and there was no abatement till after twelve o'clock at night, when I think it was the hardest. At four, A. M. the wind began to abate, and at eight the weather was moderate.

During the gale the wind blowed from every point of the compass; hauling round from the eastward to the southward, then to the westward and northward, and lastly to the eastward again. The ship steered before the wind as it shifted the whole time. It

blowed as I have always found it to do in what is called a hurricane, in sudden gusts, then moderating to almost a calm, which would sometimes continue for several minutes. I considered it almost a miracle, that the fore-sail and maintop-sail stood through the gale; but they were both nearly new, and the latter was very small. A circumstance happened in rigging the ship while in Boston, before we sailed on this voyage, and which caused me to find much fault at the time, operated greatly in our favour. The top-sail sheets and braces fore and aft, were new and were twice as large as usual; the reason of which was the rigger having no smaller sized rope on board, rove such as he had. The head yards were braced two points from square one way, and the after yards two points the other; in order that when one sail should lift the other would keep full, so as to compel the ship to go through the water at such a rate as to mind the helm. The ship was only in good ballast trim, and steered remarkably well; had this not been the case, together with the advantages before stated, we should have foundered. This was almost the only time that I ever commanded a vessel at sea, when I had no other resort in my mind, if that which we were pursuing should fail; but in this case there was none, for had the ship broached, that is, come to the wind against the helm, she must inevitably have gone to the bottom. During the gale the whole crew performed their duty in every thing that was required of them, in the best manner that men could do.

After we had weathered this gale, we proceeded on our passage and arrived safe in Boston, in October. I entered a protest in the custom-house against the conduct of the government of St. Bartholomews, on which evidence, a new register and other necessary papers were granted for the ship.

It is worthy of being remarked, that during the three voyages of the Perseverance, and in three times circumnavigating the globe, which occupied more than seven years, she never touched the ground.

I shall now go back to the early part of my life, and close my narrative with a few remarks upon the voyages I then made to Europe and the West Indies. Those parts of the world are so well known to my countrymen, that any thing that I can say of them will not be very useful or interesting.

In September, 1779, I sailed from Boston on a cruise in the privateer ship called the Mars, mounting twenty-two guns, fitted out by Mr. David Sears of Boston, and commanded by captain Gilbert Ash. The first lieutenant was Josiah Roberts, my fellow officer in the Massachusetts. In seven days after leaving port, we experienced a distressing gale of wind, which wrecked almost every vessel that was afloat, from Jamaica to the Western Islands. We lost our mizenmast, sprung the mainmast below the top, and the foremast below the deck, hove overboard nine of our waist guns, which were fortified nine pounders, and many other heavy articles, and cut away four anchors from the bows, in order to make the ship scud before the wind. After the gale was over, all the repairs that could be were made at sea, and the ship continued to cruise till winter, when an attempt was made to get into the port we sailed from. We beat about on the coast of America, the greatest part of that terrible winter of 1779-1780, losing sails, rigging, spars and men, almost every day. The latter part of the winter, we took a privateer Snow, belonging to Liverpool, England, of fourteen guns, which was the first and only prize we took during the cruise. We then steered for Martinico, one of the West India islands, where we arrived, after suffering every hardship that was possible for men to endure. It will ever be my wish that all privateers may be as unsuccessful as the Mars was.

After this I made several voyages to the West Indies in merchant vessels, and in 1782 I sailed in a brig called the Peacock, belonging to Mr. Ebenezer Parsons of Boston. She was built by my father in Duxbury. She went to Martinico, from thence to Virginia, and to Bilboa in Spain, and returned in the spring of 1783. Bilboa is at the head of the Bay of Bisca, and the inhabitants are remarkable for good morals, civility, and for their humanity to strangers.

My next voyage to Europe, was in command of the ship Jane. We first went to Ireland, where we found a beautiful country, which afforded every kind of provision, in the greatest abundance. The inhabitants are the most noble minded, and possess the highest sense of honour of any that I ever was acquainted with. The lower class of people, for want of education, are very much depraved both in principle and practice; but they were grateful, benevolent, and tender in their feelings. From Ireland we pro-

ceeded to St. Ubes in Portugal and I crossed over land to Lisbon, where I got credit of Messrs. John Buckley and Son for a cargo of Salt on Mr. Timothy Parsons's account. On our return passage the ship was cast away on Cape Cod, on the 28th of December, 1788, and ship and cargo lost.

My first voyage as commander, was from Duxbury in 1786, in a schooner belonging to my uncle, Joseph Drew. He was always kind and friendly to me, and I shall ever acknowledge my obligations, gratitude, and sincere regard for him as long as I live. He was benevolent in the extreme, to all descriptions of people, and died eight or nine years since, the most universally beloved, perhaps, of any man of the age in Duxbury. I sailed for Cayenne, made the north cape of the river Amazon, steered down the coast in from seven to fifteen fathoms of water, and from five to ten miles off shore, till we arrived at Cayenne, which is an island separated from the continent by a narrow belt of water not more than half a mile broad. The country along this coast abounds with the greatest variety of wild beasts, beautiful birds, serpents and reptiles of any country I was ever acquainted with.

I afterwards sailed in command of several vessels in voyages to the West Indies, during which I visited Cayenne, Demerara, Issiquibo, Trinidad, Tobago, St. Eustatia, Cape Francais, Porto Rico, St. Martins, and several other ports in the West Indies.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.

WRITTEN BY A FRIEND.

THE inhabitants of Duxbury have always been known as an industrious, enterprising people. A great portion of them are employed on the ocean, some in the cod fishery, and some in foreign voyages. And at the commencement of our late unhappy anti-commercial measures, the town was in a very prosperous state. We believe it may also be said with truth, that the seamen from that place are distinguished by their good moral conduct. This must be owing to the instructions given them in youth by their parents, and to the regular maintenance of town schools. The religious institutions of the place should be taken into the account, as aiding to form sober and useful citizens. The town is happily free from sectarianism and from disputes respecting modes of faith and forms of worship. Here are no bigots or enthusiasts. The people have been favoured with a succession of learned, prudent and catholic ministers, whose great object has been to imbue the mind with useful and practical truths, and to form the young to habits of industry, sobriety and virtue.

And here I cannot but mention with commendation the society lately established in Boston for the moral improvement of seamen, which promises, and has, it is believed, already effected much good. The president of this institution is a native of Dux-

bury, and has spent many years of his life in navigating the ocean. The object of the society is to furnish inducements to sailors to a sober and religious life—to induce commanders of vessels to attend to the moral conduct of their men, and to supply them with the Bible and with pamphlets calculated both to inform and to edify. This is certainly a laudable design, and must have the wishes of all good men for its success. And I trust it will not be thought impertinent to have noticed it in a work of this sort.

Duxbury is one of the oldest towns in the late colony of New Plymouth. Many persons moved from Plymouth, across the bay to Duxbury, soon after the first landing in that place. Among them was the brave captain Miles Standish, the hero of the little band of puritans who migrated to this inhospitable region. Standish owned a valuable tract of land in the south-east part of the town. Here he died; and some aged people in the close of the last century pointed out the spot where he was buried. John Alden, another brave, active man of the first ship's crew, settled in Duxbury, on the north side of Blue River; and a part of his farm is now in possession of one of his descendents, Judah Alden, Esq. It is also remarkable that one of the descendents of governor Bradford is now in possession of land, in the south part of the town, which was owned by his ancestor, in the first settlement of Plymouth colony. Isaac Winslow, Esq. who lives in Marshfield, contiguous to the north part of Duxbury, is likewise in possession of the farm taken up and occupied by governor Winslow, his ancestor, to which he gave the name of Careswell.

Many, whose services are recorded in the history of New England, were natives of Duxbury. The famous colonel Benjamin Church was born in this place. He removed to Tiverton in the latter part of his life, where he died. He was a second Standish. He rendered great service to the country, in various attacks on the Indians, who in 1660 and 1670 threatened to destroy all the English settlements. He was a brave, humane, and generally a successful warrior. He was one of the principal officers, who defeated the formidable combination formed against the infant colony by Philip, the Sachem of Mount Hope. He also commanded the forces at Casco Bay in 1669; and was the successful leader of an expedition

got up by the united colonies of Massachusetts and Plymouth against the French in Nova Scotia.

The descendants of Ralph Partridge, the first minister of Duxbury, have been respectable in the cabinet of the state and nation. Two of the grandsons and one of the great grandsons of governor Bradford, and inhabitants of Duxbury, were members of the Council in this Commonwealth before the revolution; and a son of the last named, commanded a regiment during the war for liberty and independence. Captain Gamaliel Bradford, president of the society for the moral improvement of seamen, before mentioned, a man noted for his humanity, courage, and usefulness; and Alden Bradford, Esq. the present Secretary of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, are the sons of the late colonel Bradford, and are nephews to the famous colonel Ichabod Alden, a brave and intelligent officer in the American army, who was slain at Cherry-Valley, in 1778, and to whose courage and military fame, the history of those times have borne ample testimony.

Capt. John Alden, son of the aforenamed John Alden, commanded the sloop Mary, a vessel belonging to the government in 1668 and 1669, in several expeditions against the French and Indians.

It is worthy of remark, that the citizens of Duxbury were *all* friendly to American liberty in the memorable period of 1775.—And it is equally to their honour, that they are the friends of order and good government, as well as of legitimate freedom. Since commerce has ceased to give employment and profit, manufactories have been established, and it is hoped will reward the enterprise and industry of the present and future generations.

Amasa Delano, whose voyages and adventures are here given, was born in Duxbury, February 21st, 1763, on the north side of Blue River. His parents were respectable, and connected with the ancient families of that place. His mother was a Drew, and his maternal grandmother a Soule, both of which are among the oldest and most influential families of that ancient town. His father, Samuel Delano, was, with his brother Amasa, in the military service, under George II. in the war with the French and Indians in 175 7 1758, and 1759. Amasa was an officer in Rogers' Rangers, a corps

well known in those days. Though very young, he was much esteemed for his bravery and good conduct; and at the age of twenty was honoured with a lieutenancy. He was with a party of rangers on an expedition near the Canada lines; which being led astray by their guides, were lost in the wilderness. They were obliged to separate and to hunt for food. The party commanded by Amasa consisted of eighteen privates and one officer besides himself.—They were reduced to the greatest extremity; and were compelled to eat an Indian child which they met in the woods. They soon came to an Indian settlement, and their conduct with regard to the child being known, they were massacred in a most horrid manner. The writer of this journal, was named for this unfortunate uncle. His father, Samuel, was the youngest of the two brothers; and was a sargent in captain Gamaliel Bradford's company in Nova Scotia, and at Tyconderoga, Crown Point, Fort William Henry, &c. He was esteemed a brave, discreet and prudent military character. After the peace of 1763, he worked at the ship carpenter's business, and was a master builder for many years. In this employment, he had the esteem and confidence of all who knew him. He was industrious, honest and faithful. He was with our army at Roxbury in 1776, when the British troops had possession of Boston; and, with many others, made great sacrifices for the liberty and independence of our country. He belonged to the detachment under general Thomas, which was ordered to Dorchester heights in March, 1776. Exposed to great fatigue and to the inclemency of the weather, he was taken ill and long remained in a very feeble state of health. When he recovered, he entered on board the brig Independence, commanded by captain S. Sampson. He was taken in this vessel and carried to Halifax; and afterwards impressed on board the Rainbow man of war of 44 guns. When the Hancock frigate was taken by this ship, he was on board; but was soon after exchanged, and with others put ashore at Boothbay, Maine.

In early life, Amasa, whose adventures are here related, was much accustomed to the salt water, and by the frequent practice of swimming, became almost amphibious: at the age of five or six years he could swim and dive under water in a most surprising manner.

Even in the coldest season, and at this early age he has been known to dive into the water like a sea fowl sporting in its natural element, and it was said he was more expert and daring in the water, than the natives of the West Indies, which islands he often visited between the age of 15 and 35. He often helped his brother Samuel from the water, when a child, and thus rescued him from an early grave. One instance merits particular notice: In returning home from a peninsula, in the north part of the town called Duck-Hill, when both were quite young, Amasa eleven and Samuel six years of age, they attempted to cross over a salt marsh intersected by a creek. Samuel discovered some fear of difficulty: But Amasa, who never thought of difficulty or danger, even at that early age, endeavoured to dissipate the fears of his younger brother, and with both hands full of articles, which he was conveying home from the peninsula, plunged into the water, and was swimming fearlessly across, when looking back for his brother he observed him struggling with the waves and nearly exhausted. He immediately returned, but before he reached his brother, he had disappeared.—He hastened to the spot, and his brother, though under water, had sense and strength enough to seize his limbs. He was thus raised to the surface of the water; but the current being very rapid, they were both in danger of sinking. With great exertions, however, and uncommon self command, Amasa reached the land; Samuel, by the assistance of a man, who had proceeded to the spot, was also saved from drowning. At first, he had little appearance of life; but was soon restored to feeling and activity by the usual means of resuscitation in cases of apparent death and suspended animation. It was owing, however, to the resolution and promptness of the elder brother, that the younger was saved.

Even at this early age, captain Delano had great self-command. And he has often said, that he should have perished in his attempt to save his brother, when he was so long in the water, and often under it, had he not taken particular care not to draw his breath, for fear of taking in water and sinking. And he has been heard frequently to urge the necessity of guarding against this. If one is much agitated and often attempts to respire, he is almost sure to draw the water into his mouth and stomach, the consequence of which is immediately fatal.

As we propose to give a faithful biographical sketch, we are obliged to state, that captain Delano, when very young, was averse from school and study. His fondness for active scenes will account in part for this aversion; but the idle gossiping stories of domestics of the severity of schoolmasters had a share in giving him a dislike to these nurseries of useful knowledge and good morals.—When he came to years of reflection, he regretted his early prejudices on this subject; and is entitled to much credit for applying himself afterwards to those branches of ordinary learning, which are necessary to render a man qualified for the common and active pursuits of the world.

At an early age captain Delano was particularly fond of fishing and gunning; and was considered very expert, both as matter of sport and business. The local situation of his family was favourable to this exercise. Sea fowl are numerous about the beach and bay, and salt water creeks in Duxbury. Fish of various kinds are also taken within a few leagues of the shores. Young Delano was generally successful as well as enterprising in attacking the game. Neither cold nor storms prevented him from these pursuits. He then discovered a hardihood of character and an ardour and resolution of spirit truly astonishing, and for which he has been distinguished in the adventures of his maturer years. And as is frequently the case, he united to this daring and boldness in action, a generous, obliging and humane disposition. Though generally the little hero in all parties of sport and play, he was remarkable for his tenderness of feeling towards his fellows, and would never allow the young and feeble to be imposed on or insulted. In 1772, the family removed to Braintree, where the father, captain Samuel Delano, attended to ship building, supposing that the vicinity of the place to Boston would render the business more certain and lucrative. There they remained only about two years, as the interruption of navigation, occasioned by the disputes between Great Britain and the colonies, operated unfavourably to his particular employment; they returned to Duxbury.

The citizens of Duxbury were unanimously opposed to the measures of the British ministry at this remarkable period, and discovered a great ardour in the cause of liberty. Our young hero caught the chivalrous spirit of the times. He would not rest easy

at home; but, though only about twelve years of age, visited the camp at Roxbury, spent much time there, and manifested a great pleasure in witnessing the military movements of our infant army.

In the summer of 1777, at the time when his father was a prisoner on board the Rainbow, a British man of war, as before stated, information was received, that Burgoyne had advanced from Montreal to Lake Champlain, with a large army, had taken Tyconderoga, and was marching towards Albany, probably with a plan to join the British army from New York, somewhere on the Hudson river. Burgoyne, it will be recollected, was confident of success; and in imagination had already conquered the country. The people in the northern states were greatly and justly alarmed. It was a moment which demanded great and immediate exertions. New recruits were called for by the provincial congress; and great numbers marched to join the army under general Gates, to oppose Burgoyne. The militia were assembled, and many volunteered their services on the occasion. Young Delano, then only fourteen years of age, was one of the first to come forward and enlist. But though young in years, he was a man in stature, in courage and in enterprise. Indeed, he always seemed eager for adventures, and sought the place of danger, when duty called. At this time, he marched to Boston, with many others of his fellow townsmen, under the command of captain Joseph Wadsworth of Duxbury, then of the continental army, a brave and meritorious officer. But on his arrival in Boston, he met his father returning from captivity at Halifax, who, to his great mortification, insisted on his leaving this military corps, and accompanying him to his family at Duxbury.—Being under age, he was obliged to submit; otherwise, it is probable, that ready as he always was to obey parental commands, he would have marched to the army at Saratoga. For though he loved his parents and family, it would seem that he also loved adventure and glory. He was very much disappointed and mortified, in being thus deprived of an opportunity of performing the daring feats of a true blooded yankee. No doubt, had he proceeded to the field of battle, he would have been among the first to meet danger and attack the foe.

In the latter part of the same summer, an expedition was prepared to take Rhode Island, then in possession of the British troops.

A large body of the militia was raised and put under the command of general Spencer. About fifty men were sent from the town of Duxbury. And to gratify the wishes of his son, and by way of compromise, perhaps, for having prohibited his joining the army at Tyconderoga, a few months before, Mr. Delano consented to the wishes of our young adventurer in this instance, and permitted him to join the company of militia who went on this expedition. It was commanded by lieutenant Elijah Baker, now major Baker, of Duxbury. Baker says Delano would have gone on to the island with the picket guard, to reconnoitre the British lines, every night, if he had been allowed. But after three nights successively, two of which were to perform the duty of those who were more timid, he was forbidden by lieutenant Baker to go on again except to perform duty in his turn.

This campaign lasted only a few months. The expedition was not conducted with much intelligence; nor was it attended with success. Young Delano returned home in the autumn, but his ardor for military life and for adventures had not abated. The winter, it is believed, he passed in attending a private school; for at this age he had become ambitious of acquiring information from books as well as from the world. But in the following summer, being of the age of fifteen years, he served several months in the militia, under general Heath,. and belonged to the troops who formed the guard of the British army, which had been captured the year preceding at Saratoga by the Americans commanded by general Gates, and which was placed at Prospect Hill in Cambridge. He was the sentinel relieved by a young man of the name of Nicholson, who shot lieutenant Brown, an English officer of Bourgoyne's army, for passing the lines contrary to the orders established by the American general.

Delano was at his post on the road which leads on to the hill, which was surrounded by a line of sentinels to prevent men, women, and children from leaving the British encampment. When he was relieved by Nicholson, he gave him the orders he had himself received from the officer, which were as follows, viz.— To permit any person to go on to the hill at pleasure; English officers, and English soldiers who had passes to come off, but not women and children on any account. Two females from Boston,

with a horse and chaise, had engaged lieutenant Brown to ride on the hill with them, to view the English barracks and the manner of living in a camp. Brown and his female companions had passed on just as Delano was relieved by Nicholson, about eight o'clock in the morning. A little after nine, the chaise returned, and when near the sentinel (Nicholson) they were hailed and ordered to stop. But Brown, probably supposing the sentinel would not fire, gave the horse a stroke and passed rapidly on. Nicholson fired, however, and the ball entered the back of the officer's head, as he was sitting between the two females, and came out between his eyes; and he immediately fell lifeless from the carriage.

The British officers and soldiers were all greatly enraged; for Brown was much esteemed. Our sentinels and guards were attacked by the British prisoners; some injury was done, and much more was apprehended. Many of our troops were obliged to be called out to suppress the riot. And it was supposed, at one moment, that it would be necessary to fire on the prisoners to subdue them.

General Phillips was the first officer among the British prisoners, at that time, general Burgoyne having gone to England a few months before. Phillips wrote to general Heath, who commanded our troops in Boston and vicinity, in a very insolent and threatening style; in consequence of which he was strictly guarded in his house, and not permitted to go out for some time.

Nicholson could not be justly censured for his conduct in this affair. He did no more than his duty, and military commands must be strictly obeyed. The English would have commended one of their sentinels for an act, which they complained so much about. They pretended it was murder. But Nicholson was acquitted and justified by a court martial.

Soon after this affair, the British troops were marched away from the sea coast, into the interior of the country; and were not exchanged according to the articles of the convention agreed upon soon after they were captured. It was said, indeed, that the British did not observe all the provisions of the convention, and that the transports, which came to take them off, had arms and other military stores secreted, which were for the prisoners. No evi-

dence of this appeared; and Ramsay says, the nonperformance of the conditions of the convention on the part of our government, in refusing to exchange the British troops captured with Burgoyne, has never been accounted for or explained.

Our young adventurer passed several months at home after this; but seems not to have been sufficiently satisfied with the ordinary business alloted him in labouring on a farm; possibly he was ambitious of fame and renown, probably desirous of signalizing himself in defence of his country. At that period of life, the character is hardly formed, principles not always firmly fixed—perhaps, he was impelled chiefly by ambition and love of adventure. Yet at this age, the generous and disinterested sentiments of our nature have great influence; and Delano, it is believed, possessed a large share of good feelings. But we will dismiss conjecture and speculation, and confine ourselves to the narration of facts.

In the summer of 1779, in company with several other young men, Delano went to Boston, and entered on board the privateer Mars, and sailed one cruise in her, which continued till the spring following. Here, it is said, he suffered greatly. The inclemency of the season was the cause of much exposure and suffering; and great complaint was made, we know not how justly, of the severity and cruelty of the officers of the privateer. Though he was ready to do his duty at all times, and never shrunk from danger, he was treated with great harshness and severity, and really sighed for home. His spirits and constitution seemed to be broken down, and his health was so much injured, that it was many months after his return before he recovered his former strength and activity.

For a considerable period, he remained at home, more contentedly, it is believed, than he formerly had done.

Delano was too enterprising to remain long at home after the recovery of his health; and his wishes led him again to the ocean. He was very averse, however, from privateering, and always spoke with decision against the practice. He now, (1781,) entered on board a merchant ship, called the Russell, belonging to Messrs. R. & J. Leach of Salem; and made a voyage to Cape Francois in the West Indies. The French fleet, under the command of Count D'Grasse, was then in that port; and he assisted in towing the fleet out of that place, when it sailed to the Chesapeake. An embargo

was laid on all merchant vessels then at the Cape, and was continued for six weeks. The season proved very sickly, and great numbers died of the prevailing fever. It was supposed that all tropical fruit was injurious; and on this account, if used at all, was eaten with great caution and very sparingly. But Delano, who could hardly be said to know what fear was, and who in fact would sometimes disregard the common means requisite for health and preservation, would not be deterred from the constant use of the fruit of that climate. He is said to have subsisted almost entirely on it, and to have eaten it in great quantities at all times, without any bad effects. This was a peculiar trait in his character. While others were careful and abstemious, he usually indulged himself in all manner of food and fruits. Whenever he travelled, he paid little regard to his diet, either as to the quality or the time when, or in which it was taken. This mode of living, probably, would not be favourable to the health of people in general; but there are many instances known, in which this comparative disregard of the kind and quality of food, is consistent with a great degree of health and strength.

He was alike careless in guarding against wet and cold; exposing himself to the severest weather, without additional garments. And this manner of living seemed rather to strengthen than to impair his constitution.

He returned from Cape Francois in the fall of 1781; and in the winter of 1782 sailed from Boston to the West Indies, in a schooner belonging to deacon Williams, with several other vessels, under convoy of the Flora and Cæsar, private armed ships of the United States. The weather was so boisterous they soon separated from the convoy, and were taken by the Chatham, a British ship of fifty guns. The schooner had a set of English papers, and on sight of which she was soon given up. This was not an uncommon practice in those days; but it appears difficult to reconcile it with the principles of truth and justice.

While on this voyage in the West Indies, the memorable naval battle took place between Admiral Rodney and Count D'Grasse, the 12th of April, 1782.

On his return from this voyage, Delano continued some time at home, and laboured with his father in ship building. They built

the brig Peacock this year, 1782, for E. Parsons Esq. of Boston; and in this vessel, he afterwards sailed to Martinico and Porto Rico in the West Indies, to Virginia, and to Bilboa in Spain. While on board the Peacock, in the harbour of Boston, he narrowly escaped drowning, having fallen overboard in the night, as he was on deck endeavouring to keep the vessel secure during a very violent storm. This affair, we think, requires to be more particularly narrated.

The Peacook was loaded and nearly ready for sea. The wind very high in the latter part of the day, and increased to a gale, so that a third anchor was taken on board from the wharf, and then carried to the windward—the topmasts and yards were taken down; and as there was no apparatus or materials for cooking, the captain and all the crew, except Delano, and one more hand, went on shore for the night. It was supposed the brig was securely anchored; that it would not be necessary for any more of the crew to remain on board. After Delano and the other man had been asleep a short time, they were awaked by a violent shock against their vessel, which they found, on going up on deck, was occasioned by a cartel sloop then lately from Halifax running against them. The gale had increased, and the sloop had been driven from her moorings by the violence of the wind. The anchor of the sloop caught hold of the Peacock's, and she rode along side. Every attempt was made to disengage the cartel from the brig, but without effect. The people belonging to the sloop, however, did not offer to assist. When it was found, that the brig could not be parted from the sloop, Delano placed fenders between the vessels to prevent all damage possible. Always ready to perform his duty, whatever might be the suffering or the hazard, Delano determined, that they would keep a watch on deck through the night, with a view to prevent harm to the Peacock; and he offered to take his turn first at the watch. The force of the wind was so great, that the ropes which fastened the fenders were broken repeatedly.—Delano stepped on the gunwale of the sloop and replaced them.—By the violence of the gale, the sloop several times sheered off, and then came along side of the brig again with a great shock. Delano was standing on the gnnwale of the Peacock, and had hold of a rope which was fast behind him, waiting for the cartel to ap-

proach, and intending to jump on to her bow. As he was about to do this, on her being driven near again, the rope he had in his hand gave way, and he was precipitated head foremost into the water under the bows of the sloop; and in his fall he lost his hold of the rope. He had on at the time a great coat and thick heavy boots. His great exertion was to keep above water; and he says he was particularly careful not to open his mouth so as to take in salt water; a thing which, on former occasions, he had found was injurious. He could think of no assistance to be had from any quarter. His companion was in bed, and probably asleep. The people belonging to the cartel were also probably asleep, as they had not been on deck for some time. The wind was so violent that he knew it would be in vain to arouse them by his voice.—And he also feared to hollow, lest the water should fill his mouth and throat. But his courage and presence of mind did not forsake him. Whilst thus tossed about by the wind and waves, his hand struck a rope, which was the stopper for the anchor, and was fastened to the sloop's cat-head. He considered this very fortunate, as he could thus keep himself above water long enough to hollow. He remained in this precarious situation some time; but he found himself unable to make any one hear. Nor could he get on board either vessels, though he attempted to haul himself up by the rope he had in his hand: His clothes were very heavy, and his boots filled with water. After some time, however, with his feet against the bow of the sloop, he swung himself so as to catch hold of the brig's main chains, and thus reached the deck of his own vessel again.

This was, indeed, a wonderful escape. Perhaps, in all the various hazards he run, and instances of jeopardy in which he was placed afterwards, in the course of his many and singular nautical adventures, he was never in more danger of perishing, nor ever discovered more resolution and self possession. Not one man in a thousand, propably, would have extricated himself in a situation so imminently dangerous.

After this, he sailed in the Peacock to Martinico; thence to Virginia, touching at Porto Rico. The Peacock was frozen up, and lay at Fredericksburg great part of the winter.

The Peacock came down the river Rappahanock and the bay of Chesapeake in company with the brig Thomas of Boston, and private armed ship Iris of Salem. They were chased into little York by the Eagle, an English sixty-four gun ship, and a frigate. There they beheld the awful devastations of war. This was the place occupied by the British troops under lord Conwallis, when they were captured in October, 1781. They did not surrender, however, till the place had been beseiged some time, and great destruction made of public buildings, property, &c. Capt. Delano has often spoken of the melancholy sensations he experienced on viewing scenes of devastation and blood. If he was fond of adventure and was foremost in times of danger, yet he did not delight in the misery of his fellow men, nor was he indifferent to the evils and calamities of war.

In March, the Peacock, Thomas and Iris left the harbour and passed Cape Henry; but the British ships of war could not fetch by the cape on account of a high northerly wind, and they returned and anchored in Hampton Roads. Two days after they left the cape, they experienced a very heavy gale, and the Iris was probably foundered, as she was never heard of afterwards. Off Cape Finistiere, the Peacock spoke a Swedish ship, from which they first received the news of peace. She proceeded to Bilboa, and thence returned to Boston. Here Delano met his father, who had just then come up from Duxbury with a new brig, called the Olive Branch, built for E. Parsons, Esq. At the request of his father, he accompanied him to Duxbury, and was for some time concerned in ship building, in which he had already some experience, being desirous of having a perfect and thorough knowledge of that trade. He was generally employed in this business from 1783 to 1786. He was considered a man of judgment and skill in this profession. Sometimes he wrought with his father, and sometimes was alone the master-builder. In this time he built several vessels at Duxbury, and at Brunswick, in the District of Maine; and was always remarkable for his perseverance and despatch. He was industrious himself, nor would he allow those he hired to be idle.

In the fall of 1786, being ambitious of seeing and doing something more enterprising abroad, captain Delano sailed in a vessel

belonging to his maternal uncle, Joseph Drew of Duxbury, who was always ready to assist and encourage him in his adventures.—This voyage was to the West Indies, and he returned in the spring of 1787, much to the satisfaction of the owner and his friends. In the course of the summer of this year, he sailed again for the West Indies from Boston in a vessel belonging to captain John Gray.—He returned in the autumn of the same year, and it was said at first that his owner was perfectly satisfied and pleased with his conduct; but afterwards a dispute arose between them on account of the superior quality of the articles, which captain Delano and some of his men brought home as proceeds of their adventures.—The owner pretended that nothing of this sort ought to come in his vessel of a superior quality to any articles of the cargo belonging to himself; and unless a man would obligate himself accordingly, he should not sail in his employment. Captain Delano contended that the articles belonging to himself and his men, were purchased with cash—that the vessel's cargo was procured in the way of barter, and paid for in part by damaged articles, or those not very saleable; and that he would never suffer himself to be thus restricted, and would not consent to average his own and his people's money with the avails of a cargo, which might be damaged or refuse—and on this account they separated.

In the spring of 1787, captain Delano agreed with a Mr. Parsons of Wiscasset, to take command of the ship Jane for Cork in Ireland, and thence to St. Ubes in Portugal: this voyage he performed, though the ship was very meanly furnished, and wanted many articles requisite for such an undertaking. When he arrived in Portugal he was fully sensible of the imposition and deceit of the merchant and of the supercargo, who he learnt had a concern in the voyage with Mr. Parsons. He was not furnished with funds sufficient to pay port charges; much less to meet expenses of loading the ship. Captain Delano was addressed to the house of Tirlarders and company. But no funds had been remitted them, and they declined making any advances. In this situation captain Delano went over to Lisbon and made application to Messrs. John Bulkley and Son for funds to enable him to procure a cargo of salt for the ship, which he did on his own credit, and drew bills on his owner, Mr. T. Parsons, for the amount, and advised him thereof

by several vessels which sailed for America some weeks before he did. On his voyage from St. Ubes to Boston, he was cast away on Cape Cod, December 28, 1788, before the letters had been received. The bills drawn in Lisbon on his owner were in favour of Thomas Russell, Esq. of Boston. They were protested by the owner of the ship and cargo on whom they were drawn, and recourse was had to captain Delano for payment. This was a most unfortunate voyage to him. In the shipwreck on Cape Cod, he lost every thing he had : his people were destitute and pennyless, but it was not in his power to afford them any pecuniary assistance. He was greatly distressed and mortified at his situation—for he was ever generous, humane and honest. The fault was wholly to be attributed to his owner, who should bave furnished him with more ample means, or acknowledged the bills on receipt of them.—Though he acted in this affair, by procuring a cargo of Bulkley and Son for the ship without direct orders from his owner, he proceeded in the transaction with the best intentions, and with a view to the advantage of his merchant.

Of Mr. Russell's conduct in the affair, he always spoke with great approbation and gratitude. The advice and assistance of this respectable, generous merchant, he considered very beneficial to him. He wrote to London, Liverpool, Cork, Lisbon and St. Ubes for copies of his proceedings, and finally extricated himself from all difficulty. He was soon after this engaged in another undertaking. which was attended with disappointment and mortification. He was ever very desirous to give his employer satisfaction in all he promised to accomplish ; and when unsuccessful, from any untoward events, which could not be foreseen or avoided, for there was no want of attention and resolution on his part in effecting what he engaged, he sometimes yielded to despondence. Being very ambitious of praise and commendation, whenever his conduct was censured, or his employers dissatisfied, he felt it extremely, and was greatly mortified. He undertook to purchase and repair a vessel lying in Taunton river for some merchants in Boston. It was found that the vessel had laid a long time under water and was more damaged than he had supposed. His employers were not very well satisfied with the proceedings. But their dissatisfaction was not greater than his regret that they were disappointed. It

was a most fatiguing job to him, and it was believed he omitted nothing on his part to make the affair profitable. Though conscious of no immorality of conduct, he was so affected by the disapprobation of those by whom he had been employed, that he appeared greatly discouraged; and was almost ready, he has said, to give up all enterprize of the sort. Fortunately for him, however, the ship Massachusetts was soon to be launched and sail for Canton in China. This was a large ship of 900 tons, built at Quincy. Here begins the journal of his voyages and adventures for several years as given in this volume. And it is unnecessary to narrate them in this sketch of his early life. It may be proper, however, here to observe, that he was always distinguished, not only as a man fond of bold and daring enterprise, but as possessing every generous and honourable feeling. And not a single charge of a dishonest or mean action is recollected to have been brought against him. He was a dutiful and affectionate son, and always treated his parents with great respect. He also had the credit of being particularly attentive and kind to his sisters. They always spoke of him with great affection. In fact all his young acquaintance and neighbours esteemed him for his candour and ingenuousness of manners. He had no malignity or revenge in his composition.—He was ever ready to forgive those who had injured him; and equally forward to ask forgivness of those whom he might have unintentionally injured or offended. Something more might be added of events of a recent date, in justice to the character of captain Delano; but perhaps it would be considered as of a personal nature, and we decline to bring them before the public at this time. At some future period he may think it proper to develope them.

His recent misfortunes and embarrassments are much regreted by his old acquaintance. If he has sometimes erred in judgment, they are firmly convinced he is not capable of designing to do wrong to others. And it is matter of regret that a man of his generous and disinterested feelings, and who has made such great exertions to secure a handsome living in the world, should be thus unfortunate at his time of life, which is now approaching to old age, and in which new adventures cannot be resorted to for riches or support.

THE following account and documents relating to the assistance rendered to the ship Rodney, by Mr. Samuel Delano, jun. are published at the earnest request of his friends; and he being the brother of the author of this work, and sharing with him in most of his voyages and enterprises will, it is hoped, be a sufficient apology for inserting them.

The two extracts from the Centinel, respecting the loss of the ship Rodney were the first accounts received in Boston of that accident, and of course are not sufficiently explained to be fully understood. The Rodney anchored in the storm, off Marshfield, near Branches point, to prevent being drove on shore; but the wind increased to such a violent gale, that she dragged her anchor, and struck on Branches ledges, where she was wrecked, and her upper works came on shore on Duxbury beach. The young men of this town, as they had been accustomed to do in similar cases, hastened to the relief of the sufferers; Mr. Samuel Delano, jun. was but little before many others of his companions in giving assistance to those in distress; for they all vied with each other who should be the foremost. Captain Gamaliel Bradford, who has been named in the biography, was the second man who got on board the Rodney, from the shore.

It may not be amiss here to state, that Duxbury is guarded from the ocean by a long, low, narrow sand beach, that stretches from the Gurnet, on which Plymouth light-house stands, to Marshfield; being six or seven miles in length, and on most parts of it not more than one hundred rods wide; running in front of Duxbury, from one half, to two miles from the main land. As this beach is in the southwest of Boston bay, and so low that it cannot be seen but a very short distance in the night, or in thick weather, it has proved a grave for many seafaring people. Ships that are hemmed into this bay in north-east gales of wind, generally keep off shore as long as they can, and at last many of them meet their fate on Duxbury beach. It is not so dangerous for men to lose their lives on as some of the other shores in Boston bay; and it will be no more than justice to say, that there are no men more benevolent, reso-

lute, and ready to assist the distressed on any sea coast, than those of Duxbury.

EXTRACT FROM THE CENTINEL.

Wednesday, November 28, 1792.

"On Friday last, a very severe north-east storm commenced, and continued until Sunday morning, attended, we fear, with much loss to the mercantile interest.

"In this storm, the ship Rodney of London, captain Whytock, which sailed from this port on Thursday last, went on shore at Marshfield, and was entirely lost.

"She had rode out the gale until seven o'clock on Sunday morning, when striking the ledges with great force, her upper works separated from her hull, and went on shore, with all the ship's company, who were thus providentially saved; the captain's lady was among the number. The ship was loaded with lumber, and had a great number of cattle and horses upon deck, all of which were lost.

"The attention and assistance afforded by the people of Marshfield to the unfortunate, reflect much credit on them; and the commisseration shown by the publick on the loss, must afford much consolation to the distressed."

TRIBUTE OF GRATITUDE.

George Whytock, commander of the ship Rodney of London, which sailed from Boston on Thursday the 22d November, and unfortunately was shipwrecked on Duxbury beach, the Sunday morning following, in a severe snow storm, takes this public method to return his most grateful thanks to the benevolent people of Duxbury, Marshfield, and their vicinities, for their humane, spirited and generous exertions, in affording him and his ship's crew their assistance, in their distressing calamity. To *all*, this tribute is sincerely proffered, and particularly to captain Samuel Delano of Duxbury, for his singularly benevolent, noble and spirited exertion; who, at the risque of his own life, ventured into the boisterous waves (and providentially reached the wreck) for the kind

purpose of preventing the sufferers attempting to land in their then situation, but to wait until the tide would admit of their getting safely on shore, and to infuse into their almost exhausted spirits, every possible degree of fortitude, with an assurance as soon as it was possible for help to reach them from the beach.

(*Signed*)

GEORGE WHYTOCK,
for himself, family, and ship's company.

[See Columbian Centinel, December 8, 1792.]

Cambridge, December, Monday.

SIR,

I INTENDED yesterday to have mentioned to you an affair, which I think deserves the notice of the Humane Society. You will judge, however, whether it be proper to lay it before them.

You saw the account in the paper, of Whytock's misfortune.—Samuel Delano, jun. of Duxbury, exposed himself to save the people on the wreck. They would undoubtedly have perished, had he not reached the wreck, and given them some information respecting the situation, and the state of the tide. His life was very much endangered. Many people on the beach supposed he would never reach the wreck.

Yours.

A. BRADFORD.

Rev. JOHN CLARKE, Boston.

Boston, January 4, 1793.

Mr. SAMUEL DELANO, Jun.

SIR,

THE Trustees of the Humane Society of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, having been informed of your very signal and humane exertion in committing yourself to a rough and boisterous sea, in a most inclement season, to save the lives of the officers and crew of the ship Rodney, captain Whytock, stranded on Duxbury

shore on the 25th November last, have ordered a Gold Medal to be struck, emblematic of the circumstances of your benevolent and very hazardous exertion, and request your acceptance of the same, as a small testimony of the high sense they entertain of your merit, and of the great humanity and benevolence exhibited by you on this occasion.

In obedience to their orders, I have now the honour of transmitting you this medal, together with the wishes of the Trustees that you may always enjoy the sublime pleasure arising from the consciousness of having done so much good to your fellow creatures.

I am, sir, in the name and behalf of the Trustees of the Humane Society of Massachusetts, your most obedient and very humble servant,

S. PARKER, Corresponding Secretary.

Boston, January 5, 1793.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to receive your much esteemed favour of the 4th of January, accompanied by a most liberal compliment (through your hands) a Gold Medal, emblematical of the shipwreck of the ship Rodney of London, George Whytock commander, on the beach at Duxbury, on the morning of the 25th November, 1792.

The attempt I made on said morning (providentially succeeding) to aid and assist the distressed officers, &c. with the crew of the Rodney, was most amply compensated by the generous tribute of captain Whytock and ship's company; but if any action of my life has merited the generous and esteemed tribute presented me from the honourable Humane Society, I consider myself under every principle of gratitude to return them my most grateful thanks for this honourable testimony of respect, and shall ever esteem it my greatest happiness freely to acknowledge their generous and benevolent compliment.

With every sentiment of respect, I remain your most obedient and very humble servant,

SAMUEL DELANO, Jun.

Rev. SAMUEL PARKER, Corresponding
Secretary of the Hon. Humane Society

Boston, January 5, 1793.

DEAR SIR,

GEORGE WHYTOCK, commander of the ship Rodney of London, stranded on Duxbury beach, on the 25th November, 1792, begs leave to return his grateful thanks to the honourable Humane Society for their generous and benevolent notice of the gentleman who stepped forward in the midst of danger, to aid and assist him, his family and ship's company when they were in a most perilous and distressed situation by shipwreck.

With sentiments of the sincerest respect, I am your most obedient and very humble servant,

GEORGE WHYTOCK.

Rev. SAMUEL PARKER, Corresponding
Secretary of the Hon. Humane Society.

THE foregoing correspondence, relative to the exertions of Mr. Samuel Delano, jun. on behalf of the crew of the ship Rodney, is copied from documents in the possession of the Humane Society of Massachusetts.

Attest.

CHARLES LOWELL, Corresponding Secretary.

Boston, March 24th, 1817.

PLATES.

Frontispiece—the Author, - - - *Fronting Title Page.*
Abba Thulle, - - - - - - " *Page* 59
Pitcairn's Island, - - - - - - " *Page* 135

ERRATA.

Page 30, Line from the top 20, for *disburthen*, read *disabuse.*
" do. 26, " *savour*, " *power.*
32, do. 15, dele *as.*
33, do. 11, for *so thing*, read *southing*,
44, do. 17, " *of* " *he.*
53, do. 14, " *pressing*, " *persuading.*
59, do. 13, " *e*, " *E.*
86, do. 15, in a part of the impression, for *Sallawatty*, read *a small island.*
88, do. 16, for *top*, read *bottom.**
277, do. 10, dele *those, are called*, and *those.*
458, do. 19, for *Pannant*, read *Pennant.*
490, line from the bottom 10, for 700,000 *to* 1,000,000, read 70,000 *to* 100,000.
506, line from the top 9, for *Guanacs*, read *Guanacus.*
543, do. 15 " *Sieur Coof*, " *Surcouff.*

* *The specific gravity of the volatile or essential oils is generally less than that of water, but some of them are heavier. Their specific gravity, according to Gregory's Encyclopædia, varies from* 0,8697, *to* 1,0439. *Those extracted by Dr. Hoffman were, as far as I saw them, heavier than water, and were of brilliant colours at the bottom of transparent China vessels.*

Delano, Amasa

A narrative of voyages and travels in the Northern and Southern hemispheres Comprising 3 voyages round the world ; Together with a voyage of survey and discovery in the Pacific Ocean and oriental islands

Boston 1817

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